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THE Indian Historical Quarterly

Vol. III

MARCH, 1927

No. 1

The Final Defeat of Mihirakula

Two apparently conflicting authorities on this point are the cause of much dissension as regards the person who finally defeated the third Hunā king of India. Yet I think that this conflict is only apparent ; and I intend to show this in the present paper.

The two conflicting authorities

The first of these authorities is the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman of Malwa. This lithic record states that to the two feet of this king "respect was paid, with complimentary presents of the flowers from the lock of hair on the top of his head, by even that King Mihirakula, whose forehead was pained through being bent low down by the strength of his arm in the act of compelling obeisance."¹ In these words a defeat of Mihirakula inflicted by Yaśodharman is clearly referred to ; for the obeisance offered to the latter by the Hunā king is obtained forcibly, since his forehead was bent low down by the strength of Yaśodharman's arm.

But there is another account of Mihirakula's defeat given by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, according to which

1 Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 148, l. 6.

the victorious monarch was not Yaśodharman but a certain king of Magadha named Bālāditya-rāja who has rightly been identified with Narasiṃha-Gupta.¹ It is worth while to quote this long passage, because the internal examination of the same will help us towards our final solution. Hiuen Tsiang's words are as follows :—

“Bālāditya-rāja, king of Magadha, profoundly honoured the law of Buddha and tenderly nourished his people. When he heard of the cruel persecution and atrocities of Mihirakula, he strictly guarded the frontiers of his kingdom and refused to pay tribute. Then Mihirakula raised an army to punish his rebellion. Bālāditya-rāja, knowing his renown, said to his ministers : I hear that these thieves are coming, and I cannot fight with them ; by the permission of my ministers I will conceal my poor person among the bushes of the morass.

“Having said this, he departed from his palace and wandered through the mountains and deserts. Being very much beloved in his kingdom, his followers amounted to many myriads, who fled with him and hid themselves in the islands of the sea.

“Mihirakula-rāja, committing the army to his younger brother, himself embarked on the sea to go to attack Bālāditya. The king guarding the narrow passes, whilst the light cavalry were out to provoke the enemy to fight, sounded the golden drum, and his soldiers suddenly rose on every side and took Mihirakula alive as captive, and brought him into the presence (of Bālāditya).

“The king Mihirakula, being overcome with shame at his defeat, covered his face with his robe. Bālāditya, sitting on his throne with his ministers round him, ordered one of them to tell the king to uncover himself as he wished to speak with him.

“Mihirakula answered : The subject and the master have

1 Allan, *Gupta Coins*, pp. LV-LVI.

changed places ; that enemies should look on one another is useless ; and what advantage is there in seeing my face during conversation ?

“Having given the order three times with no success, the king then ordered his crimes to be published, and said : The field of religious merit connected with the three precious objects of reverence is a public blessing ; but this you have overturned and destroyed like a wild beast. Your religious merit is over, and unprotected by fortune you are my prisoner. Your crimes admit of no extenuation and you must die.

“At this time the mother of Bālāditya was of wide celebrity on account of her vigorous intellect and her skill in casting horoscopes. Hearing that they were going to kill Mihirakula, she addressed Bālāditya-rāja and said : I have understood that Mihirakula is of remarkable beauty and vast wisdom. I should like to see him once.

“Bālāditya-rāja ordered them to bring in Mihirakula to the presence of his mother in her palace. Then she said : Alas ! Mihirakula, be not ashamed ! Wordly things are impermanent , success and discomfiture follow one another according to circumstances. I regard myself as your mother and you as my son ; remove the covering from your face and speak to me.

“Mihirakula said : A little while ago I was prince of a victorious country, now I am a prisoner condemned to death. I have lost my kingly estate and I am unable to offer my religious services ; I am ashamed in the presence of my ancestors and of my people. In very truth I am ashamed before all, whether before heaven or earth. I find no deliverance. Therefore I hide my face with my mantle. The mother of the king said : Prosperity or the opposite depends on the occasion ; gain and loss come in turn. If you give way to events, you are lost but if you rise above circumstances, though you fall, you may rise again. Believe me ; the result of deeds depends on the occasion. Lift the

covering from your face and speak with me. I may perhaps save your life.

"Mihirakula, thanking her, said : I have inherited a kingdom without having the necessary talent for government, and so I have abused the royal power in inflicting punishment ; for this reason I have lost my kingdom. But though I am in chains, yet I desire life if only for a day. Let me then thank you with uncovered face for your offer of safety. Whereupon he removed his mantle and showed his face. The king's mother said : My son is well-favoured ; he will die after his years are accomplished. Then she said to Bālāditya : In agreement with former regulations, it is right to forgive crime and to love to give life. Although Mihirakula has long accumulated sinful actions, yet his remnant of merit is not altogether exhausted. If you kill this man, for twelve years you will see him with his pale face before you. I gather from his air that he will be the king of a small country ; let him rule over some small kingdom in the north.

"Then Bālāditya-rāja, obeying his dear mother's command, had pity on the prince bereft of his kingdom ; gave him in marriage to a young maiden and treated him with extreme courtesy. Then he assembled the troops he had left and added a guard to escort him from the island.

"Mihirakula-rāja's brother having gone back, established himself in the kingdom. Mihirakula having lost his royal estate, concealed himself in the isles and deserts ; and going northwards to Kashmir, he sought there an asylum."¹

Cause of the controversy

Between the composition of these two accounts one century elapsed. The inscription of Yaśodharman is contemporary with Mihirakula, while the account of Hiuen Tsiang was written a little more than a hundred years later.

1 Beal, *Records of the Western World*, I, pp. 168-171.

Now modern historians seem to suppose that both documents refer to the final defeat of the Huṇa chief. Hence some of them reject the account of the Chinese pilgrim.¹ Others with Mr. Smith suppose an alliance between Yaśodharman and Narasiṃha Gupta, so that the battles referred to by the inscription and by the Chinese traveller are one and the same battle.² Fleet admits the authority of both the documents, and says that Mihirakula could be defeated in the East by Narasiṃha-Gupta and in the West by Yaśodharaman.³ Allan and Mookerji agree with Fleet's theory. According to them, the Huṇa king was first defeated by Bālāditya and then by Yaśodharman, so that his final defeat took place in Malwa.⁴

It is hoped that the following pages will throw some more light upon this debated subject.

Hsien Tsiang's account cannot be rejected

An account written one century later would have to be rejected if it were evidently contradictory to a contemporary account. But the Chinese pilgrim's narrative does not contradict any statement of the inscription of Yaśodharman. True, Bālāditya-rāja is there depicted as inflicting the final defeat upon the hordes of Mihirakula. But the Mandasor lithic record does not say anything of the decisive expulsion of the Huṇa king from India. "It is hardly possible" says Allan, "that Yaśodharman and Narasiṃha-Gupta on separate occasions each routed, took Mihirakula prisoner and released him."⁵ This is certainly true of Narasiṃha-Gupta ; but it is not so clear as far as Yaśodharman is concerned. The

1 Hoernle, *The Identity of Yaśodharman Vikramāditya*, *JRAS.*, 1909, pp. 97-8 ; Modi, *Early History of the Huṇs*, *JBBRAS.*, xxiv, pp. 594-5.

2 Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 337 ; Havell, *Aryan Rule in India*, p. 175 ; Pathak, *On the Date of Kālidāsa*, *JBBRAS.*, xix, pp. 35-43.

3 Fleet, *The Coins and History of Toramana*, *IA.*, xviii, p. 228.

4 Allan, *o.c.*, p. LIX ; Mookerji, *Harṣa*, p. 59. 5 Allan, *l.c.*

phrase that Mihirakula's forehead was "bent low down by the strength of Yaśodharman's arm in the act of compelling obeisance" need not mean that Mihirakula was made prisoner by Yaśodharman. This poetical description may only point to the defeat of the Huṇa chief, who was forced thereby to pay homage and perhaps even tribute to his victor.

On the other hand the account of Hiuen Tsiang gives so many details, that we cannot suppose that they were all invented. I agree with Allan that "it is difficult to know how much truth there is in the Chinese pilgrim's highly embellished story."¹ But this certainly we know that the main fact at least of this story is true, and this fact is the defeat of Mihirakula. We can affirm, moreover, that some of the circumstances of this defeat are also recorded in Hiuen Tsiang's account. Such is, for instance, the fact that Bālāditya-rāja fortified his frontiers and withdrew the payment of tribute to Mihirakula after hearing of the cruelties of the latter against Buddhism.

Moreover the account of Hiuen Tsiang is confirmed by two other authorities. The Chinese pilgrim says that "Bālāditya-rāja, king of Magadha, profoundly honoured the law of Buddha." Now Bālāditya's Buddhism is also referred to by Paramārtha in his life of Vasubandhu. He mentions king Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā and his crown-prince Bālāditya as fervent patrons of this Buddhist monk.² Finally Hiuen Tsiang refers to Mihirakula's usurpation of the throne of Kashmir after his defeat by the Magadha king; and Mihirakula is spoken of at length as one of the kings of Kashmir by the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*.³

It is true that Hiuen Tsiang upset the chronology of Mihirakula's reign, by placing it some centuries before his time.⁴

1 Allan o.c., p. LVI.

2 Cf. Pathak, *Kumāragupta, the patron of Vasubandhu*, JBBRAS., XXIII, p. 185.

3 *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (Stein's trans.) I, pp. 43-8.

4 Beal, o.c., p. 167.

Yet this is not a serious objection compelling us to reject the Chinese account. Many facts which come to us through tradition only are evidently wrong in chronology. For the events of the past may be easily aggrandized when passing through the popular mind ; but figures transmitted by oral tradition are always liable to be changed and are generally exaggerated.

The alliance of Yaśodharman and Narasiṃha-Gupta is not proved

Smith's statement as regards this alliance is absolutely gratuitous. Neither of the authorities gives any hint. Moreover, both accounts suppose that their respective sovereign was the only or at least the chief enemy of Mihirakula. Had such an alliance taken place, the two sovereigns could neither of them be the only enemy nor the chief enemy of the Huṇa King.¹

Mihirakula was defeated in two different battles

This is a natural consequence of the two preceding sections, that Mihirakula was defeated in two different battles ; first in the east by Narasiṃha-Gupta and then in the west by Yaśodharman. Such is the opinion of Fleet, which has however been opposed by modern writers.

The first defeat took place in Malwa, the second in Magadha

I cannot accept the opinion of Mr. Allan and Prof. Mookerji who suppose that the final decisive defeat of Mihirakula was inflicted by Yaśodharman. Their statement is without any authoritative support. The Mandasor inscription does not give the slightest clue as to the time of the battle, still

1 It is false that "the Gupta inscriptions ascribe the fall of the Huṇs to the *combined* forces of Yaśodharman in the west and Bālāditya in the east," as we read in Visvanath's *International Law in Ancient India*, p. 59.

less does it prove that the Malwa defeat was later than that of Magadha.

On the other hand, the account of Hiuen Tsiang says clearly that after the battle "Mihirakula, having lost his royal estate, concealed himself in the isles and deserts; and going northwards to Kashmir, he sought there an asylum" consequently :—

1 After the defeat of Magadha, Mihirakula did not go back to his old kingdom; hence he could not be defeated there by Yaśodhraman, and therefore we must place the defeat inflicted by him earlier than the defeat of the east.

2 Mihirakula was for a time wandering about in concealment and poverty—another circumstance that proves his final defeat.

3 Mihirakula finally took refuge in Kashmir. "The king of Kashmir," continues Hiuen Tsiang, "received him with honour; and moved with pity for his loss, gave him a small territory and a town to govern. After some years he (Mihirakula) stirred up the people of the town to rebellion, had killed the king of Kashmir and placed himself on the throne."¹ Evidently Mihirakula when retreating to Kashmir lost all his possessions in India, since the Kashmir king was moved with pity for his loss.

Probable order of events

Mihirakula, after having succeeded his father Toramāna (probably in 502), enlarged the frontiers of his kingdom, as was the ordinary policy of eastern monarchs in those days. On arriving at Malwa he met with Yaśodharman, whose head according to the Mandasor inscription, had "never been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save the god Sthānu."² Naturally a conflict ensued between the armies of both chiefs, in which that of Mihirakula was thoroughly routed, and probably driven back northwards.

1 Beal, o.c., I, p. 171.

2 Fleet, o.c., p. 148, l. 6.

This disaster for the Huṇa king encouraged his tributary chiefs to break off allegiance with him. One of these chiefs was Narasimha-Gupta, who was already deeply moved against Mihirakula on account of his cruelties against the Buddhists. That was the proper occasion for withdrawing the payment of tribute. Mihirakula, enfeebled by the defeat inflicted by the Malwa Raja, was naturally expected not to oppose the designs of Narasimha-Gupta. Hence the latter "strictly guarded the frontiers of his kingdom and refused to pay tribute." But "Mihirakula raised an army to punish his rebellion." What a length of time elapsed between the Malwa defeat and this second war of Mihirakula against Magadha we are not able to say; but it could easily be from one to three years.

The fact is that Narasimha-Gupta seems not to have feared this sudden attack of the Huṇa chief, as his later conduct shows. Fortune nevertheless was in his favour, and Mihirakula suffered a tremendous defeat in some narrow passes while going to meet Narasimha in the island of his refuge. We do not know what island this was where the final defeat of Mihirakula took place. It might have been any island at the mouths of the Ganges in the district of 24-Parganas.

An objection

There is an obvious objection against our explanation of facts, which has been expressed by Mr. Allan in the following words :—"There is no numismatic or other evidence to show that Bālāditya did anything to restore the glory of the Guptas or regain their lost dominions. We have no inscriptions of Bālāditya, and there is nothing in his coinage to suggest that he was in any way a much greater figure than his successor."¹

This is true. But I believe I am right in affirming

1 Allan, *o.c.*, p. LVI.

that Narasimha-Gupta, in spite of having decisively defeated Mihirakula's hordes, failed to restore the glory of the Gupta family. He was not the man for such a glorious achievement. He was certainly a religious man, as his devotion to Vasubandhu discloses. He used to foster learning, for he is mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang as one of the patrons of the Nālandā University.¹ But he was not a warrior, much less a hero. In spite of the fortifications built to defend the boundaries of his kingdom, when he heard of the approaching of Mihirakula Narasimha assembled his ministers and told them :—"I hear that these thieves are coming, and I cannot fight with them ; by the permission of my ministers I will conceal my poor person among the bushes of the morass." A king who conceals himself when the independence of his kingdom is at stake is not the sort of man to renew the past glory of a dynasty. Even the final defeat of Mihirakula was not due to the valour and heroism of Narasimha-Gupta ; for the latter remained "guarding the narrow passes, whilst the light cavalry were out to provoke the enemy to fight."

Besides, the conditions of Narasimha-Gupta's kingdom were not favourable to such a restoration. Not only had it been shaken by the foreign power of the Hunas, but it was also weakened by internal dissensions. Already for several years the great Gupta empire had disappeared for ever. Narasimha was king of only a portion of that empire ; and some of his neighbours were perhaps more powerful than himself. One of these was Yaśodharman, who, according to the Mandasor inscription, "spurning the confinement of his own house enjoys these countries...which were not enjoyed even by the lords of the Guptas...and which the command of the Hunas...failed to penetrate."² The Gupta family, placed on the slope of decay, could not be held back from a fatal fall. Soon, after a period of 30 years, the Maukharis, a new ruling family,

1 Beal, o.c., II, pp. 168-9.

2 Flect, o.c., pp. 147-8, l. 4.

will sit on the throne of Magadha ; and the Guptas will disappear from the pages of history.

Narasimha-Gupta could not renew the glorious past of his ancestors ; but his name will always remain encircled with a nimbus of glory for having destroyed the Huna empire in India, expelling Mihirakula to its north-western frontier.

Later Hunas in India

The dynasty founded by Mihirakula in Kashmir lasted several years after his death according to the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*.¹ But these are not the later Hunas referred to in the heading of this section. I refer to the successors of Mihirakula in Āryāvarta.

According to Hiuen Tsiang, Mihirakula's brother, after the defeat of the tyrant by Narasimha-Gupta, having gone back, established himself in the kingdom." Nothing else is known about him. He most likely ruled as a petty Raja in a province of central or western India. He and his successors continued to fight with the later Guptas and with the representatives of the new power then residing in the north of India, the Maukharis. In fact the Apsad stone inscription of Ādityasena records a battle fought between the Hunas and the Maukharis, the date of which cannot be easily ascertained. It mentions a Maukhari king who "had thrown aloft in battle the troops of the Hunas in order to trample them to death."² It seems that this victorious Maukhari was Īśānavarman, who himself was afterwards defeated by Dāmodara-Gupta.³ Whether this was the final battle that put an end to the Huna power in India or not, we are not able to say. The fact is that the Hunas mentioned in later times seem to be the Hunas residing in Kashmir, since they are located in the north of India not far from the Himālayas.

¹ *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, I, pp. 49-50.

² Fleet, o.c., p. 206.

³ Cf. Aravamuthan, *The Kaveri, the Maukharis and the Sangam Age*, p. 90.

Prabhākaravardhana, Harṣa's father, who is given in the *Harṣacarita* the title of a lion to the Huṇa deer,¹ is said in the same work to have sent his eldest son Rājyavardhana "towards the north to attack the Huṇas."² During this expedition this prince is described as spending several days "on the skirt of the Himālaya."³ He was sent a second time against them about 604-5; and is described by Bāṇa as covered with many wounds "received in battle while conquering the Huṇas."⁴

After that we find no further mention of the Huṇas in Āryāvarta. Shams-ul-Ulema Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi supposes that the Mers of Rajputana "are the descendants of these ancient Huns who invaded India in the fifth century."⁵

H. HERAS

1 Bāṇa, *Harṣacarita*, p. 101.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 123.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*, p. 165.

5 Modi, *Presidential Address, Fourth Oriental Conference*, p. 10

Some old Bengali printed Books and Periodicals in the British Museum†

III

The works of Bhabānicaran Bandyopādhyāy

In my last article in *I. H. Q.*, vol. II, March, 1926, while giving a description of the files of *Samācār-candrikā* in the British Museum, I had an occasion to refer (p. 55) to two works of its editor Bhabānicaran, viz. *Kalikātā Kamalālay* (কলিকাতা কমলালয়) and *Āścaryya Upākhyān* (আশ্চর্য উপাখ্যান).¹ Recently I came across copies of these two rare works in the Bengali section of the Imperial Library of Calcutta.

The title-page of the first work is unfortunately missing in this copy which is fairly worm-eaten, and the date of its publication therefore remains uncertain. We learn, however, from another copy of the work in the Vāṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat, Calcutta, that the work was printed at the *Samācār-candrikā* Press in 1823 (B.S. 1230).

After the table of contents (শ্রীশ্রীহরি: ||—/ অথ নির্ঘণ্ট:/) the work is introduced by an interesting preface (ভূমিকা) which gives us briefly the scope and object of the work thus :

পল্লিগ্রাম নিবাসী ও অন্যান্য নগরবাসী লোক এই কলিকাতায় আসিয়া এখানকার আচার বিচার ব্যবহার রীতি ও বাক্যকৌশলাদি অবগত হইতে আশু অসমর্থ হইলেন তৎপ্রযুক্ত শঙ্কায়ুক্ত হইয়া এতদ্রূপে নগরবাসি লোকেরদিগের নিকট গমনাগমন করেন এবং সভ্য ভাব্য হইয়াও তাঁহারদিগের নিকটে অসভ্য ও অভব্য ন্যায় বসিয়া থাকেন কারণ যখন নগরবাসী বহুজন একত্র হইয়া প্রশ্নোত্তরভাবে পরস্পর কথোপকথন করেন তৎকালে পল্লিগ্রামনিবাসি ব্যক্তি কোন সহজতর করিলেও নগরস্থ মহাশয়েরা তাহা গ্রহণ না করিয়া কহেন তুমি পল্লিগ্রামনিবাসী অর্থাৎ পাড়াগোঁয়ে মানুষ অতদ্বন্দ্ব দিবস কলিকাতায় আসিয়াছ এখান[২]কার রীতিজ্ঞ নহ, তোমার এ কথায় প্রয়োজন নাঞি এ উত্তরে নিরুত্তর হইয়া ঐ ব্যক্তি হুঃখিত হইলেন অতএব এই কলিকাতা মহানগরের স্থলবৃত্তান্ত বিবরণ করিয়া কলিকাতা কমলালয় নামক গ্রন্থ করণে প্রবর্ত হইলাম এতদ্-

† Continued from Vol. II p. 67.

1 Misprinted as আচার্য্য উপাখ্যান।

গ্রন্থ পাঠে বা শ্রবণে অনায়াসে এখানকার ব্যবহার ও রীতি ও বাচ্চাতুরী ইত্যাদি আশু জ্ঞাত হইতে পারিবেন, অধিকন্তু কলিকাতা কমলালয় হইতে বৃত্তান্তরূপ অনেক রত্নলাভ হইতে পারিবেনক ইহাতে এক সন্দেহ আছে যে দোষদর্শী সুখরূপ কুস্তীর নিন্দকরূপী সর্প ইহার। এ কমলালয় হইতে রত্নলাভের ব্যাঘাত করিবার নিমিত্ত স্বীয় স্বভাব দ্বারা অনেক যত্ন পাইবেক অর্থাৎ এতদগ্রন্থ গ্রহণে বা পাঠে অনেক বাধা জন্মাইবেক তাহাতে বুঝি বিজ্ঞেরা এতদগ্রন্থ গ্রহণ না করেন কিন্তু এই স্থির করিয়াছি যে বিজ্ঞেরদিগের বিজ্ঞতারূপ ঔষধি দ্বারা তাহার। ভৎসিত ও তাড়িত হইয়া অবশুই নিবারিত হইবেক অতঃপর কলিকাতা কমলালয় সমাদৃত হইল। সতেরদিগের সর্বদা বৃত্তান্ত ও বাচ্চাতুরীাদি রূপ রত্ন প্রদান করিবেন।

এই গ্রন্থে চারি তরঙ্গ হইবেক আমার প্রার্থনা যদি গ্রন্থমধ্যে বর্ণন ও আস্তিত্বদোষ থাকে তবে সাধুমানুষেরা স্বীয় সাধুস্বভাবপ্রযুক্ত তাহা গ্রহণ না করিয়া তাৎপর্য গ্রহণ কবিলে আমার প্রশংসার্থক্য হইবেক। * * * *

The present volume contains only one তরঙ্গ in pp. i + viii + 91, and the colophon at the end of the book reads ইতি শ্রীভবানী-চরণ শর্যকৃত কলিকাতা কমলালয়ে প্রথমঃ তরঙ্গঃ সমাপ্তঃ ॥ It is doubtful whether the book was ever completed in four তরঙ্গs as the author contemplated and set forth in his preface.

Although the book professes to be a manual or *valet mecum* of etiquette for country people who come for the first time to Calcutta and find themselves bewildered by its strange manners, customs and speech, it gives us yet many vivid glimpses into city-life in Bengal during the second decade of the nineteenth century. The strange title of the book is thus explained at the beginning : কলিকাতার সাগরের সহিত সাদৃশ্য আছে তৎপ্রযুক্ত কলিকাতা কমলালয় নাম স্থির হইল, কমলা লক্ষ্মী তাঁহার আলায় এই অর্থ দ্বারা কমলালয় শব্দে যেমন সমুদ্রের উপস্থিতি হইতেছে তেমন কলিকাতার উপস্থিতিও হইতে পারে অতএব কলিকাতা কমলালয় শব্দে যোগার্থ রহিল (p. 5). Then follows a brief account of this "ocean," yept Calcutta (pp. 5-6). The book is written in the form of a dialogue between a নগরবাসী and পল্লিগ্রামবাসী (called বিদেশী here), the latter being an enquirer into the ways of the city people, and the alternative title প্রশ্ন উত্তর দ্বারা কলিকাতার রীতিবর্ণন justly indicates the scope as well as the form of the work. At the outset, the vices of city-life are touched upon, as well as the non-orthodox ways which some people have taken up and which is not approved by its orthodox author. This is

followed by an interesting account of the daily life of the different ranks of people living in the city (p. 16). Those who are Dewan (দেওয়ান) or Muchhadi (মুছদি), that is বিষয়ভ্রলোক, get up early in the morning and after washing their faces, they spend the early part of the day in anointing their body with oil (তৈল মর্দন), bathing (স্নানক্রিয়া), পূজা, হোম, দান, বলি প্রভৃতি কর্ম, ভোজন, কিঞ্চিৎ বিশ্রাম, after which they, in the language of the author, অপূর্ব পোষাক জামা জোড়া ইত্যাদি পরিধান করিয়া পালকী বা অপূর্ব শকটারোহণে কর্মস্থানে গমন করেন। After the day's work in office, they come home, change and wash গঙ্গোদকস্পর্শে পবিত্র হইয়া সায়াংসন্ধ্যাবন্দনাদি সমাপন করিয়া জলযোগান্তর পুনর্ববার বৈঠক হয়, when people come to visit them, or they go out visiting. The daily life of the middle-class people is almost the same, but the author adds কেবল দান বৈঠকি আলাপের অল্পতা এবং পরিশ্রমের বাহুল্য। Regarding poorer people, the author remarks : ঐ ধারা কেবল আহার ও দানাদি কর্মের লাঘব আছে আর শ্রম-বিষয়ে প্রাবল্য কারণ কেহ মুছরী, কেহ মেট বা বাজার সরকার ইত্যাদি কর্ম করিয়া থাকেন বিস্তর পথ হাঁটিতে হয় পরে প্রায় প্রতিদিন রাত্রে গিয়া দেওয়ানজীর নিকট আজ্ঞা যে আজ্ঞা মহাশয় মহাশয় করিতে হয় না করিলেও নয় পোড়া উদরের জ্বালা (p. 17). Those who are more fortunate lead a more indolent life, take a siesta in the afternoon, get up at 4 P.M., when কেহবা আপন বিষয় দৃষ্টি করেন কেহ বা পুরাণাদি শ্রবণ করিয়া থাকেন। Here follows long ত্রিপদী verses which sing the praises of পুরাণ শ্রবণ। The বিদেশী expresses surprise but the নগরবাসী reassures him that these people are religious although, religiosity in his opinion consists of gifts to Brahmans and Pandits : সোনারূপার দুই চারি দানসাগর, অধ্যাপক ও পণ্ডিত বিদায়, ১০০৮০ ঘড়া গাডু খালা বাটি বিতরণ ইত্যাদি। But the বিদেশী alludes to the reckless habits of certain anglicised gentlemen of the city : অত্যন্ত অপূর্ব শিফট শান্ত মহাশয়েরা অসৌচ (sic) সময়ে শুদ্ধাচারার্থে কেবল ভ্রাণ্ডিমাত্র পান করেন অথ সময়ে আহার বাজারের পাক করা মাংস মিঠাই ও মুছলমানকৃত পাওরুটী এবং নানাপ্রকার সরাপ ইত্যাদি দ্রব্যসকল ভোজন করেন পরিচ্ছদ অর্থাৎ পোষাক ধূতি প্রভৃতি বস্ত্র পরিত্যাগ করিয়া ইজার জামাজোড়া ইত্যাদি পরেন কালাচর্মের পাছুকাফিতে-বান্ধা গোড়তোলা মাথানোড়া বোঁচা সকল পায়ে দেন। But the নগরবাসী assures him that these are not the manners of a gentleman. . .

We then have a discussion of the peculiar speech of the city people who mix their Bengali with words and idioms derived from Persian and English. The author gives a fairly long list of such foreign words used, together with their indigenous Bengali equivalents, in parallel columns (pp. 25-35). The নগরবাসী justifies this peculiar speech on the plea that অর্থকরী বিদ্যোপার্জনের আবশ্যকতা আছে, but he would not defend the use of a foreign word where there is a Bengali equivalent for it merely for the sake of fashion or pedantry, and he gives examples of such words (pp. 36-39).

The author, of course, extols the old fashioned Bengali life which consisted in ব্রাহ্মণ পণ্ডিত প্রতিপালন and observing the old social manners and customs and condemns the selfish life of those modernised Babus who spend everything on themselves. In this connection, the author dilates upon the question of education, establishment of schools by the School Book Society and refers to the usefulness of printing books by subscription : বালকদিগের পড়িবার নিমিত্ত উত্তম উত্তম গ্রন্থ বাঙ্গালা ভাষায় প্রস্তুত করিবার কারণ স্কুল বুক সোসাইটী অর্থাৎ পাঠশালার পুস্তক প্রস্তুত করণ কারণ এক সমাজ স্থাপন করিয়াছেন তদ্বারা নানাবিধ গ্রন্থ প্রস্তুত করিয়া ঐ বালকদিগকে প্রদান করিয়া থাকেন এবং বালকদিগের কি প্রকার শিক্ষা হইতেছে তাহার পরীক্ষা করিয়া থাকেন অপর শ্রীযুত ডেভিড হের নামক এক সাহেব নিজ অর্থ ব্যয় করিয়া পূর্বোক্ত রীত্যনুসারে এক পাঠশালা করিয়া দিয়াছেন এবং আপনিও মনোযোগপূর্বক তাহার অনুসন্ধান করেন (p. 80). There is also an allusion to the establishment of the Hindu College : কলিকাতার সুপ্রীম কোর্ট আদালতের প্রধান জজ শ্রীযুত স্যার ইড্‌ওয়ার্ড ইএফ সাহেব হিন্দু বালকদিগের নিমিত্ত হিন্দু কালোজ নামক এক বিদ্যালয় স্থাপিত করণের সময়ে অনেক ধনিলোককে আহ্বান করিয়াছিলেন তাহাতে শ্রীল শ্রীযুত মহারাজা তেজচন্দ্র বাহাদুর এবং শ্রীযুত বাবু চন্দ্রকুমার ঠাকুর প্রভৃতি অনেকের মনোযোগ দ্বারা ঐ কালোজ স্থাপিত হইয়াছে সেই কালোজে অনেক বালক নানা বিদ্যা উপার্জন করিয়াছে এবং করিতেছে ঐ কালোজের আর বিশেষ বৃত্তান্ত যদি জানিবার বাঞ্ছা হয় তবে কালোজের রিগুলেশন অর্থাৎ বিদ্যালয়ের ধারা সমাচারচন্দ্রিকায় প্রকাশ আছে তাহা পাঠ করিলেই জানিতে পারিবা : (p. 82)

Bhabānīcaran Bandyopādhyāy was, no doubt, the most influential member of the so-called orthodox party, who upheld the

traditions of the orthodox society irrespective of their merits or defects ; but it must be said that in his present publication, he keeps a fairly open and balanced mind. He is generous enough to admit the usefulness of English education which was then gradually gaining ground in the country but which in the opinion of the narrow orthodoxy of the time was sapping the very foundations of the ancient faith and encouraging the pernicious habits of the young bloods of the time. On the other hand, Bhabānīcaran satirises some of the weaknesses of the so-called orthodox party and does not miss an opportunity of making fun of them. Speaking of the Pūjā festival he says : দেখে এম্বলে যে সকল লোক দুর্গোৎসব করেন তাহাকে ঝাড় উৎসব, বাতি উৎসব, কবি উৎসব, বাই উৎসব, কিংবা জীর গহনা উৎসব ও বস্ত্রোৎসব বলিলেও বলা যায়। (p. 11).¹ He gives an inimitable description of দলদলি and alludes to four or five such দলস in the orthodox society. As the institution is gradually vanishing from modern society, we reproduce below the author's description of a ceremony in which the দলপতি presides and his remarks on the duties of such দলপতি (pp. 49-52) :

আপন দলের মধ্যে কোন ব্যক্তির বাটীতে কোন বৃহৎ কর্ম অর্থাৎ পুরাণ আরাধন (sic) সমাপনদিবসে এবং পিতৃমাতৃশ্রাদ্ধাদি কর্ম উপস্থিত হইলে ঐ ব্যক্তি দলপতির নিকটে আসিয়া আপন বিষয় অবগত করান এবং আপন বিভবানুসারে ব্যয় করিবার ক্ষমতাও জানান তিনি সেই ব্যয়োপযুক্ত লোক নিমন্ত্রণ করিবার ফর্দ (sic) করিয়া দেন আপন দলের নৈক্যভাবাপন্ন কুলীনব্রাহ্মণ এত, ভঙ্গ কুলীন এত, অধ্যাপক এত, সেই ফর্দপ্রমাণ নিমন্ত্রণ হয় পরে সিধা ও পত্র দেওয়ান তৎপরে কর্মদিবসে নির্ণয়সময়ে নিমন্ত্রিতব্যক্তিসকলে দলপতির অনুমতি লইয়া কর্মকর্তার বাটীতে আগমন করেন দলপতি প্রায় সর্বত্রই কিঞ্চিৎকাল বিলম্ব করিয়া গমন করিয়া থাকেন সকল লোক তাঁহার প্রতীক্ষা করিয়া সভায় বসিয়া কাল-যাপন করেন অধ্যাপকেরা সভাস্থ হইয়া পরস্পর নানাশাস্ত্রের বিচার করিতেছেন কুলজ কুলীন মহাশয় সকল এবং কুলচার্য্য সকল কুলজীর ব্যাখ্যা করিতেছেন গোষ্ঠীপতিকে বেষ্টিত করিয়া কুলীনসকল বসিয়াছেন ভট্টের কর্মকর্তার বংশাবলী ও পূর্বপুরুষের এবং তাঁহার গুণ কীর্তন করিতেছে ঐ সভাবাটীর দ্বারে দ্বারপালেরা হস্তপদাদি দ্বারা নিমন্ত্রিত ভিন্ন অগ্র লোকের গমনাগমন বারণ করিতেছে এমত সময়ে অতি আশ্চর্যবন্ধুবান্ধব সমভিব্যাহারে,

1 But elsewhere (p. 84) he gives an account of their patronage of music.

ভূপতিতুল্যমধ্যাদ দলপতি আসিয়া উপস্থিত হইলেন তৎকালে সভাস্থ সকলে গাভ্রোথান-পূর্বক আসিতে আজ্ঞা হয় ২ ইত্যাদি পূজাতাবোধক সম্বোধন বাক্যোচ্চারণপূর্বসর অভ্যর্থনা করেন তৎপরে দলপতি তন্মধ্যবর্তি স্থানে পৃথক আসনে উপবিষ্ট হইলেন কিঞ্চিৎকাল বিলম্বে জিজ্ঞাসা করেন অমুক ২ আসিয়াছেন ইত্যাদি, পরে কৰ্ম্মকর্ত্তা দলপতির নিকট আসিয়া গললগ্নীকৃতবাসা হইয়া নিবেদন করেন বেলা বা রাত্রি অধিক হইয়াছে অল্পমতি হইলে সভাস্থ মহাশয়দিগে মাল্যচন্দন অর্পন (*sic*) করা যায় দলপতি অল্পমতি করেন গোষ্ঠীপতি অমুকের নিকট যাও, তাঁহার অল্পমতি হয় পরে পরিচারক ব্রাহ্মণেরা চন্দনের বাটী পুষ্পমাল্য আনিয়া কহে অগ্রে চন্দন কাহাকে দেওয়া যাইবেক সে সময় প্রায় অনেক স্থানে বিরোধ হইয়া থাকে যেহেতু চন্দনের পাত্র গোষ্ঠীপতি হইলে সে সভায় দুই তিনজন থাকিলেই স্তত্রায় বিরোধ হয় পরে দলপতি বিরোধভঞ্জন করিয়া দেন অগ্রে গোষ্ঠীপতি চন্দন হইলে সভাস্থ ব্রাহ্মণের হয় তৎপরে দলপতির চন্দন হয় তৎপরে অগ্রপশ্ব (*sic*) বিবেচনা থাকে না একাদিক্রমেই মাল্য-চন্দন হইয়া থাকে পরে সকলেই আপন আপন স্থানে প্রস্থান করেন অনন্তর বাহার সহিত বাহার আহার ব্যবহার থাকে তাঁহার আহার করিয়া থাকেন পরে দলপতি মহাশয় উপযুক্ত পাত্র বিবেচনা করিয়া বিদায়ের অঙ্কপাত করিয়া দেন কৰ্ম্মকর্ত্তা তদনুসারে সম্মানপূর্বক সকলকে দানাদি প্রদান করেন ইহাতে দলপতির যে লভ্য হয় তাহা আমি আর অধিক কি কহিব আপনিই বিবেচনা করুন।

At the same time there are occasional attacks on the somewhat reckless and incontinent lives led by "English-educated" Bengali youths of this period, the so-called reforming Young Bengal who regarded everything old and time-honoured as despicable. It is true that the conduct of some of the fresh products of the Hindu College was not above reproach and deserved the biting satire of works like *Kalikātā Kamalālay* and *Naba-bābu-bilās* but it must be said to the credit of Bhabānicaran that he does not represent the somewhat extreme and one-sided views of his party and his remarks are not marked by the abusive bitterness which often defaced the periodical publications of the time. Here is a piece of good-natured banter on one of the weaknesses of the modern Babu who loves to collect a large library of well-bound volumes without ever turning over the page of a single book :

যে বাবু সকল নানাজাতীয় ভাষার উত্তম ২ গ্রন্থ অর্থাৎ পার্সি ইংরাজি আরবি কেতাব ক্রয় করিয়া কেহ এক কেহ বা দুই গেলাসওয়ালা আলমারির মধ্যে স্কন্ধে শ্রেণীপূর্বক এমত

সাজাইয়া রাখেন যে দোকানদারের বাপেও এমত সোনার হল করিয়া কেতাব সাজাইয়া রাখিতে পারেন। আর তাহাতে এমন যত্ন করেন একশত বৎসরেও কেহ বোধ করিতে পারেন না যে এই কেতাবে কাহার হস্তস্পর্শ হইয়াছে। অত্ৰ অপরের হস্ত দেওয়া দূরে থাকুক জেলদগর ভিন্ন বাবুও স্বয়ং কখন হস্ত দেন নাই এবং কোন কালেও দিবেন এমত কথা শুনা যায় না.....বাবুরা বুঝি শুনিয়া থাকিবেন যে অধিক পুস্তক গৃহে রাখিলে সরস্বতী বদ্ধ থাকেন যেমন অধিক ধন আছে তাহার ব্যয় না করিলে লক্ষী স্তম্ভিত থাকেন ব্যয় করিলেই বিচলিত হবেন ইহাও বুঝি তেমনি তেমনি কেতাব লইয়া আন্দোলন করিলে সরস্বতী বিরক্ত হইবেন তৎপ্রযুক্ত হস্তস্পর্শ তাহাতে করেন না।

The ostensible object of the work, however, is not satire but description, although Bhabānīcaran had an undoubted gift of satirical writing. His descriptions of চাকরির উমেদার or of professional beggars (pp. 84-88) and মোসাহেবস who hang upon the wealthy, exhibit the true picture of a certain type or class in every society, interesting to the student of the drama, novel or social history. That Bhabānīcaran possessed fine powers of observation and satirical portraiture which, if developed, would have borne better fruits, and that he was more than a writer of ephemeral editorials is put beyond doubt by his *Kalikātā Kamalālay*; and there can be no question that this work formed the starting point of several other works of the same type, like Pramathanāth Śarmā's *Naba-bābu-bilās*, culminating in the inimitable sketches of Teckcānd and Hutam. To the student of the history of Bengali literature, therefore, the work under review possesses a unique importance.

The other work of Bhabānīcaran, viz., *Āścaryya Upākhyaṇ* (আশ্চর্য্য উপাখ্যান), published in 1835, is entirely devoid of satirical pretensions. The title-page reads : শ্রীশ্রীদুর্গা ॥ / শরণং ॥ / আশ্চর্য্য উপাখ্যান / অর্থাৎ মুক্ত কালীশঙ্কর রায়ের বিবরণ ।/ ক্ষমতাদিকীর্তীকৃত্য ইহাতে বর্ণন ॥ / কলিকাতা নগরে / সমাচারচন্দ্রিকা যন্ত্রে মুদ্রিত হইল । / ১ চৈত্র ১২৪১ সাল ।/ It is a slight pamphlet of 20 pages, written entirely in পয়ার verse, describing the life and works of Kalīśaṅkar Rāy of the Kāyastha Datta family (zamindars) of Narail, Jessore. It enumerates in detail the various virtuous acts of the said gentleman, how he established images of

Kālī and temples of Śiva in various villages, dug tanks and constructed a ঘাট (landing place) at বিষ্ণাচল and goes on to describe his death at Benares in old age and the magnificent Śrāddha ceremony which was held there after his death. His genealogy is given at pp. 7-8. The work is of little merit and is written in the old style with following *bhaṇitā* at the end (p. 20): শ্রীভবানীচরণ দ্বিজ বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়। স্মৃতির পুণ্যকীর্তি রচিল ভাষায় ॥

Bhabānīcharaṇ also wrote a *Puruṣottama-candrikā* পুরুষোত্তম চন্দ্রিকা অর্থাৎ শ্রীক্ষেত্রধামের বিবরণ in the same strain, written in *payār* and occasional prose, and giving a topographical and historical account of the holy places in the Ganjam District, especially of শ্রীক্ষেত্র or Purī. It is not necessary to give an elaborate description of this work. A copy of this work is in the British Museum¹ as well as in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and bears Śaka 1766(= 1844 A. D.) as the date of its publication on the title-page. It contains pp. viii + 77. A *Gayā-paṇḍhati* was also probably written by him.

Another poetical work by Bhabānīcharaṇ, entitled *Dūtī-vilāsa* (দূতীবিলাস স্মরণিক রসদায়ক পুস্তক, pp. viii + 133), can be traced in the British Museum collection.² On the title-page it bears the date, viz., Śaka 1747 = A. D. 1825, published at Calcutta, containing 12 illustrations. As the poem possesses little merit, and is disfigured by occasional grossness, it is not desirable to give here any detailed account of the work. We read in the বিবিধার্থ সংগ্রহ of 1858 (no. 60, পঞ্চম পর্ব, Śaka 1780, p. 260) : অতঃপর সুবিখ্যাত শ্রীভবানীচরণ বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় কোন দোষী পরিবারের নিগঞ্জনার্থে দূতীবিলাস (sic) নামে একখানি কাব্য প্রস্তুত করেন। তাহাতে অন্যান্য বাঙ্গালী ব্যক্তি কাব্যের আদর্শে অনেক জঘন্য ত্রুটি লিপ্ত আছে, অধিকন্তু তাহার কবিত্ব যৎসামান্যমাত্র।³

¹ Blumhardt, *Catalogue of Bengali Printed Books in the British Museum*, p. 10.

² Blumhardt, *loc. cit.*

³ Since writing the above account, we had an opportunity of examining fresh files of the *Samācār-candrikā*, edited by Bhabānīcharaṇ

The Work of Gauriśaṅkar Bhaṭṭācārya Tarkavāṛiṣa

In our last article we gave an account of some of the periodicals edited by Gauriśaṅkar (otherwise known as গুড় গুড়) Bhaṭṭācārya who had some reputation as an irresponsible journalist and formidable literary rival of Iśvarcandra Gupta. We mentioned also some of the works composed by Gauriśaṅkar, of which we propose to give below some detailed account. The works composed by him, so far as I have been able to trace, are :

1 ভগবদ্গীতা ॥ মূল সংস্কৃত ও শ্রীধর স্বামির টীকা এবং.....সাপ্ত ভাষায় মূলের অনুবাদ। (The Bhagavad-gītā with a Bengali translation of the text.) Calcutta 1242 B.S. (= A.D. 1835) pp i+112.

2 চণ্ডী। মূল ও..... শ্রীগৌরীশঙ্কর তর্কবাগীশ কৃত মূলানুবাদ। (Sanskrit text and commentary, and a Bengali translation of the text), pp. iii+vii+167. Calcutta, 1265 B.S. (=A.D. 1858.)

3 পাক-রাজেশ্বর। (on the art of cookery), Calcutta, *Saka* 1765=(A.D. 1843).

4 জ্ঞানপ্রদীপ। in Two Parts (full title-page given below). Pt. I, Calcutta, 1247 B.S. (=A.D. 1840); Pt. II, Calcutta, 1259 B.S. (= A.D. 1853).

in the Calcutta Imperial Library : viz. for the Bengali years 1250, 1251 and 1252, corresponding to 1843-44, 1844-45 and 1845-46 (April to April). We have not been able to gather any such interesting information from these files as would justify a detailed account of them. Only three items may be culled here. (1) June 15, 1843—২রা আষাঢ় ১২৫০: We read about George Thompson who came out with Dwarkanath Tagore and became the founder of the Bengal British Indian Society, of which he became the President, with Peary Chand Mitra as Secretary and Ramgopal Ghose as Treasurer. We are told in this issue that he went to Delhi, and having been appointed Ambassador of the Emperor of Delhi was making preparations for his departure to England. (2) September 28, 1843—১৩ই আশ্বিন ১২৫০: We are told that the Seal's College, which was founded about six months ago, is holding its first six monthly examination. (3) August 8, 1844—২৫শে আষাঢ়, ১২৫১: “বাবু রামকমল সেন গত ২০শে আষাঢ় শনিবার ইহলোক পরিত্যাগ পূর্বক পরলোক গমন করিয়াছেন। তাঁহার বয়সক্রম ৬১ বৎসর হইয়াছিল।”

5 ভূগোলসার। (full title-page given below). Calcutta 1260 B. S. (= A. D. 1854).

All these works, with the exception of (3) and (5) are in the British Museum.¹ Of the works (3) and (5) there are copies in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and in the Imperial Library respectively. As the first and the second work are mere translations, while the third cannot claim in any sense to be a literary work, we shall confine ourselves to the last two works, although they are in reality meant to be school text-books.

The full-title-page of the *Jñāna-pradīp* (জ্ঞানপ্রদীপ) reads thus² : নমো জগদীশ্বরায় / জ্ঞানপ্রদীপ । / বালকদিগের শিক্ষার্থ বিবিধ নীতি বিষয়ক / প্রস্তাব ও দৃষ্টান্ত সকল / গোড়ীয় ভাষায় / প্রথম খণ্ড / শ্রীযুত গৌরীশঙ্কর তর্কবাগীশ কর্তৃক রচিত / এবং / সম্বাদ ভাস্কর যন্ত্রে মুদ্রিত হইল । / ... (torn off) ২০ আষাঢ় ১২৪৭ সাল । / ... (৭) মুদ্রা । / pp. ii + 80. নমো জগদীশ্বরায় । / জ্ঞানপ্রদীপ । / দ্বিতীয় খণ্ড । / শ্রীগৌরীশঙ্কর তর্কবাগীশ / কৃত / কলিকাতা শোভাবাজারীয় সম্বাদ ভাস্কর যন্ত্রে মুদ্রাঙ্কিত / হইল । / বাঙ্গলা ১২৫৯ সাল ১৬ মাঘ । / ইংরেজি ১৮৫০ সাল ২৮ জানুয়ারী । / মূল্য ॥ অর্দ্ধ মুদ্রা । / Printed by Shibe-Krist Mitter / pp. 78.

The work proceeds on the model of Indian fables like *Pañcatantra* and pretends to be the substance of the teachings of Mahāmahopādhyāy Hariharācārya who is requested by Mahārājādhirāj Kailāsadeva to impart instruction to his son Malayadeva. The didactic motive, as usual in these collections of fables, is deliberately and expressly developed after the manner of its Sanskrit models : but some of the stories seem to be entirely original. The author's introduction sets forth the scope of the work thus :

কৈলাসদেব নামে কোন রাজ্যপাল ছিলেন তিনি মলয়দেব নামক স্বপুত্রকে নীতিশিক্ষা নিমিত্ত মহামহোপাধ্যায় হরিহরচাৰ্য্যের নিকট সমর্পণ করেন অনন্তর হরিহরচাৰ্য্য উক্ত রাজ-কুমারকে জ্ঞানপ্রদীপে লিখিত বিষয়সকল শিক্ষাদান করিয়াছিলেন, গ্রন্থকর্ত্তা ইহা স্বীকার

1 Blumhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

2 The British Museum copy contains only Pt. I of this work. The description here given is based on the (Calcutta) Imperial Library copy which contains both the parts.

করিয়া জ্ঞানপ্রদীপ প্রস্তুত করিলেন, রচনাকারক অঙ্গীকার করেন অন্যান্য মান্য লোকেরা যে সকল পুস্তক প্রস্তুত করিয়াছেন জ্ঞানপ্রদীপাপেক্ষা তাহা উত্তম হইয়াছে এবং রচনা বিষয়ে অবশ্য তাঁহার ভ্রম হইয়া থাকিবে কিন্তু সাহস এই যে নির্মলস্বভাব লোকেরা স্বভাবগুণে তাঁহাকে সাহস প্রদান করিবেন, বালকদিগের বঙ্গভাষা শিক্ষার্থ এই পুস্তক প্রস্তুত হইল এবং অন্যান্য নীতিবিষয় লিখিত এইরূপ চারিখণ্ড হইবে, গ্রন্থকর্তা এইরূপে সর্বসাধারণের নিকট সাহায্য প্রার্থনা করেন তাহা প্রাপ্ত হইলে আনন্দিত হইয়া অবশিষ্ট চারিখণ্ড অবিলম্বে একাদিক্রমে প্রকাশ করিতে পারেন। ইতি—তারিখ ২০ আষাঢ় সন ১২৪৭ সাল।

An idea of the themes, which are illustrated by the stories in the work, may be obtained by the following brief résumé of the contents of Pt. I (from the নির্ঘণ্টপত্র) : বিদ্যা-বিষয়ক। মিথ্যা-গুণের দৃষ্টান্ত। মিথ্যাকথনে দোষ। অঙ্গীকারপালনে নিত্যতা। শিশুকালে বালকসকলকে জ্ঞানিলোকের নিকট রাখিবার আবশ্যকতা। প্রিয়বাক্য কথনের আবশ্যকতা। অপ্রিয়বাক্যের নিন্দা। নির্দোষ বাক্য কথনের প্রয়োজন। প্রণয়রক্ষার আবশ্যকতা। সকল বিষয়ের আরম্ভের পূর্বের বিবেচনা। যুক্তি শাস্ত্র উভয়সিদ্ধ আচার ব্যবহার কর্তব্য। অবাধ্যকে দমন করিতে বিবেচনা। উপকার করণের আবশ্যকতা।

We shall close our account of this work by giving two short specimens of its Bengali, the one illustrating the author's plain style, the other his ornate mode of writing.

কতকদূর গমনকরত অমরেশ্বর মহীপাল পরমেশ্বর স্বরণ পূর্বক ক্ষণমাত্র প্রেমসিন্ধুরাজ্য দেশে গমনার্থ আকাশ্ৰা করিলেন তাহাতে ক্ষণকালে ছয়মাসের পথ ব্যবহিত প্রেমসিন্ধু নৃপতির অধিকারে শ্রীহটে উপস্থিত হইয়া দেখেন তথায় নানাপ্রকার দ্রব্যাদি ক্রয় বিক্রয় হইতেছে এবং এক ব্রাহ্মণ বহুতর দ্রব্যাদি ক্রয় করিয়া ভূত্যের আগমন অপেক্ষা করিতেছেন অমরেশ্বর নৃপতি ভূত্যের অভিপ্রায় জানিয়া তৎকালীন অতি কুরূপ নীচজাতীয় ক্ষিপ্তের ন্যায় রূপধারণ পূর্বক ব্রাহ্মণের নিকট গেলেন তাহাতে ব্রাহ্মণ জিজ্ঞাসা করিলেন, ওরে, তুই কোন জাতি অনাচরণীয় ত নইস, রাজা উত্তর করিলেন, ঠাকুর মহাশয়, মুই কৈবত্ত, লোকে মোকে পাগল বলে এই কারণ বিদেশে আইল্ল, আপনি কেন স্নর্ধাইতেছেন, ব্রাহ্মণ কহিলেন তুই পাগল তাহা পারিব (*sic*) সম্প্রতি আমার এই মোট্টা নিয়া সঙ্গে যাইতে পারিবি, আমি রাজ-পুরোহিত কল্য আমার পুত্রের অন্তপ্রাশন বিলক্ষণ আহার পাইবি। (Pt. I, p. 33).

নীতিশাস্ত্রজ্ঞেরা কহেন আত্মহিতৈষী রাজা দণ্ডনীত্যনুযায়ী রাজধর্মপুত্রস্বাক্ষরপূর্বক তদ্বিদ্ভাচারকে তিরস্কার করিবেন তাহা হইলেই চপলাবত্তরলগামিনী রাজলক্ষ্মী রাজাকে আশ্রয় করিয়া চিরকাল থাকেন নতুবা যৌষিধগণ-গণ্ডল-মহনদণ্ড-দণ্ড-প্রিয় নৃপতিসকল কামকুতুলে কালক্ষেপ করিলে অবিলম্বে রাজ্যভ্রষ্ট হইবেন। (Pt. I, p. 14).

Gaurisankar's *Bhūgol-sār* need not detain us long. It is

a short elementary school book of 50 pages, compiled from various English works on Geography. Its title-page reads: ভূগোলসার। / পৃথিবীর আকার ও বিবরণাদি নিরূপক / নানা গ্রন্থ হইতে সংক্ষেপ / সংগ্রহ। / শ্রীগৌরীশঙ্কর ভট্টাচার্য্য কৃত / কলিকাতা শোভাবাজার ভাস্কর যন্ত্রে / মুদ্রাস্থিত হইল / সন ১২৬০ সাল ২৫শে কার্তিক। / Printed by Shib-Krist Mitter. / Beginning with general definitions, it goes on to deal with the geographical features of Asia, incidentally of হিন্দুস্থান (pp. 16-20), and follows it up with accounts of Europe (pp. 20-34), Africa (pp. 34-41), America (pp. 41-50), devoting only one page (p. 50) to Polynesia. The author's remarks on হিন্দুস্থান is quoted here as a specimen: পূর্বে হিন্দু-বংশীয় ভারত নামক মহারাজ এই দেশে রাজত্ব করিয়াছিলেন এই কারণ রাজ্যাধিকার সময়ে ভারতরাজ্যের তত্ত্বদেশ ভারতবর্ষ নামে বিখ্যাত হয়। পরে তৈমুরাধিরাজের উত্তরাধিকারিদিগের প্রভুত্ব সময়ে ইউরোপ দেশীয়েরা ইহাকে মোগলরাজ্য কহিতেন। বাস্তবিক দিল্লীস্থ জবন সম্রাটদিগের অধিকৃত স্থানকে হিন্দুস্থান বলেন।

(To be continued)

SUSHIL KUMAR DE

Some Lights on Ancient World History from the Purāṇas

There are many problems of ancient history which the modern historians are obliged to note, but which still await a proper solution. Thus, while it is realised that ancient Persian civilization and that of the Indo-Aryans had a common root, that thereafter came a time when for some reason or other they divided, and divided with a certain degree of mutual opposition and conflict, what the reason of that conflict was few can say. The ancient home of the whole Aryan race has been shifting round the world from Central Asia to Asia Minor, Scandinavia, Arctic regions, Caucasus and somewhere in the south-western regions of Central Europe. Even now a group of scholars places the first Aryan habitation in India itself. There is the other problem of the identity of the Summerians. That there were Summerians in the earliest portion of the now-known history is certain. A civilization, that of the ancient Dravidians, similar to theirs is said to have existed in India also before the Aryans came in, but who these Summerians were, how and whence they came into India, no one can say. On the other side of the world also the problem of the Maya civilization is dividing scholars into two camps, one holding that Mayas came from India and the other affirming their independent development.

Value of Purāṇas

The accounts in the Purāṇas and the Hindu Epics throw very interesting lights on these and many other problems of ancient history. The pity is that sufficient attention has not been paid to these books which appear to contain such valuable materials. It is true that the Purāṇas as found now are not of very old standing as books, but they were certainly written at a time when these controversies had not arisen. Evidently the Purāṇas record traditions about times much

anterior to the time of their compilation. Indeed there is a distinct tradition in the Purāṇas that while the Vedic literature was in the charge of the Brāhmaṇas the task of developing the Purāṇas was given to the *Sūtas* or bards who sang about secular history. That the present Purāṇas are not secular but have a religious form points to some earlier Prākṛt Purāṇas which have been lost. It is admitted that the earliest of the existing Purāṇas was not written earlier than the Buddhist period. The probable reason of the Purāṇas being given a religious form was to produce a literature interesting to the masses to combat the growing power of Buddhism. The greater respect paid to the Vedas and Vedic literature probably kept them safe from such treatment. But even in this form some of the most authentic Purāṇas have got separate chapters for historical accounts. The Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas may be cited as examples. It is true that even in these accounts legendary form has crept in places, but it is surely possible to separate the raff from the substance by proper criticism and comparison. Indeed there has been too much prejudice against these books and it is high time to subject these records of some of the most ancient traditions of world history to the searchlight of careful scholarship. No doubt some scholars have begun to give them their attention—and it is a good sign but they deserve much more yet. The special value of the Purāṇas lies in the fact that they are records not merely of historical traditions of the Aryans but supply valuable materials about the history of other nations and civilizations of antiquity.

The great deluge : its geological confirmation

The first great landmark in the Puranic history is that of the Great Flood. That there was such a flood is now admitted on all hands. There was a time, the scholars say, when the present Rajputana, the Gangetic plain and Bengal were all big seas separating the Punjab and Himalayas from the Deccan plateau on the map of India. At that time the

Deccan plateau was connected with Africa on the one hand and Australia on the other by a huge Indianic continent which now lies submerged under water. There is a new theory now claiming attention, that of the "drifting" of the continents. But howsoever it might have been, it is admitted that about fifty thousand years ago the map of the world was different from that of today. Then there came about a change. This change was completed, perhaps in thousands of years. Mr. H. G. Wells places the period of this change between 35000 and 25000 years back. But it was probably accelerated by some huge cataclysm which created new seas and new lands. The tradition of this convulsion embodied in some form or other exists practically in all lands. In the Semitic accounts it is called the Noah's Flood and in the Purāṇas it is the Manu's Flood. The similarity in the name as well as in the main account is striking. The antiquity and authenticity of the thing is further ensured by its description in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Thus it is not merely a Puranic legend but has the hall-mark of Vedic literature. But what is even more wonderful is the detail which finds confirmation in the accounts of the geologists. Thus the scholars agree that after this convulsion some new land appeared which developed into Gangetic plain. Exactly the same thing is said here. In the Rāmāyaṇa we find that Vaivasvata Manu founded the city of Ayodhyā. Before the deluge he was a mere king. After it he became a Manu, and as such founded a new city in a new land. This new land was the one which emerged from the convulsion. It was written thousands of years before modern geology asserted such a change to have occurred. Dr. Abinash Chandra Das has argued in his *Rg-Vedic India* that Vedic texts show that once the Punjab was surrounded by seas. In the Rāmāyaṇa and Purāṇas we find a confirmation of this view, even the indication of an effect of the deluge exactly according to the conclusions of geological research. This is a fact of capital importance. It indicates the trustworthiness of the Puranic traditions, and also a

definite point in time from which it is possible to find the sequence of the chief events in ancient history.

The previous six Manvantaras

But the Puranic history does not begin from this point. From this it gives a wonderfully connected account of the Indian dynasties. But even before this it gives an account of six Manvantaras going before the Deluge. A Manvantara is the period of influence of one Manu or the law-giver of the "Manuṣyas" or men. The present period is that of the Vaivasvata Manu. It began from the Deluge and is continuing. Prior to that there were the periods of the six Manus Svāyambhuva, Svārociṣa, Auttami, Tāmasa, Raivata and Cākṣuṣa. The account of these periods is neither so complete nor so connected as that of the present Vaivasvata period. But whatever is given is invaluable to build the most ancient history of the world. Different dates are given to the deluge by different writers, but whatever the date, the extant historical accounts of practically all ancient nations begin sometime after the deluge. The beauty of the Puranic account is that the deluge and a long period before it is given as a period of history, and the deluge is a mere historical episode though of the greatest importance.

The Kaśyapas or Kaspios

The pre-deluge nations about whom the Purāṇas speak are the Devas, the Daityas, the Dānavas, the Nāgas, the Garuḍas and the Manuṣyas. There are two traditions about their origin. Brahman is the Lord Creator. From two of his sons, Svāyambhuva Manu and Kaśyapa, these nations take their rise. Manu is the ancestor of the Manuṣyas or the Aryans, while Kaśyapa is the progenitor of the other races through his several wives. Whether Kaśyapa was or was not the first ancestor of the other races, this is certain that he was different from Manu. There is a tendency to consider the Puranic Devas either Aryans themselves

or as gods, but both views are manifestly wrong. The Puranic Devas are not forces of nature like those of the Vedas, nor are they mythical beings, but are human beings with human characteristics. They have got their countries, vehicles, domestic animals, weapons of offence and defence, families, kings, government. They hold intercourse with the Manuṣyas on equal footing, often take help from the Manuṣyas or Aryans in their battles. They have got human shapes, speech, character and above all parentage. Sometimes there are intermarriages between the Manuṣyas or Aryans and the Devas. Similar is the case with the Daityas. Thus the Devas and Daityas and similarly the others are races of men distinct from the descendants of Manu the first Aryan law-giver.

The Daityas lived somewhere about the South, South-west and East of Caspian Sea. This was the country of the Kaspī or Kaspīos (Nundolal Dey's article, *Rasātala*, Indian Historical Quarterly, March, 1926). To the South-east of the Caspian Sea was the ancient town of Hyrcania, the capital of a country of the same name. The first great king of the Daityas is said to be Hiranyakaśipu and Hyrcania was probably the capital town founded by this great king of the Kaspī race. Garuḍas are placed by Mr. Dey in Turkestan as their land was divided from Hyrcania by the river Sarnius (modern Atrik) which is said to be a corruption of Suparṇa another name of Garuḍa. This tallies with the Puranic statement about the abode of Viṣṇu, the Lord of Vaikuṇṭha. Another Sanskrit name for Vaikuṇṭha is Triviṣṭapa, which looks like modern Tibet. Garuḍa was the vehicle of Viṣṇu which probably indicates an alliance between the two nations.

The Devas and Nāgas

Viṣṇu is said to be the younger brother of Indra (*Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara, 32) which would point to Indra's country also lying somewhere near Tibet. The peculiar characteris-

tics of these Devas as described in the Purāṇas tend to confirm this guess. These Devas it is said used to come to India through the skies in their Vimānas. Whenever Aryan kings went to help them they went up the mountains. In the Mahābhārata when Arjuna goes to get the wonderful weapons of the Devas he goes up the Himālayas to go into their country. Similarly in Rāmāyaṇa when Rāvaṇa goes to fight with Indra he crosses the Kailasa peak of the Himālayas. The Devas were noted for their dazzling beauty, their material splendour and their wonderful weapons. Another curious fact added to the charm of mystery. The Devas were very much against letting anybody come into their country. Their king had an unending anxiety about his throne and dominions so much so that he was loth to admit even savants of another country. These characteristics point to China and Burma as the likely countries. The Chinese call their country the Celestial Empire. They do not like strangers very much. Even now China and Tibet are not very well explored countries. Burma is Brahma in Sanskrit, and this is the name of one of the kings of Devas and an ally of the great Deva king Indra. His own country was separate from that of Indra. The mineral resources of Burma are well known while the resources of Tibet and China are not yet developed. The other people Nāgas are said to be Scythians by Mr. Dey, living somewhere to the south of the Caspian Sea. At present their traces are found towards Assam where Nāga villages still exist, but in ancient times they were probably found about Central Himālayas and Kashmir also. Mahādeva appears to their chief deity with snakes round his neck and head. The abode of this Mahādeva is Kailasa, a high Himālayan peak. The snake king Śeṣa is the couch of Viṣṇu in Tibet above. If the original home of the Nāgas was in the South of Caspian Sea they must have been driven to this side at some early period on account of the traditional enmity of the more powerful Garuḍas.

Traditional enmity

The common ancestor Kāśyapa probably indicates the identity of race of these nations, otherwise there were deadly feuds amongst them. The Dānavas and Daityas were friends and both were on very unfriendly terms with the Devas and Garuḍas. The Garuḍas were mortal enemies of Nāgas who were always afraid of them. The Nāgas were friends of the Devas and appear to be the meekest of all these Kāśyapi races, while the Daityas and Dānavas of the Kaspīi race appear to be the most ferocious. It is to be noticed that this same Kāśyapa is later pressed into service to become the progenitor of the pre-Dravidian races of Southern India when the Aryans came into contact with Southern India after the deluge in the time of the Rāmāyaṇa. This evidently is a wrong tradition, probably a later interpolation, for it includes Manuṣyas amongst the sons of Kāśyapa by a wife Manu which is manifestly absurd.

Aryan intercourse with Devas

Now when and how did the Aryans come to know of the Devas and Daityas? We have seen that before the deluge there were the six periods of the six Manus. There is a significant passage in Bhāgavata that Vaikuṇṭha (Triviṣṭapa = Tibet) was made in the Raivata or the fifth Manu period which probably means that Tibet became known to the Aryans in this period. It is true that there are some stories about these Devas in the previous Manvantaras, but they appear to have been gathered later on when the intercourse between the two peoples was more developed. Nārada Ṛṣi was probably the explorer. It is stated that once Nārada Ṛṣi in his wanderings in the Himalayan forests came to a very beautiful place, and sat down in meditation. Indra the king of Devas seeing this became afraid for his country, sent many beautiful nymphs and the god of love to beguile Nārada, but without success, and the god bowed low before Nārada. Then Nārada met Śiva, the Nāga god with snakes

on the Kailāsa and thereafter Viṣṇu in his Kṣīra-sāgara. This Kṣīra-sāgara also is an interesting point. It means "a sea of thick milk." Mr. H. G. Wells indicates that about fifty thousand years ago, long before the deluge, there was a huge ice field in parts of and above Tibet. An unending expanse of ice would look very much like a "sea of thick milk." The story interpreted in plain language would mean that the Aryan sage and explorer Nārada wandering in the Himālayas chances to strike upon a way across, and Indra sends various temptations to induce him to turn back but is unsuccessful. Later on he finds that Nārada has no evil purpose and is a very learned man. He appears to be so much taken by the learning of this sage that Nārada becomes the first Aryan missionary and is allowed to preach the spiritual message of the Aryans to the materialistic Devas. This is shown by another very significant fact that Nārada is the first Devaṛṣi or the Ṛṣi (sage) of the Devas. Thereafter Nārada lives in the country of the Devas. Though he often comes to India, his headquarter remains in the Devas' country.

It should be noted in this connection that Nārada as well as Indra and such other names are not names of single individuals but are borne by many individuals as they represent titles. That is why they occur in widely different periods. Each sage had his Āśrama or place of abode, where he taught pupils, and each successor in this work at that Āśrama was called by the same traditional name. It is possible that these Āśramas were probably the institutions which later suggested the Buddhist monasteries. The number of pupils in these Āśramas often swelled to thousands. Thus Ṛṣi Duvāssas had one thousand pupils. Even in Buddha's time such institutions were in existence.

But to take up our tale, Mr. Howell tells us that even now the Dalai Lamas of Tibet repeat a Vedic Mantra and go round their house like the Vedic pradakṣiṇa. Once the intercourse between the Devas and the Aryans was established

it grew up rapidly and in the next Manu period called the Cākṣuṣa Manvantara happened things of the greatest importance.

Narasimha and the Ur Inscription

In the early part of that period appeared the great Daitya king Hiranyakaśipu. He was not merely a materialist, but a great egotist and even an atheist. He is said to have conquered the whole known world above the Himālayas, and to have forbidden the worship of the Creator affirming the existence of such a god as mere imagination, and to have ordered his own worship as the real lord of the world. In any case he appears to have defeated the Devas badly, and the Devas probably came to their friends the Aryans for help. From India went a great king Narasimha. He surprised Hiranyakaśipu in his palace and killed him then and there, and delivered the Devas from his yoke. That Narasimha was an Aryan is indicated by a passage in the Rāmāyaṇa. There when king Sugrīva tells his soldiers the different places where to search for Sītā he names a place where the Naravyāghra Kṣattriyas live. Now Narasimha and Naravyāghra both mean the same thing "tiger-man" or "tiger amongst men." Further 'Nara' is another word for 'Manuṣya.' These things point to his being an Aryan king of the Naravyāghra tribe.

That this Narasimha did go to Hyrcania now appears to be confirmed in a most wonderful way. About one hundred miles up the course of the Euphrates river from the Persian Gulf on the west side have been discovered the ruins of the ancient city of Ur, where Major Wooley has carried out extensive excavations since the world-war. Not far from this, near the modern Tell-el-obeid, a sort of a suburb of Ur, an inscription believed to be the oldest yet discovered has been found. Its date is placed about 4500 B. C. It has been translated by the scholars of the University of Pennsylvania, U. S. A. It is said to mean that the "King A-an-ni-padda the then ruler

of Ur dedicated that temple to the goddess Nin-har-sag" (Scientific American, Jany., 1926, p. 33). Both the names appear to have an Indian colour and the similarity between Nar-singh and Nin-har-sag is striking. The difficulty that Nin-har-sag is said to be a goddess has no doubt yet to be explained by later researches. Anyway the Purāṇic account says that Narasimha killed Hiranyakaśipu, delivered the Devas from thralldom, established theism, and gave the kingdom to Prahlāda the son of Hiranyakaśipu. Thereafter the relations between the Daityas and Aryans are said to have become so amicable that an Aryan sage Śukrācārya was taken from India to become the spiritual preceptor of the Daitya kings. Thus Śukrācārya was the second Aryan missionary who aryanised the Daityas. Naturally with Narasimha and Śukrācārya, streams of Aryans must have gone to Persia especially when the relations between the two countries had become amicable.

Perso-Aryan Schism

Prahlāda gave up his kingdom on account of his religious propensities and his son Bali became king. Bali was the most famous and the greatest Daitya king. He was very virtuous and learned. All the Daityas and Dānavas bowed before him. He performed sacrifices according to the Vedas under the guidance of Śukrācārya. Asura was adopted as a name of the gods and the Vedas mention Asura as one of the names of the gods. This was a period of peace and development. The Devas, Daityas, Garuḍas, Nāgas, Aryans were all at peace. A joint maritime expedition was arranged by the Daityas, Devas and Nāgas with the help of Kacchapas. One does not know where these Kacchapas lived. The similarity of name with Kaśyapas and Kaspīi or Kaspīos is great. Anyway the ships were built near the mountain Mandrācal where timber could be found in abundance. Probably it was somewhere on the southern slopes

of the Himālayas on the shores of the then existing Gangetic sea. Many ships were built and the expedition lasted several years during which many valuable things were obtained. When the time for division came the Devas kept all the best things for themselves, gave a few to the Nāgas, and ignored the Daityas. The Daityas under Bali fought for their right but they were in the country of the Devas far away from home and unprepared for the fight and so were defeated, and escaped to their country with difficulty. There Bali prepared for another trial of fortune and attacked the Devas with a large army. The Devas were badly defeated and lost their country to Bali. The Devas again appear to have appealed to the Aryans, but the Aryans were on friendly terms with the Daityas also, and so instead of a military expedition a great sage Vāmana appears to have gone to plead with the Daitya king for the freedom of the Devas. When he arrived at the Daitya capital, king Bali was engaged in a Vedic sacrifice. A discourse followed and the king Bali was so pleased with the erudition of Vāmana that he promised to grant any boon that Vāmana might ask. Bali made the promise against the advice of his preceptor Śukrācārya, who saw through the design of Vāmana. But Bali refused to retract his word. The fated happened. Vāmana asked the whole of his empire and Bali cheerfully gave it. Now occurred a most painful thing, Bali had become a subject of Vāmana by his own gift and so Vāmana ordered him to be bound up and deported to the country of the Nāgas to make things safe for the Devas. This was too much. The Devas themselves pleaded for Bali, the Daityas protested, the Persian Aryans led by Śukrācārya protested, but sage Vāmana was inexorable. He is said to have even punished Śukrācārya by depriving him of his one eye (or probably his post as the teacher of kings while he still remained a teacher of the Perso-Aryans). The real fault was of the Devas, but Bali was penalised for his goodness. This appears to have caused that schism, which history notes, between the Indo-Aryans and the Perso-Aryans who

were naturally sympathetic towards the Daityas amongst whom they had so long been living.

King Bali and God Bel, Bali or Baal

But Vāmana did not treat Bali harshly. He himself lived with Bali in the Nāga country, gave him the higher esoteric teaching of spiritualism till Bali was recognised as a Devarṣi or a sage of the Devas like Nārada. Besides Nārada and Bali there are few other Devarṣis in Indian literature. Vāmana himself did not rule Hyrcania but gave the kingdom to the descendants of Bali.

In this connection it is very interesting to note that Bel is the national god of Babylonia and Baal of the Phoenicians (Renouf's Outlines of General History). About the Maya civilization of America also Dr. Thomas Gann, while carrying on excavations on the site of the city Chichen Itza the capital city of the Mayas, found shrines dedicated to god Bali. (Scientific American, February, 1926, pp. 84, 85). That king Bali was great, good and godlike is borne out by Hindu literature and one would not wonder if he should, centuries after, be transformed into a god. The Assyrians or the empire of Asur, the Babylonians or the empire of the devotees of Baal or Bali appear to have been the later editions of Daityo-Aryans of Persia.

The Mayas of America

About Mayas also there is a controversy whether their civilization went from India or developed independently in America. It ranges round the Copan sculptures of Honduras. Professor G. E. Smith considers the sculptures to represent elephants and explains in detail the channel through which the Mayan civilization came to America from India (Scientific American, January, 1926, p. 11). But if Baal is the same as Bali then Mayan civilization ought to be more akin to the Assyrian and Babylonian civilizations. Its tombs as shown in Chichen Itza appear to have a pyramidal shape.

The pyramidal temple towers of Babylonia are well-known. Its script also is known to be hieroglyphic which would point towards some affinity with Babylonia and Egypt. The early Babylonian script also is said to have been hieroglyphic. There is another significant clue from the Purāṇas. One Maya Dānava is said to live in Pātāla or the nether-world. The word Maya again is not the name of a single individual but denotes a number of Dānava kings of Pātāla. These Mayas had continued intercourse with India. They were great builders. They built cities and palaces for Rāvaṇa in the time of Śrī Rāmacandra of Rāmāyaṇa, and then centuries later they built a palace for king Yudhiṣṭhira. Indeed it would appear that this second Maya was a descendant of the great Maya Dānava, and he came to live in India from America, for he begged to be spared when Arjuna burnt the forest of Khāṇḍavaprastha where the Maya Dānava was living. The former Maya married his daughter Mandodarī to Rāvaṇa, king of Laṅkā. If this is to be believed then it is possible that the Mayas might have originally gone from Persia to America through China and Cambodia, a channel very nearly the one suggested by Prof. Smith, but centuries later parties of them returned to India and some of them might have gone further west to Egypt.

The Egyptian Branch

About Egypt it is a very noteworthy fact that the first mortal king of Egypt is Menes and the next king his son is Attithos whose son is Kenekenes. They appear after the deluge, the pre-deluge history being unknown. In India the first king after the deluge is Vaivasvata Manu who is succeeded by his son Ikṣvāku whose son is Kuikch (Manual of Ancient History by Rawlinson). The similarity is again striking. If Mayas came to India after the deluge in the times of Rāvaṇa and Yudhiṣṭhira and then went west to Egypt they could certainly have taken the traditions of Manu and Ikṣvāku, these Mayas carried Daityo-Aryan culture to

America and Egypt, and this culture must have been varied by local tribes in different places. It is also possible that the Egyptian culture went directly from Assyria and Babylonia without the intervention of the Mayas. The traditions also point to this direction (Bible). It is said that the ancient script of Babylonia was hieroglyphic which later changed to cuneiform characters, but it should be remembered that the emigrants must have been aware, though very imperfectly, of the traditions of Manu, Ikṣvāku, Kuikch, etc. This condition would be satisfied by a Maya colonisation as they passed through India long after the deluge. In this connection it is also interesting to note that to the time of the first Egyptian dyansty belongs the great statute of Sphinx with the body of a lion and the head of a man, representing the Sun-god. The Indian Manu, Ikṣvāku and their descendants also are said to be of the Solar dynasty, and the shape of the Sun-god Sphinx probably combines the traditions of Narasimha "the tiger man" who first began the Aryanisation of the Daityas and the Solar derivation of the Ikṣvāku family. In Egypt again we find that the other name of the Sun-god is Boalpeora, thus king Bali of the Purāṇas, when deified, appears to have become a god of all the nations of Daitya origin: the Babylonians, Mayas, Egyptians, Phœnicians. Indeed it is said that Baal worship came to distinguish all those Semitic religions which did not have a Jewish origin. The Mayas, the Babylonians, the Egyptians were great builders with a characteristic pyramidal form. Another common characteristic of these nations appears to be serpent worship and human sacrifice. Excavations in the Maya capital Chichen Itza are bringing out remains of girl-victims, the Egyptian sculptures indicating the rite of human sacrifice are well-known, and so is the human sacrifice of Babylonia. In Purāṇas also the Asuras are credited with slight regard for human life. Another nation of the same Kaśyapa or Kaspī parentage, the Nāgas have to this day the custom of human sacrifice in the Nāga villages in Assam

in British India, and the British Indian Government is trying to abolish this horrible rite. Indeed it is probable that the idea of animal and human sacrifice in Aryan culture, was taken from the contact of these cultures in certain Vedic hymns. Scholars point out that the *Śunaḥśepa Sūkta* of the *Ṛg-veda* does not at all mention any sacrifice of human being, but when the same hymn comes to be amplified in the *Brāhmaṇa* a story of human sacrifice is spun round it and the same story is repeated in the *Rāmāyaṇa* with material alterations, showing the imaginative character of the story. In any case, the fact, that in the *Ṛg-vedic* hymn there is not the slightest suggestion of the sacrifice, tends to indicate that there was a time when the *Ṛg-vedic* culture was foreign to it.

Dravidians and Sumerians

Another common characteristic appears to have been the hieroglyphic script in ancient times of all the *Kaspī* from the *Devas* to the *Egyptians* and *Mayas*, but the *Devas* do not appear to have shared the other custom of human sacrifice. We have read before of the great fight between the *Daityas* and the *Devas* in the country of the *Devas* themselves when the latter cheated the former of their spoils of the maritime expeditions. In this fight the *Daityas* were defeated and escaped to their country with difficulty. The *Mayas* were driven to the south-east and *America*, while king *Bali* came back to his country to prepare for another war. Another event of world-wide importance took place at the same time. There were three *Daityas*, *Mālin*, *Sumālin*, and *Mālyavat*. They were brothers. *Mālin* was killed in the battle, and *Sumālin* and *Mālyavat* were forced to flee from the country and are said to have gone to *Ceylon* or *Laṅkā* but were driven from that place also and are said to have gone to *Pātāla* or nether-world. It appears that *Pātāla* then meant not one country but several countries just as now the *New World* and *Old World* signify groups of

countries. The Mayas and the Sumālinś both went to Pātāla but they went to widely different countries. The next that we hear of these Sumālinś in the Purāṇic history is after the deluge when one Sumālin Daitya comes from Pātāla and married his daughter to the sage Vṛṣa-parvan who begets on her the great Rāvaṇa and his brothers. Rāvaṇa with the help of Sumālin conquers Laṅkā or Ceylon and makes it the centre of the Rākṣasa power. Previous to Rāvaṇa's conquests Laṅkā was inhabited by the Yakṣas. Who these Yakṣas were we shall see later on, but it is interesting to note here that the prefix Rā is the name of the Sun-god of the Egyptians and probably has some original Daitya origin. It is possible that the new invador amalgamated with the original Yakṣas and distinguished the new nation as Rakṣas or those Yakṣas who believed in god Ra. This is the probable reason, because Rāvaṇa was the grandson of Sumālin who was admittedly a Daitya. The word Rākṣasa later came to have a sinister meaning amongst the Aryans because these new people emerging after the flood were the great opponents of the Aryan culture. The Rākṣasas believed in a host of deities. To them the nature-worship of the Aryans was a sacrilege and they always made it a point to interrupt the Yajñas or the sacrifices of the Aryans. While the Aryans sacrificed with scented objects, Soma and Fire, the Rākṣasas sacrificed animal and human beings. They would spoil the Aryan rites by throwing blood, bones and other such objects. Before appearing as Rākṣasas the Sumālinś lived in Pātāla for a long time, and it appears that there their old Daityo-Aryan culture was modified by local influence. Still they were great builders, great fighters, very learned and were said to know even magic. Rāvaṇa is said to be a scholar of the Vedas. These Sumāli Rākṣasas are identified by scholars with the ancient Dravidians. One great reason for this is that the present language of the Dravidians is Tamil. In India Tamil is found in Mysore, along the Eastern and Western coast of

the Peninsula. In Ceylon Tamil is said to be in a very pure form still. The Pātāla of the Sumālians was probably the Indianic continent now submerged. There is a tradition among the Tamil people that they originally came from the south. This tradition harmonises with the emergence of the Sumālians from the south after the deluge which was probably the cause of their migration. From the south these Sumāli Rākṣasas spread to the north along the coasts and even reached the Gangetic plain where they were found in the days of Śrī Rāmacandra, the hero of the Epic Rāmāyaṇa. In Sindh and Baluchistan also they appear to have spread where they left their traces. Recent excavations in these provinces have brought to light inscriptions and clay pottery similar to those of the Sumerian finds. The Indian traditions definitely record the expansion of these Sumalians or Sumelians from the south to the north, and it is probable that going further to the north-west they became the Sumerians of early history as at present known. They spread over the Gangetic plain and other provinces as is shown from the mingling of blood apparent in the bulk of the present day Indians.

Azerbijan and Āryabijan

The story of the deluge as given in the Purāṇas is interesting as it throws an interesting light on the other problem of world history. The broad outlines of the account of this deluge deducible from the different Purāṇas indicate that the deluge took place at the end of the Cākṣuṣa Manvantara when king Satyavrata was informed by one Matsya that a huge deluge was going to come. Matsya means fish and the poet has described the informant as a real fish, but in reality it was a human being of the Matsya tribe just as Nāgas were. Even in the time of the Mahābhārata there was the Matsya king Virāṭa in whose service the Pāṇḍavas remained for sometime. The Matsya messenger told the Aryan king about the coming deluge and informed him that he had brought boats which

“were built by the Devas with great labour” (Matsya Purāṇa). It appears that some great uprising in the Himālayas was imminent, and the Devas anticipating sent a messenger to their friends the Aryans to apprise them of the danger and to advise them to move at least their important persons and things to a safer place. It is significant that they were to proceed by boats and not over the mountains. Probably even then the Devas did not like the Aryans to come into their country in large numbers or the centre of disturbance being somewhere in the Himālayas it might have been considered unsafe to go that way. Whatever the reason, the Aryan king took with him the seven Ṛṣis or sages, books, vegetables, animals, etc. and sailed for a new land guided by the Matsya.

The modern Azerbaijan or Sanskrit Āryabījan “the seed of Aryans” is considered by some to be the ancient home of Aryans. What is more likely is that probably that is the country where the seed of Aryan culture and civilization, and people found refuge at the time of the Deluge. The former Aryan emigrants to Persia and Hyrcania were already thereabout. Although the treatment of king Bali had divided them into two camps, still there were old connections and relations of blood and culture which must have induced them to give the Indo-Aryans shelter at that time of danger. Moreover the power of the Devas was in the ascendant. Thirdly, it is possible that Azerbaijan was at the time the country of the Matsyas, for there is a story that then the Vedas were stolen by a Daitya Hayagrīva; the Matsya king killed him in battle and recovered the Vedas. This he did probably because the Aryans were his guests. However, it was the name Azerbaijan which suggests very much that the seed of Aryan culture was protected there at that time of danger. When the danger was over the Aryan king returned, founded a new city in the newly obtained land, became the law-giver of the present period as Vāivasvata Manu. From him the lines of kings have been given in a connected way

in the Purāṇas. Now the age of this great flood is, according to modern geological research, somewhere between 35000 to 25000 B.C. Whether this be true or whether further research will extend or shorten this period, it can be said that before this Manu's or Noah's flood there had been three contemporary civilizations of the Devas, Daityas and Dānavas, and Aryans, and that Aryans Aryanised the others.

Negro civilisation

There was a fourth civilization which though existing at the time was not known to the Aryans. This was the Negro civilization existing in the Indianic continent which included the modern Deccan Plateau and was connected with Africa. These people appear to have become known to Aryans when the Deccan plateau was joined with Northern India after the flood. This also does not appear to have been done all at once. At first probably some land in the modern Gangetic plain emerged and later developed into what it is now, while the Rajputana sea became very shallow and then ultimately dried up. About this there is a tradition,—Rṣi Agastya drank up the sea and ordered the Vindhya mountains to keep low till he should return from his journey to the south. In non-poetic language it would mean that when the Rajputana sea practically dried up, its waters having passed on to the present Arabian Sea, the sage Agastya crossed to Deccan over the Vindhyas. In course of time he was followed by other Aryan sages who did the work of Aryanising the inhabitants of the Deccan. There is no account of any conflict between these inhabitants and the Aryans; they were rather the friends of Aryans in the struggle against the Sumāli Rākṣasas who arrived in Ceylon and Southern India from the south when the southern Indian continent was submerged by the deluge. Probably the original inhabitants of Laṅkā also were Daityas as Yakṣa was a Daitya chief of king Bali. But traces of Negroes as the early inhabitants are still found in both Ceylon and

Southern India (Indian Historical Quarterly, March 1926,—A Short History of Ceylon). Yakṣas went with Kuvera into Ceylon and were in turn conquered by Sumālī king Rāvaṇa who founded the Rākṣasa culture as said above.

In the Rāmāyaṇa about 17 nations of these people are counted in Southern India. They were all named after some animal, and the poet has described their actions as if they were animals, but in reality they were human beings with those animals as their totemic signs. They talk and act like men. They have kingdoms and constitutions. The king of Kiṣkindhā had divided his administration into eight departments with a minister at the head of each. In the battle with Rāvaṇa while at places they are described poetically as fighting with their nails and teeth to suit their being called monkeys, yet at other places they are expressly said to possess weapons. The great achievement of Rāmacandra in the Epic is not so much the killing of Rāvaṇa as the bringing within the Aryan fold all the nations of the south, not so much by fighting against them, as by attracting them with the purity of his life. He made the Sumālīs also better civilized and fit to give rise later on to the great Sumerian civilization. By the time of the second epic Māhābhārata this work was completed. All these nations appear to have adopted not only Aryan culture but also Aryan names and Aryan ancestry. But even then there are found some cases of those who though Aryanised still retained their distinct nationality such as the subjects of Jāmbavat who married his daughter to Śrī Kṛṣṇa (Jāmbavat is described as a bear). If he had been a real bear he could not have married his daughter to the human hero Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

The Post-deluge movements

It is noteworthy that in this account the Deluge forms a landmark separating two eras having different significance

in the history of the world. In the pre-deluge period the Aryans of the Punjab came into contact with the Devas and Daityas, and Aryanised both, and established Aryan colonies in Persia. This period also saw the great Daitya-deva war which ultimately disintegrated the Daityas and sent them in all directions in the west and to the submerged Indian continent in the south carrying with them the Daitya-aryan culture. In different climes they developed the Maya and Sumāli civilizations. Then after the Deluge came a new world-movement of emigration. The Mayas and Sumālis appear in India, Sumerians begin a new history in western Asia, and the Egyptians in Egypt. The Devas with their traditional seclusion remained confined to their celestial empire. But the third great nation of antiquity the Aryans were not unaffected by this movement. In the North and North-west they had already Aryanised the Devas and the Daityas. The change brought by the Deluge in the configuration of land was the joining of the Punjab the old Aryan home to the Deccan plateau, and a new movement of Aryan expansion to the south began. All 'ancient' histories begin centuries after the Deluge, but they find civilizations ready made which must have had a history behind them. That is the previous history which has been attempted to draw out above on the basis of ancient Hindu literature, and it appears to explain the world movements which prepared the stage for the post-deluge period. This period is important as it brought the Aryans into contact with the Negroes of Southern India. Before this great Deluge there was, the geologists think, a large continent joining what is now Southern India with Africa on the one side and Australia on the other, while Southern India is said to have been separated from the Punjab by Rajputana and Gangetic plain seas and hence the presence of the Negro element in Southern India.

Antiquity of Aryan civilization

The great objection to this account would be made that it represents the Punjab as the original home of the Aryans and places Aryans earlier than even the Sumerians. That the Aryan civilization was anterior to the Sumerian can now be scarcely doubted. Some well-known European scholars also lean to this view (Scientific American, Jan., 1926—Inscription of Ur). Indeed the very word Sumerian appears to have an Aryan origin. The fact that the first kings of the various nations of antiquity have names very similar to Manu again indicates prior existence of some common tradition. Thus the Lydian Manis, Phrygian Manis, Cretan Minos, the German Mannus all appear to be counterparts of the Indian Manu of the post-deluge period as indicated above. This is an account which is gradually finding confirmation in inscription such as the most recent one of Ur and the history of other nations. The peculiarity of Aryan civilization was its spirituality, philosophy and religion and this they gave to the other contemporary civilizations of Devas, Daityas and Negroes of Southern India, and the Daityas were instrumental in spreading the Aryan culture far and wide through their extensive migrations and seafaring habits. These other nations, while they took religion and philosophy from the Aryans, gave them their material arts. In this connection the Aryans appear to have been indebted most to the Devas, who appear to have taught the manufacture and use of wonderful weapons, and such other things. Thus though the Aryans were anterior to Sumerians and Egyptians, there were other great civilizations even then.

As to the home of the Aryans if the geological view of the Rajputana sea and the flood so beautifully confirmed is correct the Punjab is necessarily the home of the Aryans. If the Purāṇic traditions can anticipate these geological researches there is no reason to doubt its other account of the Devas and Daityas, specially when that account explains many obs-

cure points in the accounts of other nations. When the Punjab was surrounded on the North-west by high mountains with virile nations having high civilization, and on the South by seas, the Aryans could have developed their culture independently, and originally alone. The Dasyus of the R̥g-veda are not pre-Aryan Dravidians, but as is suggested by Dr. Abinash Chandra Das, those tribes of the Aryans themselves who could not develop with equal rapidity with the progressing ones. The Dravidians came ages later. Amongst the Dravidians also there are tribes in different stages of development even now ; some of their descendants in India are savage tribes while others are civilised. The same thing could be possible of the Aryans. This is yet an unbroken ground hiding numerous treasures. I respectfully present this account to scholars for their valued criticism which will be very helpful in future labours. If it be successful to draw their attention to this most interesting field of research, my labours will be amply rewarded.

JWALA PRASAD SINGHAL

Ancient South Indian Gold Coinage

When we examine the system of coinage of ancient India we find that the South Indian system presents a peculiar feature. From the coins that have been discovered as treasure trove we find that the South Indian coins are entirely different from those of the North, and gold coins of the smallest denomination appeared to have been in issue to a large extent. Gold coins weighing 5 to 6 grains, and $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ grains and having some sort of design on both sides in some cases and on one side only in others were issued. They are so small that it is very difficult to handle them. Generally coins were used in order to get the necessities of life, to obtain things that we had not on hand, for fines levied by kings, for free gifts, for dakṣiṇās in religious ceremonies and such other purposes. If these small coins had been intended for purchasing household articles, etc. the people of the time would have found it very difficult to preserve and handle them. They would have chosen bigger coins in baser metals, such as, silver or copper. When we read the law codes composed by Manu and Yājñavalkya we learn that the fines imposed by kings were paid by Kārṣāpaṇas which were coins in copper. So these small coins must have been issued for a different purpose. We shall now find what was their object in issuing such small coins.

In all Aryan household, religious ceremonies played a very important part and no ceremony could be conducted without the payment of dakṣiṇās to the officiating priests. It was also enjoined that such dakṣiṇās should be given in gold as silver was considered inauspicious. In all Vedic ceremonies dakṣiṇās were given by means of gold pellets known by the name of *Svarṇa*. When coinage was introduced these *Svarṇas* were replaced by coins. There is a passage in the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda* (I. 5. 1) from which we gather that it was very inauspicious to give silver as dakṣiṇā.

The story runs thus : "There was a battle between the Devas and the Asuras. The Devas became victorious and deposited with Agni (God of Fire) for safety the treasures and precious stones which they got from Asuras. They did so in the hope of using them when they were in need. But Agni wanted to appropriate the whole lot for himself and so ran away with them. The Devas came to know of this, began to pursue, caught hold of him and beat him severely. Agni wept when he could not bear the beatings of the Devas. The tears that fell from his eyes became silver. As silver was the outcome of tears it was considered inauspicious to give it as dakṣiṇā on auspicious occasions. If anyone were to give silver as dakṣiṇā in any sacrifice his house will be visited by an inauspicious event within a period of one year."

As Vedas forbid giving away silver it became a matter of necessity to give away gold in all religious ceremonies. Thus religion played a great part in determining the coinage of the country. The kings of old had in their ministers very profound Sanskrit scholars. Instances may be cited of Hemādri and Vidyāranya. The former was the minister of the Yādava kings of Devagiri and the latter of the Vijayanagara kings. They were all profound scholars and they very likely influenced the kings to issue gold coins for the benefit of the people. Kings had mints and there was a separate establishment for minting coins. In order that gold might be accessible both to the rich and the poor, coins of small denominations of $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ fanams were minted and made available to people to enable them to use them in religious ceremonials.

We had four gold pellets called 'Sakkaraipanams' which were given as dakṣiṇās on Śrāddha occasions but these pellets were taken back from the guests by compensating them by the contemplated amount. Unfortunately these have been lost now.

These coins that have been discovered are described below :

- 1 *Ganga Fanams*—This was issued by the kings of Kalinga-nagara.
Obverse. Caparisoned bull standing, facing the left with a crescent of the moon above.
Reverse. Same 14.
W. 5. 25 ; S. 0. 3.
One-eighth fanams.
Obverse. Same.
Reverse. Same.
W. 0. 75 ; S. 0. 2.
- 2 *Matsya Fanams*—These were issued by the chiefs of that name who were ruling the country comprising the district of Vizagapatam.
Obverse. Two fishes.
Reverse. Same. 12.
W. 5. 5 ; S. 0. 35.
Matsya Quarter fanams.
Obverse. Two fishes.
Reverse. Same 5.
W. 1. 25 ; S. 0. 25.
- 3 *Old Fanams*—Found as treasure trove in Trichinopoly and Tinnevely districts.
Obverse. Figure like the letter U with a dot inside and with the Sun and the Moon on either side. Some peculiar design made up of lines and dots. The whole may be taken to represent a crude form of Kālī.
Reverse. 12 dots arranged in 3 rows of 4 each and straight lines ; one straight line at right angles to the other. The Sun and the Moon on either side.
W. 5. 5 ; S. 0. 4.
- 4 *Viraraya Fanams*—There are 16 varieties of these and they were found as treasure trove in the districts of Coimbatore, North Kanara, Kistna, Chingelput, Cuddappah, Tanjore, Godavari, Madura, North Arcot, South Arcot, Malabar, Salem, Nellore, and Coorg.

Obverse. The letter U with some other symbols.

Reverse. 12 dots with some other figure.

W. 5. 6 ; S. 0. 3 to 0. 4.

5 *Garuḍa Fanams*—

Obverse. A flying Garuḍa.

Reverse. A figure resembling the Vaiṣṇavite castemark.

W. 5. 6 ; S. 0. 3 to 0. 4.

6 *Namam Fanams.*

Obverse. Vaiṣṇavite castemark.

Reverse. In some cases it is blank ; in some a legend not read.

W. 5. 25 ; S. 0. 2 to 0. 3.

7 *Chola Fanams*—Issued by Kulottuṅga Chola I.

Obverse. “*Sung*” in Tamil script and Regnal year.

Reverse. Tiger, bow, and other indistinct marks.

W. 5. 5 ; S. 0. 4.

8 *Reddi Fanams.*

Obverse. Bull couchant with the Sun and the Moon above with a few dots.

Reverse. Elephant goad, coiled whip, and the Sun and the Moon.

W. 5. 25 ; S. 0. 25.

Do. *Quarter fanams.*

Obverse. do.

Reverse. do.

W. 2. 5 ; S. 0. 2.

9 *South Indian Fanams.*

Obverse. Devanagari legend “*Pata*”, “*Pradhana*.”

Reverse. Blank.

W. 2. 25 ; S. 0. 2.

10 Do.

Obverse. Viṣṇu standing.

Reverse. Man and a lamp.

W. 5. 5 ; S. 0. 27.

*South Indian Quarter fanams.**Obverse.* Peculiar figure made up of lines.*Reverse.* A circle and an angle made up of lines and dots.

W. 1. 5 ; S. 0. 2.

- 11 *Anantaraman Fanams*—Issued by the kings of Travancore.

Obverse. A floral design.*Reverse.* 12 dots representing the signs of the zodiac with some lines.

W. 5. 25 ; S. 0. 3.

- 12 *Anantaraman Half Fanams.*

Obverse. do.*Reverse.* do.

W. 2. 5 ; S. 0. 22.

- 13 *Dagger Fanams.*

Obverse. Dagger.*Reverse.* Heart-shaped device, 12 dots, the Sun and the Moon.

W. 5 to 5. 25 ; S. 0. 25 to 0. 4.

- 14 *Sivaji Fanams*—Issued by Śivāji.

<i>Obverse.</i>	"CHATRA"	} In Devanāgarī.
	"PATI"	

<i>Reverse.</i>	"VI"	} In Devanāgarī
	"RAJA"	

W. 5. 25 ; S. 0. 2.

- 15 *Ramaraya Fanams*—Issued by Rāma Rājā the second son of Śivāji.

Obverse. Rude figure of the king.

<i>Reverse.</i>	"RAMA"	} In Devanāgarī.
	"RAU"	

W. 5. 25 ; S. 0. 25 to 0. 3.

From all these it is clear that the kings of old issued coins even in the lowest denomination. While the fanams weighed 5 grains which would then have cost 4 annas,

$\frac{1}{4}$ th and $\frac{1}{8}$ th of these would have cost one anna and half an anna respectively.

Even the Moghul emperors, Aurangzeb, Jahander Shah, Farrukhsiyar, Muhammad Shah, Ahmad Shah, Alamgir II and Shah Alam II struck Varāhas and Half Varāhas and Half Fanams in the mints established at GUTTI, IMTIYAZGARH, TADPATRI,¹ and CUDDAPPAH. These issues are peculiar to South India and were not struck for use in Northern India. These should evidently have been struck to satisfy the needs of the South Indian people.

Half Fanams.

Obverse. Name of the Emperor.

Reverse. The name of the Mint, town and year (A.H.)

W. 2. 5 ; S. 0. 2.

R. SRINIVASA RAGHAVA AYYANGAR

Method of plastering walls for painting

(Sudhālepavidhānam)

This is an old booklet connected with "Fresco Painting" which was so much in vogue in India from the Buddhist period. The booklet contains only 46 ślokas in anuṣṭubh metre. I got the manuscript from Tazaman Sankararow Tantri. There was a Malayālam commentary also appended to the work. The work treats of the preparation of materials for, and the method of fresco-painting on, the walls of temples, Gopurams, palaces and other permanent structures of public interest and utility. It can be divided into three parts, the first describing the method of plastering the

1 A paper on this new mint will appear in the Numismatic Supplement to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

walls before painting, the second showing the way how to prepare the several colours for painting, and the third explaining the process of painting the walls. The booklet will be of interest to those who wish to revive the old art which is about to disappear. A free English rendering of the substance is also appended to the text for wider publication.

Now I shall describe the method of plastering the walls (Sudhā-lepa), on which pictures are to be painted. Cunnām (Sudhā) is the powder obtained by burning conch, mother of pearl or shell. Take the powder and drench it with a solution of molasses and a decoction of $\frac{1}{4}$ th the quantity of small peas (mudga). Add quarter part sand with unripe plantain-fruits, boiled and beaten well into pulp. Put this mixture into wooden dug-outs, wherein it should be kept for two months, mixing the same daily. At the end of two months, take the mixture in small quantities and, placing the same on a granite-slab, sprinkle solution of molasses on it and grind it into paste soft as butter.

In the meantime, level the wall well and smoothen its surface. Take a piece of cocoanut and with one end cut square and well beaten into a brush. Dip the beaten end of the brush into the solution of molasses and rub the solution on the wall. Leave the wall, after the application of the solution, undisturbed for 12 hours and then plaster the same with the mortar prepared as above.

Level the plaster by means of trowel of convenient size made of copper, pewter, iron or wood. Care should be taken that the surface does nowhere protrude or fall in. When levelling is over, the surface should be rubbed with cold water by means of the trunk-brush. Whitewash the surface when it gets dry. But no whitewashing is required for painting on a wooden surface. Such surface needs only be levelled and smoothened before applying colours.

Here I shall describe the method of colour-painting and the manufacture and blending of the various colours. White, yellow, red, black and blue are the primary colours, while

the rest are all mixtures of two or more of them. The white paint to be used for whitewashing the walls just before painting is manufactured in the following manner. First of all, powder as finely as possible conch, mother of pearl, shell, or chalk. Put this fine powder in a mortar of wood not liable to discolour or of granite according to convenience. Mix and pound it well into paste, treating the same with the milk of the tender cocoanut. Dissolve the paste in warm water and when well-dissolved, filter and allow the solution to precipitate the white paint. Whitewash the wall with this paint before the pictures are painted on them.

To make the outlines of the pictures of different objects, a pencil of the following materials should be manufactured. The pencil is called *kittulekhanā* and is manufactured by mixing powdered tiles and powdered cowdung (the former in a lesser and the latter in a greater proportion) with a quantity of Tulasī leaves and grinding the whole well into a soft paste, then take small quantities of the paste and roll them into thin round sticks, $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. Draw roughly on the whitewashed surface the several objects as deva, upadeva, man, beast, bird, tree, creeper, mountain, ocean, etc. fixing there images, as seen or heard or read from books, well in your mind. Wherever wrong lines fall, efface the same by rubbing the lines with unbleached cloth, and rewrite afterwards. Outlines being finished, take a piece of *Pullārān* and begin to draw the picture with it.

The preparation of this *Pullārān* is as follows :—Collect from mountains or riverbeds *pitadhātu* (yellow mineral), wash the same in cold water and when dry powder the same finely. Pour some water into the powder and grind it into paste. Take the paste and mix the same in plenty of water using a large vessel for the purpose. When the mixture has stood for some time, the mud and other matter will precipitate and can be thrown off while the surface water can be retained. Pour this water again into another vessel and allow it to stand for sometime and throw back any more

precipitate which the solution may hold. Repeat the process several times till you get a clear solution. Rub this solution on to an earthen pot (*bhinuamṛdbhāṇḍa*) and dry the pot in the sun. Collect *raktadhātu* (red mineral) also in the same way and treat the same in the above manner. When clear, rub that also on to another earthen pot and dry the pot in the sun. Then take a lamp (Gingili oil lamp) supplied with oil and clean wick, and light it under an inverted new earthen pot, taking care to see that the pot has no crevices. The soot formed on the inner surface of the pot should then be collected, placed in an earthen or other vessel and well mixed. Add a quantity of pure water with the soot and make it into paste. This paste should be kept in the sun and dried. All these three colours should then be mixed in pure water, and adding *Nimbaloya* to it, the whole should be well beaten and mixed.

Brushes for drawing pictures are either broad, medium or pointed, as the case may be. They are $4\frac{1}{2}$, 4 or $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. The width or thickness at the face should be 6 *yucas*, but at the back end it should be only $\frac{1}{8}$ th of the above. The form of the brush may be octagonal or round. The face should be bound by a copper band. The broad brush is prepared with the hair about the ears of a calf-buffalo, the medium with the hair on the belly of a sheep, and the pointed with the hair at the tail of a squirrel. Fit in these hairs at the copper band of the brush and fix them there by the aid of lac or yarn-thread. Each colour should have three such brushes. There should be three brushes each under broad, medium and pointed quality. They can be named broad-broad, broad-medium, broad-pointed and so on for two kinds also. That will make nine brushes in all for each colour.

Apply *pṛtadhātu* with medium brush and draw the picture effacing all unnecessary marks by unbleached cloth, but taking care that the lines of the *kiṭṭalékhanī* is left there in tact. Apply the other colours with the broad brush. All protrusions and depressions as also the roundness of

objects should be shown by means of less or more colour. Make the painting beautiful by regular lights and shades. Wherever the yellow, black or red colour is lightly applied, mark their extremities by pointed brushes steeped in lamp-black. Where finger-nails or other white objects are to be shown, just scrap the paint in that portion by means of a sharp knife or other instrument, and thus paint the walls wherever necessary.

Hariḥ

- 1 Atha vakṣye sudhālepavidhiṃ bhittau viśeṣataḥ /
Dagdhvā śaṅkhādikaṃ kāṣṭhai ścūrṇitaṃ yat sudhā
hi sā //
- 2 Sudhācūrṇacaturthāṃśamudgakvāthajalaiḥ saha /
Guḍatoyena saṃsiñcet taccūrṇaṃ bālukānṇvitaṃ //
- 3 Bālukānāṃ pramāṇaṃ hi sudhāturyāṃśamān(1)ataḥ /
Kṛśānupakvakadalīphalapīṣṭhaṇi ca yojayet //
- 4 Droṇyāṃ kṣiptvātha samnārdya gate māśadvaye [punaḥ] /
P(v)eṣayed dṛṣṭvā dṛṣṭvā guḍavārīṇā //
- 5 Navanītaṃ ivāyāti yāvat tāvat supreṣayet /
Atha kuḍyādikaṃ samyak saṃśoddhya samatāṃ nayet //
- 6 Nālikeratvacāṃ agraiḥ susūksmaṃ śīthilikṛtaiḥ /
Saktvā guḍajalair yāte dinārdhe taṃ vilepayet //
- 7 Lohena dāruṇā vādau darvīn nirmāya buddhitaḥ /
Tadākāraviśālādi sarvaṃ ācintya bhedataḥ //
- 8 Taddarvīprṣṭhabhāgena nimnonnatavivāritaṃ /
Liptvā pīṣṭasudhāṃ samyak śuddhatoyena lepayet //
- 9 Nālikeratvacālipyā śuddhatoyena śoṣayet /
Śuṣke tasmin varṇalepaḥ kāryaś citrārthaṃ eva hi //
- 10 Phalakāḍau takṣaṇena snigdhe varṇaṃ vilepayet /
Sudhālepo na kartavyaś citrārthaṃ phalakādiṣu //
- 11 Atha vakṣyāmi saṃkṣepāt sarveṣāṃ varṇalepanaṃ /
Saṃskṛtiṇi ca viśeṣeṇa teṣāṃ yogaṃ tathaiva ca //
- 12 Sitavarṇaṃ pītavarṇaṃ raktavarṇaṇi ca kajjalam /
Etāni śuddhavarṇāni śyānavarṇaṇi ca vai punaḥ //
- 13 Kuḍyāḍau dhavalam varṇaṃ pūrvam eva samālikhet /
Śaṅkhaśuktyādikaṃ vātha sitam mṛdvātha cūrṇayet //

- 14 Śakoṭakatvacā vātha ketakīhastato 'pi vā /
Yathā snigdhataraṃ yāti tathā [mrtyādi] lepayet //
- 15 Sudhācūrṇāni nikṣipya garte caulūkhale 'thavā /
Piṣṭvā punaḥ punaḥ samyak musalena mahāmatih //
- 16 Kerabālathalodena siktṛvā sampeṣayet punaḥ /
Tana [vim] uṣnatoyena samyagāloḍya gaulayet //
- 17 Punaḥ pūrvoktaniārgaṇa kūḍye samlepayet kramāt
Evaṃ dhavalite bhittau phalake vā likhet talā //
- 18 Purāṇaloṣṭacūrṇena śuṣkagomayacūrṇakān /
Tulasīlālasammiśraṃ yojayet peṣaṇītale //
- 19 Piṣṭvā tena vidhāyāśu śoṣayet kiṭṭalekhinīm /
Vartyākārāṃ tathāyāme dvitryambhoddvyaṅgulātmikām //
- 20 Devān vā manuṣjān vā[pi]mrgān vihaṃgamāu[tathā] /
Latāvṛkṣādīkān vātha nāgān vā sāgarān api //
- 21 Śrotābhyāṃ vātha netrābhyāṃ manasā vātha nīcitān /
Ālikhet kiṭṭalekhinyā samyak smṛtvā punaḥ punaḥ //
- 22 Yatra lekḥā gatā vāmaṃ tatra tān navavāsasā /
Sammārjya samyag ālikhya tattadākāraṃ unnayet //
- 23 Atha dhātūn pītavarṇān girinadyādīsamblhavān /
Ādāya śuddhatoyena samkṣālyādau vicūrṇayet //
- 24 Mandam kiñcīc chulāprṣṭhe peṣayitṛvā vilodya ca /
Śuddhatoyair mahāpātre muhūrtam paricālayet //
- 25 Tadūrdhāvāṃsam sāratoḥyam adhaḥ paṅkavivarjitam
Pātrāntre vinikṣipya punaḥ kuryād amuṃ vidhinī //
- 26 Evaṃ punaḥ punaḥ kṛtvā yāvan nirmalatā bhavet /
Tatsāraṃ bhinnamṛdbhāṇḍe mandam ālipya śoṣayet //
- 27 Evaṃ eva samānīya raktadhātūn api kramāt /
Nirmalatve samutpanne śoṣayed bhinnamṛdghate //
- 28 Atha tailaṃ samāśicya varddhamānecchavartikān /
Vinasya prajvale dīpe ghaṭam ādāya mṛṇmayam //
- 29 Śuṣkagomayacūrṇena [sammrjyādamasya] vai /
Taddīpopari nicchidraṃ samnukhaṃ vinuyaset punaḥ //
- 30 Taddīpaśikhayā jātakajjalaṃ tadghaṭodare /
Ālagnaṃ samyag ādāya mṛdghaṭādau vilepayet //
- 31 Śuddhatoyena samyuktaṃ śoṣayet punar ātapo /
Etat trayam punar yuktyā nimbatoyena mardayet //

- 32 Raktadhāturasam pīṭadhāturasañ ca vai punaḥ /
Alōḍya pātre nīkṣīpya nītvā dīnadalam punaḥ //
- 33 Tadūrdhāvāmsam malāpātre mandam āśīcya śoṣayet /
Mṛdghaṭe śuddhaye dhīmān punarapy ekaḍācāret //
- 34 Yāmamātram śyāmadhātum śuddhatoyena peṣayet /
Punaḥ kapitthaniryāsatoyaiḥ sammardya śoṣayet //
- 35 Lekhaṇī trividhā jñeyā sthūlā sūkṣmā ca madhyamā /
Taddaṇḍamṛtyumātram vā viṣkambhaṃ śadyavam
smṛtam //
- 36 Mukkhe pṛṣṭhe tadaśtāmsam aśtāśram vātha vartulam /
Kṛtvāgre vinyasec chaṅkuṃ gulbena yavamātrakam /
- 37 Sthūlāyām vatsakarnottham ajodarabhavam vare /
Cikroḍapuceham sūkṣmāyām romāṇy ādāya yatnataḥ //
- 38 Tantunā lākṣayā vātha daṇḍāgrakṛtasaṅkuṣu /
Baddhvā tu lekhaṇīm samyak prativarṇaṃ tridhā
tridhā //
- 39 Ākṛtyā ca tridhā sthūlā sūkṣmā madhyā punas tathā /
Pratyekaṃ nava sū caivam prativarṇaṃ tu lekhaṇī /
- 40 Atha madhyamalekhinyā pīṭadhāturasena tu /
Kiṭṭarekhābahirbhāge likhitvā vyaktam ambaraiḥ //
- 41 Mārjjayet kiṭṭarekhāntām punas taṃ vyaktam ālikhet /
Raktadhāturasenātha sarvaṃ suvyaktam ālikhet //
- 42 Punar varṇāni vinyasya lekhinyā sthūlayā tathā /
Niṣkalaṅkam punas tatra nimuonnataviśeṣakān //
- 43 Śyāmojjvalatvabhedena kuryāt sarvaṃ manoharam /
Tathā pāruṣyamārdavān
- 44 Vinyāsakramabhedena kuryāt sarvaṃ manoharam //
- 45 Yatrojvale pītavarṇe śyāmas tatrāpi lohitaḥ /
- 46 Prānte kajjalavarṇena sūkṣmayā samlikhet sudhā /
Kṣhureṇa tīkṣṇadhāreṇa tatkarminapatur añjasā /
- 46 Sammrjjen nikharādīni citram evaṃ samācāret //
- Śubham astu //

Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India

(Translated from the German version of A. Schiefner
with additional notes)

[The *History of Buddhism in India* written by the learned Tibetan Lama Tāranātha (fl. latter quarter of the 16th and early part of the 17th century A.C.) deservedly occupies a high place in the history of the expansion of Indian Buddhism. Notwithstanding its admitted defects consisting mainly in a fanciful setting of history and geography and an extraordinary proneness to faith in miracles, it is a vast storehouse of Buddhist legends and traditions. It passes under review the whole epoch from the time of king Ajātaśatru to that of the Sena kings of Bengal, and numerous are the allusions it makes to the great figures and centres of the Buddhist faith. Its value has been recognised by the frequent references made to it by Western scholars ever since it was first made accessible in a European language.

It is now more than half a century since the Russian and the German versions of Tāranātha's work made their appearance almost simultaneously in print. The enormous advance made in every branch of Buddhist studies during the interval is too patent a fact to require mention. We have therefore thought it desirable to present to the readers of the Indian Historical Quarterly an English translation of the *History of Buddhism in India* from the German and to supplement it with our notes where necessary.

To the Russian Academy of Sciences we owe our sincere acknowledgments for its kindness in permitting us to make the present translation. Our thanks are also due to Prof. Theodore Stcherbatsky for his help in this connection.—Tr.]

SCHIEFNER'S FOREWORD

In the first volume of his work upon Buddhism, Prof. Wassiljew has repeatedly noticed the *History of Buddhism in India* written by Tāranātha, and he has given specially on pp. 47f. a short summary of this work. These notices made it desirable that the whole work should be published. Therefore in the year 1868 I edited the Tibetan text on

the basis of four manuscripts which were at my disposal and as I remarked in the foreword to the text edited by me, I derived great benefit from the Russian translation placed at my disposal by Prof. Wassiljew which was to appear simultaneously with the present German version. Already on the 9th April, 1866 Prof. Wassiljew had presented this translation to the Academy, but different other works which he had to edit for the benefit of his audience in the local University and specially his Chinese Dictionary, retarded its printing so that it could be brought to an end only during the last eight months. Through this circumstance it was possible for me to add as an appendix to the present German translation—of which the printing was finished before the end of a year—most of the notes which Prof. Wassiljew contributed out of the rich store of his knowledge of the Tibetan and Chinese Buddhist literature in the course of printing of his own translation.

Tāranātha gives at the end of his work the 34th year of his life as the time when his work was finished; it is the "earth-monkey-year"¹ corresponding to the year 1608 according to the Christian reckoning; the year of his birth was therefore the "wood-pig-year" (1573). Both these dates are found mentioned in the chronological table of the work *Kalpasuvvika*. Since the notice of his birth is limited shortly to "Jo-nang Tāranātha Keen-snjingh," the following remarks may be made for the elucidation of Prof. Wassiljew's Preface. To the different schools which were thrown into the background with the appearance of the Yellow Caps (or Yellow Church²

1 The Tibetans have evolved their chronological system from those of India and China. They have adopted the Indian method of calculation by sixty-year cycle and twelve-year cycle, denoting the year of the twelve-year cycle by the Zodiacal beast of the year. From the Chinese system they have borrowed the five elements, wood, fire, earth, iron and water. For denoting a particular year they tag on to the elements of the Chinese system a Zodiacal beast of the Indian system. See Waddell's *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, App. I, pp. 449-450.—Tr.

[In the present version our own notes are always distinguished as above].

2 The monks of this church wore *Yellow* coloured hats and girdles in order to distinguish themselves from the monks of the older conservative church, who used *Red* caps and girdles (while the Bons used *Black* caps).—Tr.

—Gelugpa) founded by Tsoñ-kha-pa¹ belonged likewise to the school of Jo-nang ; it derived its name from the place Jomolang where stood a monastery in which a certain Dolbupa, having separated himself from the Saskyas², found his refuge. In his work called the *Ocean of the True Sense of the Mountain-teaching* he based the teaching of this school upon a particular form (essentially another form) of nothingness. Although Tsoñ-kha-pa along with one of his immediate disciples and the disciple of that disciple had heard of the Kālacakra and the Pāramitā, the teaching of the special form of nothingness was rejected by the Yellow Caps. After the time of Tsoñ-kha-pa, Kun-dga-grol-mtschog³ and specially his re-incarnation Tāranātha propagated the Jonang teaching.⁴ There was founded the monastery rTag-bstan-phun-tshogs-gling, images were set up and wooden blocks were incised for the printing of most of the Jo-nang works. When the ruler of Rin Spung, called Karm-bstan-skjong-āvang-po, came forward as the protector of this teaching, its popularity greatly increased. But when his power came to an end, the fifth Dalai Lama, after the death of Tāranātha, annexed the Jo-nang monastery to the school of Yellow Caps, and the wooden blocks were sealed up so that at

Born 1493, died 1566.

1 Tsoñ-kha-pa (1368-1419) was a reformer of Tibetan Buddhism. He adopted as far as possible the monastic discipline of Hīnayāna Buddhism and thoroughly revised the Tibetan Buddhist liturgy. For details of his life see Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, iii, pp. 358-9 ; *J.A.S.B.*, 1882, pp. 53-7, 127 ; Huth, *Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, ii, pp. 175ff ; *E.R.E.*, vii, p. 787.—Tr.

2 The Sas-kyas were one of the most powerful sects of Tibet. Their monastery known also as the Sas-kya monastery was founded by a royal prince of that name at a distance of about 50 miles to the north of Mt. Everest. Kublai Khan after his conversion to Buddhism by the abbot of this monastery conferred upon him (usually known as Śaskya Paṇḍita) the temporal rulership of W. Tibet. The abbots of this monastery wielded great influence, both political and religious, over the whole of Tibet from 1270 to 1340. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, iii, p. 354 ; *E. R. E.*, vii, s.v., *Lamaism*.—Tr.

3 Jo-nang is a sub-sect of the Sas-kyas, another being Ngor-pa. *E.R.E.*, vii, p. 788.—Tr.

present of the Jonang school only two works of Tāranātha are known, viz. the *Sādhanā* and the *History of Buddhism*.*

To the above information, which Prof. Wassiljew has drawn from the history of Tibetan schools, he adds from the same work the following passage: "In Khalkha Prince (Khan) Usutai founded the monastery Erdeni Jowo, after he had met the third Dalai Lama. The son of his grandson Tushijetu Khan was the re-incarnation rJe-ōtsun-dam-pa blo-ōsang-bstan-pai-rgyal-mtshan, the glory of Khalkha, who received great honour from the Manchu emperor (Kanghi); he founded the monastery Ri-vo-āge-rgias-gling and the series of his incarnations continued still further."

Now as far as the history of Buddhism written by Tāranātha is concerned, it appears from the plan of the work as well as from the casual remarks of the author that we have to deal with a mere compilation. Besides the Indian works which he himself mentions, he also makes use of indigenous works. When the separate volumes of the Tanjur with its numerous historical notices are properly investigated, it will be easy to trace back to their sources the numerous stereotyped passages which are found about individual occurrences in the work of Tāranātha as well as of other later writers. Probably one may succeed also in reconstructing a number of Indian and other names in their true forms or at least in finding out the origin of the present corrupted forms. In the Index I have printed in brackets the names and Indian words occurring in Tāranātha's Tibetan text in order to distinguish them from words authenticated from some other source or gained through retranslation. As the latter cannot always be relied on, I have marked the doubtful cases with an asterisk. Sanskrit offers different probable forms for the Tibetan words, as for instance,

* The Sumbum of gLong-rdol-blama (see Wassiljew, *Historical & Philosophical Bulletin*, vol. XI, *Mélanges Asiatique*, II, p. 354), which is really called Ngag-āvang blo-ōsang comprises briefly both works. We observe also in the same place the full name Kun-āga'-snjing-po (=Ānandagarbha), and where the series of re-incarnations since the time of Śākyamuni are told, Malla Mahābala opens the series in which Jo-nang Tāranātha or Kun-āga'-snjing-po is the 16th. In the Tanjur we find the name Tāranātha as well as Kun-āga'-snjing-po. In vol. 1u of the Sūtra he is mentioned several times as translator, according to Jonang, as well as with the epithet.

I have retranslated Devendrabuddhi, while in Tanjur it is Surendrabodhi* ; in the place of Buddhadiś, a form which occurs in Wassiljew's *Buddhism* (p. 204), the form Buddhapakṣa which also occurs in the same work (p. 56) is perhaps the right one, it is probably an epithet derived from the *Mañjuśrīmūlatantra*, so also are the names Dharmika, Yogin, etc.

For 'Kāla' the synonym 'Kṛṣṇa' can well be put, the Chinese prefer for it the word 'Mecaka' which name I have restored as Kṛṣṇacārin† and which name is found in the later Tibetan works in the form Kālacarya ; on the other hand Tāranātha's Kṛṣṇarāja appears to have arisen from a misunderstanding of the word Kaliṅga. It is difficult to decide whether the Jayabhadra or the Jinabhadra has the greater probability. Instead of Viśrutadeva, the later Tibetans use Vikhyāta-deva (Thob jig, vol. III, p. 244). If after all I have written in the translation 'Bhaṅgala,' I have retained the form which occurs in all Tibetan works. To be frank there are many strange forms, e.g. 'Vikramalaśīla' instead of 'Vikramaśīla,' 'Bharadhvaja', instead of 'Bharadvāja', and so on.

As we cannot always depend upon the different forms of single names, I have in the translation, wherever practicable, put them in a better form than what the manuscripts offer. The chronological account is also in an evil condition. Very gladly I would have complied with the wishes of those who had desired a synchronistic table as a supplement to the translation, if such a one could have been produced with ease. A greater evil is that in the chronological account prophecies in the *Mañjuśrīmūlatantra* have been mostly admitted as the end and basis of chronology.

Notwithstanding these shortcomings Tāranātha's work, although it is not suited to be a sure guide for the history of Buddhistic regions in India, furnishes the occasion for further researches through its numerous, though often short, notes on some celebrities of Buddhism and their mass of legends. Perhaps one may succeed in collecting the works of Bhaṭṭagati, Indradatta and Kṣemendrabhadra mentioned by Tāranātha or at least in gathering accurate information about them. Even if this should not come to pass, occasion may be found

* A similar fluctuation is found between the names Nāgabuddhi and Nāgabodhi, Indrabhūti and Indrabodhi.

† Also Kālacārin at p. 278.

for elucidating what is as yet little known and for finding out what is unknown about the rich Buddhist literature that is contained in the Kanjur as well as the Tanjur and the different works to which the notes to this translation refer. May young energy be found possessing the requisite means and perseverance to follow up this task.

St. Petersburg, 27 May (8 June), 1869.

A. SCHLEENER

INTRODUCTION

TREASURE OF WISHES OF THE NECESSARY NAMED DISTINCT EXPLANATIONS OF THE MANNER IN WHICH THE MINE OF HAPPINESS, THE GEM OF EXCELLENT TEACHING WAS PROPAGATED IN ĀRYADEŚA.¹

Om, salvation to living creatures! distinct explanations of the manner in which the mine of happiness, the gem of excellent teaching adorned with resplendent fortune, was propagated in Āryadeśa, and the treasure of wishes of the necessary things was known.² Adoration be to the Buddha along with his sons and disciples! * I bow down to the chief hermit, the head-cloud† that came from the domain of beings to the domain of gods, that is adorned with the marks and signs of the rainbow and sends down the soft nectar-rain of deeds. Here also those versed in the year-books and antique lore, when arranging the stories of Āryadeśa, recognise in the drying up of their skill the basis of their poverty just like the poor man in the presence of goods exhibited for sale. As I

* The most distinguished followers of Buddha and the most renowned Lamas are thus called.

† Literally in Tibetan "before the king of hermits, the first of clouds," so that Munindra and Meghendra may be compared with each other.

1 More accurately "The holy and precious religion, how it flourished in the Āryadeśa clearly explained, which is therefore called Ratnacintāmaṇi"—Tr.

2 Better, "The holy and precious religion decorated by the glory, how it flourished in Āryadeśa, clearly explained, which is called Ratracintāmaṇi."—Tr.

have noticed along with some other scholars many serious mistakes in the explanation of sources of the teaching, I have prepared in brief this arrangement of stories capable of removing mistakes for the benefit of others.

Here are the contents of the principal facts. In the line of king Kṣemadarśin there are four, namely, Subāhu, Sudhanu, Mahendra, and Camasa; in the line of of Aśoka four: Vigatāśoka, Viraśena, Nanda and Mahāpadma; from the line of Candra came forth Hari-, Akṣa-, Jaya-, Nema-, Phaṇi-, Bhaṇsa-, and Śāla- with the subjoined (affix) Candra. Thereafter Candragupta, Bindusāra and his nephew Śricandra are named. To (the names) Dharma, Karma, Vyākṣa, Vigāna, Kāma, Siṃha, Bāla, Vimāla, Gopī and Lalita also, Candra is annexed at the end. If Bindusāra is not counted in the list, there are 19 with the name Candra. Of these Akṣacandra, Jayacandra, Dharmacandra, Karmacandra, Vigamacandra, Kāmacandra and Vimālacandra are known as the seven Candras, with the addition of Candragupta, Gopīcandra and Lalitacandra they are celebrated as the ten Candras. Descending from the Pāla line: Gopāla, Deva-, Rāsa-, Dharma-, Vana-, Mahī-, Mahā-, Śreṣṭha-, Bheya-, Neya-, Āmra-, Hasti-, Rāma-, Yakṣa-, all with the affix Pāla, are fourteen in the Pāla lineage. The kings Agnidatta, Kanīśka, Lakṣāśva, Candanapāla, Śrīharṣa, Śila, Udayana, Gauḍavardhana. Kanika and Turuṣka, the Śākamaḥisammata, Buddhapakṣa, Gambhīrapakṣa, Cala, Caladhruva, Viṣṇu, Siṃha, Bharṣa, Pañcama-Siṃha, Prasanna, Prādītya, Mahāśena, Mahāśākyabala, these stand single. Masurakṣīta, Caṇaka, Śāmapāla, Śāntipāla, stand singly in the Pāla line, Lava, Kāśa, Maṇiṇa, Rāthika are the four Senas. In the South appeared in Kāñci and the other different kingdoms Śukla, Candrakṣobha, Śālivāhana, Mahāśa, Kṣemaṅkara, Manoratha, Bhogasubāla, Candrasena, Kṣemaṅkara-siṃha, Vyāghra, Budha, Buddhaśuca, Sanmukha, Sīgara, Vikrama, Ujjayana, Śreṣṭha, Mahendra, Devarāja, Viśva, Śiśu, Pratāpa. In the South appeared the following Brāhmaṇa-, Balamitra, Nāgaketu, Vardhamāla, Gaggari, Kumārananda, Matikumāra, Bhadrānanda, Dānabhadra, Laṅkādeva, Bahubhūja, Madhayamati; these are the old Mahācāryas. As the followers of the victorious teachers are generally known the following seven persons, Madhyāntika counting as the eighth, Uttara, Yaśas, Poṇada, Kāśyapa, Śānavāsa, Mahāloma, Mahātyāga, Nandin, Dharmasreṣṭha, Pārsvika, Aśvagupta, Nanda are the Arhants protecting the teaching. Uttara, Kaśyapa, Sammatīya, Mahāśāsaka, Dharmagupta, Suvarṣa,

Vātsīputrīya, Tāmraśāpīya, Bahuśrutīya, Dharmottara, Avantaka, Jetavanīya, Sthavira, Dharmatrāta, Vasubandhu, Ghoṣaka, Śrīlābha, Buddhadeva, Kumārāśbha, Vāmana, Kuṇāla, Śaṅkara, Saṅghavardhana, Sambhūti, are the disciples of the great Bhadantas.* Jaya, Sujaya, Kalyāṇa, Siddha, Adarpa, Rāghava, Yaśika, Pāṇini, Kuśala, Bhadra, Vararuci, Śūdra, Kulika, Mudgaragomin, Śaṅkara, Dharmika, Mahāvīrya, Suviṣṇu, Madhu, Supramadhu, the second Vararuci, Kāśijāta, Caṇaka and Vasunetra, Śaṅku, Bṛhaspati, Makṣika, Vasunāga, Bhadrāpālita, Pūrṇa, Pūrṇabhadra, these are the great Brāhmaṇas honoured for the teaching.

The Āryas of Mahāyāna teaching are not mentioned in this list since they are generally well known but they will be mentioned in the course of this history. The six jewels of Jambudvīpa have a great celebrity. Sūra, Rāhula, Guṇaprabha, Dharmapāla are called the four great ones, Śāntideva and Candragomin are praised by the learned as the two miracle-performing Ācāryas. The designation of the two most excellent ones is unknown in India. The designation of the six Jewels and of the two most excellent ones is known through the Tibetan. Jñānapāda, Dīpaṅkarabhadra, Laṅkājayabhadra, Śrīdhara, Bhavabhadra, Bhavyakīrti, Līlāvajra, Durjayacandra, Samayavajra, Tathāgatarakṣita, Bodhibhadra, Kamalarakṣita,—these twelve are the Tantrācāryas of Vikramaśīla. Thereafter came the six Door-panḍits and different Ācāryas of the secret teaching.

Keeping the above well in mind one will easily understand the history set forth below through its entanglements.

While the genealogy of the kings before the entrance of our teacher, the fully enlightened Buddha, into the world can be obtained credibly according to circumstances from the Vinaya, the Abhinīṣkramaṇasūtra and partly from the Lalitavistara and other works, the series of kings, ṛṣis, etc. who lived at the time of Satyayuga, Tretāyuga and the Kaliyuga are here not put into writing from the works of Tīrthikas, since these, although many in number, are partly mixed up with untruth and may not be simply believed, and as no connection with

* According to Wassiljew the renowned persons of Buddhist hierarchy during the time of Mahāyāna were called Bhadantas; they stand among the Arhats but must be directors and founders of schools, propagators of the teaching and authors of works; cf. however Burnouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du buddhisme Indien*, p. 567.

the history of the excellent law exists and no requisites for the thoroughly pure design are evident. But if one asks for the works of their teachers, these are the Bhārata with more than 100000 ślokas, Rāmāyaṇa consisting of 100,000 ślokas, the 18 Purāṇas in more than 190,000 ślokas, the poetry Raghuvamśa in 86,000 ślokas, etc. Here are only explained the histories of the things which refer to the teaching of the Teacher.

The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki mentions two Kosālas

The country of Kosāla or modern Oudh is well-known to historians. In the Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa it has been described as *Uttara-Kosāla*. In canto 6, the 71st śloka runs as follows :—

इच्छाकुक्ष्यः ककुक्षं वृपाणां ककुक्षस्य इत्याहितलक्ष्णोऽभूत् ।
काकुक्षस्यशब्दं यत् उन्नतेच्छाः स्नाप्यं दधत्युत्तरकोशलिप्ताः ॥

Again in the 9th canto, śl. 1 we have

पितुरनन्तरमुत्तरकोशलान् समधिगम्य समाधिजिनिन्द्रियः ।
दशरथः प्रशशास सहरथो यमवतामवतां च धुरि स्थितः ॥

The very word Uttara Kosāla suggests the existence of another Kosāla towards the southern side of India. We do hear of a country or kingdom by the name of Dakṣiṇa Kosāla or Mahā Kosāla. This kingdom has been recorded simply as Kosala in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta amongst the kingdoms of Dakṣiṇāpatha. I quote below a line from the original text :—

कौमिल्यकमहेन्द्रमाह्वानारकल्याप्रराज-
कौगालकमहेष्टराजपौष्टपुरकमहेन्द्रशिरिकाऽरक.....

Samudra Gupta subdued the Kosāla country of king *Mahendra*.¹

From the above it is evident that the Mahā Kosāla or Dakṣiṇa Kosala country was known as कौशल only without any particular attribute of 'Mahā' or 'Dakṣiṇa.' This is also supported by several copper-plate grants of the kings of Kosala.

1 Nothing is known about this king. In a few coins of Kumāragupta (Allan, B.M.C., pp. 61-62, no. 190-9) श्रीमहेन्द्र is found inscribed on

The earliest grant is that of Mahāśiva Tīvaradeva, the supreme Lord of (the country of) Kosala. The charters of this king are in the box-headed characters and they were issued from Śrīpura, modern Sirpur, on the bank of the Mahānadī, 37 miles north east of Raipur, the Hd. qrs. of the Chhattisgarh Division in C.P.

Line 19 of the Baloda plates of Tīvaradeva reads :—

श्रीनन्ददेवस्य तनयः प्राप्तसकलकोसलाधिपत्यः

While the seal of the same king bears the following *śloka* :—

श्रीमत्सौवर्गदेवस्य कोसलाधिपतिरिदं
प्राप्तं धर्मवृद्धार्थं स्थिरमाचन्द्रतारकम् ॥

(Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 294.)

[This seal is circular and has "a figure of Garuḍa, facing full-front, depicted with the head of a man and the body of a bird, with his wings expanded, with apparently human arms hanging down between the wings and the feet, and with a serpent with expanded hood, standing up in front of and over each shoulder ; on the proper right of this, a *cakra* or discus, the emblem of Viṣṇu and on the proper left, a *Śaṅkha* or conch-shell ; in the lower part a floral device." Below is the above quoted *legend* in two lines.]

The date of Tīvaradeva is roughly about A. D. 800, although according to some historians, the age of the box-headed characters falls between 5th and 6th. centuries A. D.

The first 10 *ślokas* of the Sarakho copper-plate inscription¹ of the Haihaya prince Ratnadeva II of Ratnapura, dated Cedi era 880, are found reproduced in the Amodā copper-plate charters, dated Cedi years 900 and 905 (Two Copper-plate Charters of the Haihaya king Pṛthivideva II of the Cedi years 900 and 905—I. H. Q., vol. I, no. 3). In the 10th *sloka*, king Ratnadeva II has been described as the "ornament of the *entire Kosala kingdom*." The *śloka* is as follows :—

तदात्मजः सकलकोसलमण्डनश्रीः श्रीमान्समाहृतसमस्तनराधिपश्रीः ।

सर्वचित्तीश्वरशिरोविद्धिताङ्गिसिवः सेवानृता निधिरसौ सुवि रत्नदेवः ॥ १०

From the time of Samudragupta down to the 11th century A. D.

one side, and on some coins of the same king जयवज्रियो जित-महेन्द्रः (Ibid., pp. 73-74, no. 219-25) is inscribed. Do these refer to the कौसल्यक महेन्द्र ?

1 These plates are in possession of the Chatisgarh Ganarava—Pracārak Maṇḍalī, Bilaspur, C.P. Hitavad (Nagpur) April 1, 1926. p. 3.

the kingdom with its capitals श्रीपुर, तुष्ठाण and रवपुर was called कोसल. We have got enough inscriptional evidence to prove this.

In the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki we find that Daśaratha invites one Bhānumat who is stated as *the king of Kosala* to join his sacrifice. This Bhānumat was, I believe, the lord of Dakṣiṇa Kosala or Mahā Kosala.

अङ्गेश्वरं महिम्नासं रोमपादं सुसङ्कृतम् । वयस्यं राजसिंहस्य सपुत्रं तमिहानय ॥

तथा कोसलराजानं भानुमलं सुसङ्कृतम् । मगधाधिपतिं गरं सर्वशास्त्रविशारदम् ॥

Rāmāyaṇa, I, 13, vs. 25, 26.

“You must also bring Daśaratha’s friend Rompāda, the king of Aṅga. You yourself invite Bhānumat, the king of *Kosala* and the learned and valiant king of Magadha.”

The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki mentions two *Kosālas*, the Uttara *Kosala* or Oudh¹ and the Dakṣiṇa *Kosala* or modern Chattisgarh.

Now a few words about the use of the name Southern *Kosala*. The *Kosala* country of Tivardēva is mentioned by Hiuen Tsang as Southern *Kosala*² (Beal’s Life of Hiuen Tsang, book IV, pp 134-35).

During his visit a Kṣatriya king was reigning there. Hiuen Tsang does not give us the name of the king nor of the then capital of “Southern *Kosala*”. We are therefore unable to say whether the capital was Śrīpura (modern Sirpur in the Raipur Dist., C. P.) or Bhādravati (modern Bhāndak in the Chāndā Dist., C. P.). We are further told that in the 2nd century A. D. king *Sadvāha* (So-to-po-ho) the Lord of Southern *Kosala*, excavated for Nāgārjuna a rock-temple. This cave-dwelling was hewn in a mountain called “Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li” i. e.

१ कुशलो नाम सुदितः स्त्रीतो जनपदो महान् ।

निविष्टः सरयूतीरे प्रभूतधनधान्यवान् ॥५॥

अयोध्यानाम नगरी तत्रासी लोकाविश्रुता ।

समुद्रा मानवेन्द्रे ण या पुरी निर्मिता स्वयम् ॥६॥

Rāmāyaṇa, I, 5, vs. 5, 6.

2 Hiuen Tsang says :—Going north-west from this (Kaliṅga) about 1800 li we came to Southern *Kosala*. The king is of the Kṣattriya caste. He deeply reverences the law of Buddha, and is well affected towards learning and the arts. There are 100 Saṅghārāmas here, and 10,000 priests, There are a great number of heretics who live intermixed with the population, and also Deva temples. Not far to the south is an old Saṅghārāma. By the side of it is a *stūpa* built by Asoka Rāj. In old days Tathāgata exhibited great spiritual changes in this place and over came the heretics.

Bhramaragiri, the mountain of the Black bee (Durga). Hiuen Tsang says :—Afterwards Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva dwelt here (old saṅghārāma by the side of which was a *stūpa* built by Aśoka). At that time the king of the country was named Sadvāha¹ (*So-to-po'-ho*); he highly esteemed Nāgārjuna, and abundantly supplied all his wants.

At this time Deva Bodhisattva came from the country of *Sīṃhala* to seek to discuss on some (religious) questions. Coming to the door he requested permission to pass through. The gate-keeper announced him; on this Nāgārjuna recognised the man and filled a dish with water and told a disciple to show it to him.

Deva seeing the water, without speaking, cast a needle into it. The disciple then brought it back.

Nāgārjuna having seen it was full of joy and said: "This water so bright and full is the symbol of my character (qualities). That man who has come and thrown a needle into it has done so to show that he can investigate these to the bottom. If such be the man, I can discuss with him on the dark and mysterious doctrines of religion, and he may hand down the light (lamp)." He immediately caused him to be brought in, and having seated him, they entered on mutual conversation, as pleasant and agreeable as the fish finds the water to be.

Then Nāgārjuna said, "I am now old and worn out; does the pure shining orb of wisdom reside with you" (i. e. are you able to succeed me as a teacher)?

Deva, rising and reverently bowing at the feet of Nāgārjuna, said, "Although your servant is of small ability yet he will venture to hand down your loving instructions."

During the 7th. century A. D. the country of 'Southern Kosala' boasted of possessing learned Brāhmaṇas :—

In this country there was a Brāhmaṇa who was skilled in explaining

1 Who this king was is not certain. He is said to have reigned over *Shing-tu*, which may simply mean India. He was surnamed *Shi-yen-to-kia* (Sindhuka?). Was he a Pallava? and was Alamana where Nāgārjuna knew him, the same as "Aramana" or the *Coromandel* Coast, between *Cola* and *Kaliṅga*? Be that as it may, we know that Nāgārjuna was so closely acquainted with the king that he sent him a friendly letter exhorting him to morality of life and religious conduct. Beal's *Life of H. T.*, Intro., pp. xx, xxi.

the treatise called '*In-min_g*'; the Master of the Law remained here a month and some day, and read (with him) the *Tsah-liang-lun*.

Whether the country of *Sadvāha* is mentioned in the Buddhist literature of the time, simply as 'Kosala' or 'Southern or Mahā Kosala' is not properly known.

The Gunji Buddhist Inscription¹ gives us the name of a king named Kumāra Vāsanta. Gunji is in the *Sakti* Feudatory State which may be called the very heart of Chattisgarh. The record is assigned by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar to the first century A.D. It is not known whether this inscription contains the name of the country or kingdom over which king Kumāra Vāsanta ruled.

L. P. PANDEYA SARMA

1 Gunji is 14 miles from Sakti, the Head qrs. of a Feudatory state of the same name, on the B. N. Ry. Near this village is a spring known as "*Damau Dahrū*," and on a rock there this inscription in Brahmi characters has been incised. It consists of two parts, the first of which begins with salutation to Bhāgavata, and is dated the 15th day of the 4th fortnight of Hemanta in the 5th regnal year of a king named Śrī Kumāra Vāsanta, and contains the words Bhagavato *Usubhatithi*, the name of a *terra Godacha* and the name *Vāsīhiputa*.

The 2nd part of the inscription is dated on the second day of the 6th fortnight of *Grīṣma* in the 8th year of Kumāra Vāsanta's reign.

Cousen's Progress Report, 1904, p. 54 and 'Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar' by Rai Bahadur Hīrālāl, p. 168.

The Kalinga Edict

The First Separate Edict of Dhauli

(Also known as the Kalinga Provincials' Edict)

Of the two separate edicts of Dhauli and Jaugada, it was called No. I by Prinsep (*JASB.*, VII, 438), though Cunningham pointed out later on, after discussing the manner in which they had been engraved (*Cor. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 20), that it should properly be designated as the edict No. II. All scholars, including Cunningham himself, except Kern (who adopted the suggestion of Cunningham) and V. A. Smith, thought it desirable not to disturb the arrangement of Prinsep, and we, on our part, consider him perfectly justified in calling this edict No. I for other reasons that we shall point out towards the end of this discussion.

This inscription was first discovered by Kittoe in 1837, and was first published by Prinsep in 1838 (*JASB.*, VII, 437-445). It was re-edited by Burnouf (*Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, pp. 67iff.), by Cunningham in 1877 (*Cor. Ins. Ind.*, I), by Kern in 1880 [*JRAS.* (N.S.), XII, 379ff.] and also in *Jaarh. der Zuyd. Buddh.*, 101 ff.), by Bühler in 1887 (*ZDMG.*, 41, pp. 1ff., also in English in *Amaravati*, 114 ff.). It was revised by Senart (*Ins. de Piyadasi*, II, 105ff.). Of the most recent editions we have a transcript in Bhandarkar's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, part II, pp. 82-88, and translations and notes in his *Asoka*, pp. 323-25; translations and notes in glossary, in the two volumes of A. C. Woolner's *Asoka Inscriptions and Glossary*. Then comes the most important edition of the *Corpus* by Hultzsch.

In dealing with this edict we shall begin with that portion of it which contains the real teaching of the sermon. Asoka begins thus:—

Dekhata hi tuphe etan̐ suvihitū pi niti (Dh., I, 7-8; also Secs. I and J of Hultzsch's *Corpus*).

Hultzsch has concluded the sentence in *pi*, taking *niti* with the next sentence, but other scholars like Prinsep and Burnouf (Cunningham's *Corpus*, p. 127), Senart (*Ind. Ant.*, 1890, p. 84), Bühler (*ZDMG.*, 41, p. 3), Kern (while taking *niti* in the sense of *kiṃti*, began the next sentence with *iyam̐*, [vide *JRAS.* (N. S.), XII, p. 386], A. C. Woolner (*Asoka*, Part I, p. 23), Bhandarkar (*Inscriptions of Asoka*,

Part II, p. 83, and *Asoka*, p. 323), V. A. Smith (*Asoka*, p. 195), have ended the sentence with *niti*. With *niti* closely following *suvihitā*, it is more proper to take the latter as an adjective of *niti* in the feminine gender than of *tuphe* in the plural number. At Jaugaḍa the corresponding sentence is read as *Dakhatha hi (tuphe) hissuviṭṭa pi*. The two letters, which have been read as *tuphe*, are so indistinct in the impression supplied in Hultzsch's *Corpus*, and also in the cast of the edict in the Indian Museum, that we entertain doubt as to the correct reading of the word. Senart is for *niti*, and has concluded that this word has been carelessly omitted making the text somewhat unintelligible (*Ind. Ant.*, 1890, p. 88, n. 8, and p. 95, n. 32). But in order to "establish a complete harmony between the versions," we find that the word *tuphe* is not an absolute necessity in this sentence, for, with *dakhatha* taken in the imperative mood, the subject may remain understood without going against the rules of grammar. The most important word is *niti*, and we ought to see if it can be substituted in the place of *tuphe*. *Tuphe* coming after *hi* in the Dhauli text naturally suggests itself in this place, but we find that the text at Jaugaḍa is very condensed here, and though *etaṃ* may be omitted for the sake of contraction, it does not seem possible that the word *niti* should be left out making the sense incomplete thereby. We, therefore, suggest the substitution of *niti* in the place of *tuphe*, to make the sentence complete in every respect. In the impression and cast, we find only the traces of two upward strokes, but the three letters *ta*, *pha*, and *na* have all of them upward strokes, so *niti* here is not an absolute impossibility. Cunningham read *ca me* (*Corpus*, p. 90) in 1877, and was followed by Kern in 1880, who, while adopting the reading of *ca me* as before, suggested *tuphe* in the bracket, and in the Sanskrit rendering of the text he substituted *ṛṇyaṃ* thereby manifesting his preference for *tuphe* [*JRAS.* (N. S.), XLI, pp. 386, 388]. This was the first suggestion of *tuphe* in the text, which was afterwards adopted by Senart and other scholars. This being the history of the introduction of *tuphe*, we find that it was a guess work, and so may reasonably suspect its correctness. We, therefore, assume that whatever word might have been written here, it must have been either *niti* or some other synonym of that word, for nowhere at Jaugaḍa we have found the text in disagreement with that of Dhauli, at least in sense though not in the use of identical words. Moreover, if we take *niti* with the next sentence, there must be some word at Jaugaḍa in the corresponding

sentence to express the sense indicated by *niti* at Dhauli. But by comparing the two texts we cannot spare a single word for this purpose. *Bahuka* is not a substitute for *niti*, for these two words are wide apart in sense; besides, it has been used at Jaugaḍa at the beginning of the next sentence for the sake of agreement between the two texts, as we shall point out presently. We, thus, conclude that *niti* should go with *suvihitā* at Dhauli, and *tuphe* must be replaced by a word of identical sense at Jaugaḍa, as is unavoidably necessary for the sake of agreement.

Hultzsch has taken *suvihitā* in the sense of "well provided for" or "prosperous circumstances" (*Corpus*, p. 47, n. 6; p. 95, n. 11; p. 114, n. 4), and *niti* in the sense of *daṇḍa-niti* as pointed out by Lüders (*SPA IV.*, 1914, 859). We maintain that the general sense of the edict is against the adoption of these kinds.

"Administration of justice" and "prosperous circumstances" are too gross in this edict which aims only at moral purification. So, the sense of "well defined" (Senart), or "well established" (Smith), "well laid down" (Bhandarkar), for *suvihitā*, and "moral duties" (Senart), or "maxim of conduct" (Bhandarkar), for *niti*, appears to be the correct interpretations. The sentence, as modified in these ways, means—

At Dhauli—"See to this then, the maxim of conduct also is well laid down" (Bhandarkar).

At Jaugaḍa—"See to this maxim of conduct which is also well laid down."

What follows is the explanation of this *suvihitā niti*.

The next sentence:—

Iyaṃ eka-pulise pi athi ye baṃdhaṇaṃ vā palikilesaṃ vā pāpunāti.
(Dh. Sep., I, 8).

Bahukathī (or athi—Bühler) ye eti eka-munise baṃdhaṇaṃ palikilesaṃ pi (or hi—Bühler) pāpunāti. (Jau. Sep., I, 4).

Now, these *baṃdhaṇaṃ* and *palikilesaṃ* have been invariably taken by all scholars in the sense of imprisonment, harsh treatment or torture, etc. It is now our first concern to see in what sense these words have been used here. In doing so, let us turn to the context in order to ascertain the real significance of the sermon contained in this edict. In previous sentences Asoka says that he desires the happiness and prosperity of all men both in this world and in the next, and he calls upon his officers to grasp this truth to its fullest extent. He, then, speaks about the *niti* or moral conduct

that must be observed for this purpose, and introduces the real sermon beginning with the sentence under review here. Under these circumstances we cannot take *niti* in the sense of "principle of government", and *bandhanam* and *palikilesam* must not be confused with "ordinary imprisonment or torture". The following considerations also support this view. We find that the sermon contained in this edict was intended for recitations on Tisya days and on other suitable occasions. We also find from the Pillar Edict V that these Tisya days, like many others named therein, were held by Asoka specially auspicious, and so the torture of animals of various kinds was prohibited on these days. Therefore, it can be assumed that the sermon that was intended for recitations on such occasions must have something spiritual (rather of morality) in it, for it is beyond conception that the subject of imprisonment and torture of criminals should form the basis of a sermon that was considered fit for recitations in solemn festivities. We are, moreover, confirmed in this our belief when we find that the edict deals with subjects like envy, cruelty and idleness, the vices that obstruct spiritual insight. We also cannot but consider the question of administrative wisdom here. The king may be very kindly disposed, and he may feel for every criminal, but it does not behove him to proclaim by edicts through officials and by enforcing recitations on solemn occasions that certain criminals should be differently dealt with. For, however pious the intention may be, such acts must encourage the evil-doers and bring about that relaxation of law which can on no account be conducive to good government. Officers may be secretly instructed to act kindly to criminals, but a general proclamation of this nature undermines the primary object of law. It is not at all possible that Asoka committed such a blunder. We shall see presently that we are right in taking this view and that the text of the edict itself contains explanations of *bandhanam* and *palikilesam* in perfectly clear terms. Suffice it to say at this stage that *bandhanam* and *palikilesam* have been used, not in the sense of imprisonment and torture of criminals, but figuratively in the sense of the bondage of the world and sufferings that result from evil passions and bad habits. This passage has been translated by Hultzsch in the following manner:—

(1) It happens in the administration (of justice) that a single person suffers either imprisonment or harsh treatment (Hultz., *Ins. of Asoka*, p. 96). Here Hlz. has begun this sentence with the last word *niti* of the previous one and made it a compound with *iyam* forming

nityaṃ (*nityāṃ*) in the locative case. He also considers *bahuka* a substitute of this word in the Jaugaḍa version (*Ibid.*, p. 96, n. 1).

Now, though we have elsewhere in this edict *nityaṃ* at Dhauli (l. 12) for *niti iyaṃ* of Jaugaḍa (l. 6), yet we cannot agree to believe that in the sentence under review here *nityaṃ* is a correct reading. In all the impressions of this edict that we have consulted, and also in the cast of the edict in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, we find clear traces of four letters, and the traces of the third vowel are distinctly visible.

Hence the correct reading should be *niti iyaṃ*, but not *nityaṃ*. But we have pointed out that in this edict *nityaṃ* of Dhauli has been split up into *niti iyaṃ* at Jaugaḍa. There can be no objection to this sort of change there. *Niti* and its adjective *iyaṃ* when compounded form *nīṭiyaṃ*, and this in Asokan epigraphy may be written as *nityaṃ*. The very fact that *nityaṃ* can be split up into *niti* and *iyaṃ* shows that *iyaṃ* is an independent word, and so it cannot be regarded as a case-ending even in the form *nityaṃ* whose further contraction to *nityāṃ* is therefore inadmissible. So, in the sentence under review here, when we have *niti iyaṃ* clearly in the text, we cannot contract them to *nityāṃ* in order to come down to *nityāṃ* for forming a locative case. Hence the translation "in the administration of justice" offered by Hultzsch is not unquestionable. He perhaps worked on the suggestions advanced by Senart (*Ind. Ant.*, 1890, p. 90, n. 6). But we find there that the French savant was in utmost difficulty with the explanation of *nityaṃ*, and without suspecting for a moment that there may be a spiritual significance he very creditably attempted a solution of the problem by philological discussion and pointing out possible errors in epigraphy. But more of this hereafter.

Having thus separated *niti* and *iyaṃ*, we believe that the sentence begins with *iyaṃ*. The translation we offer is this :—

There is such and such an individual (adopted from the rendering of Senart) who is bound in worldly ties, or who gets sufferings (due to bad passions and habits).

Now about the interpretation of the word *bahuka*. The peculiar construction of the sentence should be observed in this connection. *Iyam ekaṇulise pi athi ye* (i. e. there is such and such a person who etc.) is found in the Dhauli version. The wording here clearly signifies that a solitary person is not meant, but many of a class of individuals who suffer in this way. Now, look at the Jaugaḍa text. It has *bahuka athi ye eti eka-munise* etc., which should be rendered as "There is a class of individuals like such and such a person who suffers etc."

Bahuka is thus an absolute necessity at Jaugaḍa in order to bring out the sense of the corresponding sentence at Dhauli. We rather think that by the use of *bahuka* at Jaugaḍa the sense of the corresponding sentence of Dhauli has been clearly brought forth. Readers will find that the Jaugaḍa sentences are in many cases explanatory of the Dhauli versions. Thus *bahuka* has been used for a class of persons, and hence the verb is *athi* in the singular. At Dhauli we have two finite verbs, *athi* and *pāpunāti*, but at Jaugaḍa we have three, *athi*, *eti*, and *pāpunāti*. It should also be observed that both *baṃdhanam* and *palikilesam* are objects of *pāpunāti* at Dhauli, and hence we have two conjunctions *vā* after each of the words. But at Jaugaḍa, *baṃdhanam* is the object of *eti*, and *palikilesam* is the object of *pāpunāti*, and hence only one conjunction *pi* (in the sense of 'also') has been used. The two texts are thus in complete agreement here and even elsewhere where different words sometimes have been used in these two texts. We find that they aim at the same signification without impairing the agreement in the least.

If we take *bahuka* as an adverb in the sense of frequently, then we must have the nominative of *athi* understood in this sentence, a construction which is far from satisfactory. But the situation improves if we take *bahuka* as a substantive in a collective sense. The word *bahuka* has been used as a substantive in the R. E. XII (Hlz., *Corpus*, p. 22, n. 2). Then again we take the word *ye*. At Dhauli it has *eka-pulise* for its antecedent. But without an antecedent at Jaugaḍa (if we take *bahuka* as an adverb), the significance of *ye* cannot be understood. So the construction fails.

Then we come to the next sentence:—

Akasmā tena baṃdhananṛtika añne ca—hu jāne daviye dukhivati.

(Dh. 9).

Akasmā tena baṃdhananṛtika . . .

ca vage bahuke vedayati (Jau., 4-5)

We find that scholars are not in agreement in the translations that they have offered of this sentence.

Hultzsch has rendered it as follows:—

"In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment is (obtained) by him accidentally, while (many) other people continue to suffer".

Here we find that *baṃdhananṛtika* has been taken in the sense of 'ending imprisonment,' and *akasmā* in the sense of 'accidentally,' but no satisfactory explanation was given about the use of the word *tena*, though the interpreter admits (p. 96, n. 4) that the proper form

would have been *tasa* in support of the translation offered by him. Though in Pāli, *tena* may sometimes be used for *tasa*, yet in a sentence like the one we are dealing with such use is ungrammatical.

Bühler has offered the following translation:—

“Then that trouble, which ends with imprisonment, falls upon him without any cause, and the other multitude is deeply sorry for him” (*Amaravati*, p. 129).

Here in *bamḍhanam̐tika* the scholar has adopted the sense of “resulting in imprisonment,” an idea which is just the opposite of what has been adopted by Hultzsch and Senart.

Now, let us see what Senart has done. He rendered it as follows:—

“Be ye there to put an end to an imprisonment, if it hath been ordered for no sufficient cause. Again, there are many people who suffer” (*Ind. Ant.*, 1890, pp. 95-96).

We can mark the idea of ending imprisonment in this translation, but we cannot understand how can instrumental *tena* refer to an officer who is not even mentioned in the previous sentence. Besides, there are guesses in this translation.

V. A. Smith adopts the following translation:—

“When the result is his imprisonment without due cause, many other people are deeply grieved” (*Asoka*, p. 195).

Here *bamḍhanam̐tika* has been taken, as by Bühler, in the sense of ‘resulting in imprisonment’. *Tena* has perhaps been rendered by ‘his’, the exact word for *tasa*, which is unjustifiable.

Bhandarkar has mainly followed Smith. “There it causelessly leads to imprisonment or death. Many other people again are intensely tortured” (*Asoka*, p. 323). The sense of *tena* is not found in this translation, but the idea of death is a new introduction. The scholar has, however, admitted the difficulty of the passage (p. 325, n. 1).

We have now seen how scholars differ from one another. Let us now offer our own:—

“When this bond of wordly attachment is cut asunder by him all on a sudden, his relatives, who are many, are deeply grieved”—(on the basis of the mixed readings of Dhauli and Jaugaḍa). The meaning is quite clear. When a person manifests extreme religious zeal by forsaking his family and turning a recluse, his relatives suffer in consequence. Buddha himself was a sinner in this respect. Mahāvīra followed also the same path. The Ājīvikas are mentioned in the edicts, and they were a class of recluses of this nature. The Buddhist monks were recruited on the same principle, which at a time, was

followed with so much zeal that Dr. Kern observes—"Those who are wise abandon their children. A man who leaves his poor wife, the mother of his child, in order to become a monk, and obstinately refuses to take care of her and the child, is held up to the admiration of the world as having done something very grand" (*Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 69). The reference is to be found in the Therīgāthā, vs. 301-2. What Asoka means in this sentence under review is that he disapproves the conduct of such persons, for this reason that the action of one man brings sufferings to many.

An objector will perhaps say that Asoka was a Buddhist,¹ so it can not be said that he should dissuade persons to become monks in this way.

Here we have taken *akasmā* in its ordinary sense 'suddenly.' Then about *tena*. We have *eka-pulise* or *eka-munise* in the previous sentence. The text naturally shows that this *tena* must have *eka-pulise* for its antecedent. So, the ending of *bandhanam* must have been done by this *eka-pulise*. To think of the officer of the state in this connection is unwarranted by the text as it stands, for we have *eka-munise* (such a person) at Jaugaḍa used as a synonym of *eka-pulise*, and hence we need not stick to the sense, 'officers of the king'. Then about *bandhanamitika*. We prefer the sense of 'ending *bandhanam*.' Here that this *bandhanam* is not imprisonment in the prison of the king is quite evident by the use of the word *tena* before it. A culprit putting an end to his imprisonment suddenly, is naturally suggestive of his escape from prison by stealth, but since this is not a happy idea, attempts have been made to twist the meaning for the sake of an acceptable rendering. "(An order) cancelling the imprisonment is (obtained) by him" requires the introduction of many new elements mentioned in the translation, and when this is done accidentally, we must say that much has been made of a rare occurrence by noticing the incident in the edict in this manner. And when after saying that "many other people continue to suffer," the king is supposed to have said in the next sentence—"In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially," we must admit that we have reached a deadlock. Does it mean that the officers were instructed to release all the prisoners because one person happened to be released accidentally? The idea of impartial dealing in a case like this requires such a proposition,

1 We shall discuss later on whether Asoka embraced Buddhism or not.

but that cannot be the intention of the king, unless he is desirous of putting an end to all sorts of imprisonments in his dominion. We refrain from dealing with other translations quoted above by simply remarking that if the idea of imprisonment is adopted, there will be no end of difficulties to express the sense of the text. We simply note here that this *baṃdhanam* is intimately connected with *palibhojha* of a subsequent sentence. The sense will be quite clear when we come up to that text.

What is this *baṃdhanam* then? In religious literature of India this word has been extensively used in the spiritual sense and very rarely in the sense of imprisonment in the prison of a king.¹ As the edicts are mostly on religious subjects, it is quite appropriate to take *baṃdhanam* in the spiritual sense only.

We find that in the translation offered by Prinsep, he hinted at the idea of "bondage and misery of sin" (*JASB.*, 1838, p. 443), which, if properly developed by subsequent scholars, would have rendered the edict more intelligible by this time. But such a valuable suggestion was rejected, and difficulties began to multiply. We should also touch upon the word *vage* of the Jaugaḍa text. Any dictionary will show that *vage* and *jane* are synonymous terms, and that *vage* conveys the idea of a multitude of similar things (both animate and inanimate) having some sort of family likeness in certain characteristics. It is, therefore, quite reasonable to interpret the word here in the sense of persons bearing family relationship, for when a man leaves off his home and becomes a recluse, it is chiefly his own relatives who suffer from his act. *Vage* of Jaugaḍa is, therefore, explanatory of *jane* of Dhauli. The Dhauli version has—"...*hu jane daviye dukkhiyati*" while at Jaugaḍa we have—"...*vage bahuke vedayati*." Here . . . *hu jane* of Dhauli is the counterpart of *vage bahuke* of Jaugaḍa, and *vedayati* and *dukkhiyati* are synonymous. So, the two texts are in complete agreement.

It may not be out of place here to note that his injunction against the leaving of home for religious life appears to have been directed against Buddhism, which is after all a monastic institution. The

1 Rg.-Veda, 7-59-12, 8-67-18; Yayur V., 3-60, 29-15, 12-64; Athar. V., 10-5-44, 19-56-2; Sāṃkhya, 3-24, 6-15; Yoga, 2-24; Kaṭha U., 2-3, 6-15; Muṇḍ. Up., 2-2-8, 3-2-9; Saṃyutta N., I, pp. 8, 24, 35; Majjh. N., II, 44; Sutta N., vv. 532, 948; Dīgha N., I, 226, 245; Vin. Piṭ., I, 21. etc.

Church, as it was formed, worked on this principle and both the young and the old were admitted into the Saṃgha.

In the Hindu Śāstras, on the other hand, "retirement from the world is enjoined upon every Aryan when once his duties to society are fulfilled. It comes at the end of a man's career." After passing through the earlier three stages, one should become a *yati* towards the close of his life, this is the Dharma common to all Aryan, as prescribed in the Brāhmanical works. In the *Manu Saṃhitā*, of the four stages, the Gārhaṣṭha stage or the life of a householder is spoken of as the best stage (6-89). A good householder given up to liberality is even a boon to be asked of gods (*R̥gveda*, 6-53-2). In the last verse (8-15-1) of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, the whole teaching of the book seems to have been summed up in the description of the ideal life that a man should live in this world. "One should learn the Vedas in the family of his teachers, and making presents to his Guru according to law, and doing his works fully, one should return home and enter into household life. In a sacred spot he should recite the holy scriptures and perform good deeds concentrating all his senses on the Supreme Self He verily thus passing his life attains on death the world of Brahman and never returns therefrom." In the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* (1-11) the Guru advises his disciple to enter into householder's life and beget children, and says—"This is the injunction, this is the advice, this is the sense of the Vedas, this is the Scripture." The Hindu religion and society were founded entirely on this principle. Even in the description of the hermitage of the Ṛṣis, we find that they lived with wives and children, and the best of them, like Kaśyapa (the father of the gods and demons), Vasiṣṭha (the best of the sages), and almost all the gods had wives and children. Even the best of the devotees, like Prahlāda and Dhruva, entered into household life after attaining success with their one-minded devotion. Even those who retired to the fourth stage of *yati* had to go there with their wives. The subject has been elaborately discussed by Prof. Sukumar Dutt in Chap. II of his *Early Buddhist Monachism*.

When Asoka has made an injunction on this point, it seems it was the tendency of the time to leave home for religious life. This must have been the effect of a new light that flashed before the eyes of the people accustomed to the orthodox view narrated above. As Buddhism was at that time growing to be a powerful religion which gave the Saṃgha an equal status with the founder of the sect and with Dharma, enjoining upon every Buddhist to pay obedience to all the three in

the same formula, and as we know this new doctrine was acclaimed by the rich and the poor, the Brahmin and the slaves, it is quite natural to suppose that the injunction of Asoka was principally directed against the Buddhists. For, though we hear of the Ājivikas, and of persons like Buddha and Mahāvīra leaving home for religious life in the pre-Asokan period, such limited egress never put the society into convulsion that could necessitate such an injunction. Even in the West we find people joining the Young Men's Christian Association, the Oxford Mission, and the Church, but the society is strong and liberal enough to overlook such secession from family, in consideration of the benefits these organisations bring to the society, and also in view of the limited number of persons that follow this mode of life. Condition was somewhat of this nature in the pre-Buddhistic period, the society in general being formed on the principle of looking upon householder's life, as we have pointed out before, as the best of Āśramas. Then came Buddhism. It removed many disqualifications under which the people were placed in social and religious matters, with the result that they must have, in great numbers, flocked within the fold of the Buddhist Saṃgha. The sufferings of the relatives must have attracted the notice of the king, who then made this injunction for the protection of the society. It should also be observed that the teaching of Asoka is non-monastic, for, he never calls upon the people to forsake home. His Dharma was obedience to father, mother, teachers and elders, proper treatment of friends, relatives, slaves and servants, etc., mainly meant for the householders. Instead of being frightened at this idea, we rather find here materials for careful consideration.

The next sentence :—*Tata ichhitaviye tupphehi kiṃti majham paṭi-pādayemā ti*. In this sentence the word *majham* requires explanation. We find in the translation offered by Prinsep that he rightly derived this word from *madhyam* and Kern also took it in the same way [*J.R.A.S. (N.S.)*, XII, p. 388] but later on it was considered a "secondary base formed upon the analogy of the oblique case *majjha*," Senart, Bühler Hultzsch, Smith have adopted this theory, but in the recent publication of Bhandarkar (vide his *Asoka*, pp. 323-4), he has gone back to the original idea of *madhyam* and we are of opinion that he has done this correctly. He has rendered the passage thus—"Consequently you should desire, what? to follow the middle path." But we are doubtful whether he could grasp the true significance of this middle path. We have seen in the previous sentence that the

king says that great sufferings overtake the relatives of him who in extreme religious zeal forsakes his family. Now, in the sentence under review he advises his officers to point out the middle path. The idea of a middle path brings in the idea of a path which is intermediate between the two extremes. In the previous sentence we have one of the two extreme cases, i.e., the manifestation of extreme religious zeal. So, the question which naturally arises in the mind is—what is the other extreme about which the king speaks here? The answer is contained in the next few sentences of the edict, a brief summary of which given here will help our readers to follow the arguments advanced in the edict in this respect. After having found fault with the manifestation of extreme zeal on one hand, he says that it is also not proper that people will suffer from the effects of envy, cruelty and idleness, on the other. Try to subdue these evil tendencies, not by spasmodic efforts, but by gradual exertions. So, do not be over-zealous in religious matters, and at the same time you should not also fall an easy prey to evil tendencies, but take to the path of gradual development, or in other words steer clear of the two extremes and follow the middle course." This is the gist of what Asoka says in the next few sentences, as we shall presently see.

The next sentence runs thus :—

Imehi chu jātēhi no sampatipajati-isāya āsulopena nīṭhṇīyena tulanāya anāṇṭīya ālasiyena kilamathena.

Here the renderings of the first part of the sentence such as—"With certain (narrated below) natural dispositions success is impossible" (V.A. Smith's *Asoka*, p. 195), "No one can act in a seemly manner etc.," (Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, p. 324), "There are certain dispositions with which yet will not succeed" (Senart, *Ind. Ant.*, 1890, p. 56), and "One fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions" (Hlz.) are almost similar. The idea of success seems to be the true sense here, and we think that it has been used with reference to the thought contained in the previous sentence. "Do not be over-zealous in religious matters, for even if you be, you will not be able to attain success with the following dispositions (unless they are completely subdued)." This is the connecting link.

Now, we come to the interpretations of certain words the sense of which has been, it seems, misunderstood. *Isāya* means 'envy' as has been rightly interpreted. But what about *āsulopena*? It has been taken as a substantive to mean "practice of destroying life" (Prinsep),

“want of perseverance” (Bühler), “le retranchement de la vie” (Burnouf), “*āśeurosha*” (Kern), “readiness to be discouraged” (Senart), “anger” (Hlz), “lack of perseverance” (Smith), “want of perseverance” (Bhandarkar). The word has been derived by Senart in the following manner. “*Lopa* ordinarily means ‘interruption,’ ‘giving up,’ *āsulopa* can, therefore, be translated as ‘precipitate giving up,’ and, consequently ‘readiness to be discouraged.’ The explanations ‘lack of perseverance,’ ‘want of perseverance,’ etc. are based upon this derivation. But what we say in this connection is that the word is not a substantive at all. It is an adjective qualifying the previous word *isāya*. We also stick to the derivation advanced by Senart, with this difference that the word means ‘precipitate giving up’ and nothing more, so it seems that that great scholar has gone a step too further by deducing therefrom the sense of ‘readiness to be discouraged’. Now, let us see what is meant by precipitate giving up of envy. The first sūtra of the Sāṃkhya philosophy is this—“Permanent prevention of the threefold pains is the supreme purpose of life.” And why is this permanent prevention spoken of? The commentator says—“If it be urged that cessation of these pains will take place of itself, seeing that pleasures and pains will last for only two moments, so the author adds *atyanta*; for cessation of particular pains only is not intended, but also of all future experiences of painful kind.” (Allahabad edition, p. 13). So, we see that the ‘precipitate giving up of envy’ cannot ensure spiritual advancement, for, unless that evil tendency is completely destroyed, it may re-appear in the next moment, though for the time being it may be kept under control by sudden exertions. This is the sense which is expressed by *isāya āsulopena*.

Again, *niṭhūliyena* has been rightly taken by scholars in the sense of harshness or cruelty, but the word *tulanāya* has been misunderstood. It has also been taken as a substantive meaning-cruelty (from *tūraṇayā*-Prinsep), rashness (Kern), hastiness (Bühler), impatience (from Skt. *īvaraṇa*—Senart), hurry (Hlz.), impatience (Smith), hastiness (Bhandarkar). We are, however, of opinion that the word has come neither from *tūraṇayā*, nor from *tvaraṇa* but from the parent word *tulanā* itself, and that in every case we need not search for phonetic deterioration of a word. It is here an adjective qualifying the previous word ‘*niṭhūliyena*’, and has been used in the ordinary sense of comparison (*tulanā*), so that ‘*niṭhūliyena tulanāya*’ means comparative cruelty. Now, what is meant by comparative cruelty? Take up the last verse of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*. It occurs there—

"No living creature should be injured except in sacrifices" (Ibid., 8-15-1). This is comparative abstention from cruelty. Then, Manu prohibits the slaughter of animals, and the eating of flesh except in sacrifices or on the occasions of giving food to the ancestors, or when it is necessary for the sake of life (*Manu Saṃhitā*, 5. 22, 27, 32, 39, etc.). This is also comparative cruelty. Even we find similar injunctions in the Buddhist literature. "The eating of fish and meat is allowed if it is pure in three respects, to wit, if one has not seen, nor heard, nor suspected that it has been procured for that purpose." (*MV.*, 6, 31, 14; *CV.*, VII, 3, 15; *MN.*, I., 368ff.). This sort of comparative cruelty, Asoka says, cannot also lead to spiritual improvement. For the attainment of success, it is absolutely necessary that one should abstain from all sorts of cruelty at all times, otherwise it is useless for one to leave home in a sudden fit of enthusiasm for spiritual advancement.

Then about *anāvṛṭtiya*. It has also been taken as a substantive in the sense of idleness or non-employment (from *anāvṛṭyā*—Prinsep), unheedfulness (Kern), absence de profession (from *āvṛtti*—Burnouf), neglect of repeated efforts (Bühler), want of application (from *anāyukti*—Senart), want of practice (from Skt. *āvṛtti*—Hlz.), want of application (Smith and Bhandarkar). We are, however, of opinion that the word is an adjective qualifying both the words *ālasīyena* and *kīlāmathena* which are almost similar in significance. It has come from the Skt. word *anāvṛtti* meaning non-retreating. In this, we stick to the parent word *āvṛtti* already suggested by Burnouf and Hultzsch, but instead of taking it in the sense of profession or repetition, we take it in the sense of retreat or flight. Though *āvṛtti* is a noun, *Anāvṛtti* has been made an adjective through Bahuvrīhi compound like the words *Anṛṭya*, *Anādi*, *Ananta*, etc. Almost all good dictionaries have observed these meanings of *āvṛtti*. In both Monier Williams', and Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionaries retreat or flight is one of the meanings of *āvṛtti*. In the *Śabdakalpadrūma*, *āvṛttaḥ* means also *nivṛttaḥ* and *palāyitaḥ*. In Apte's Dictionary 'Ā√vr̥' has been taken in the sense of "to keep off," with an illustration from the *Bhāṭikāvya* (14-109), i.e., *Āvavre mūsālī taruṃ* meaning *Mūsalenāvṛtavān* in the sense of "kept off or checked." It should be observed that in the foregoing two cases permanent prevention is the object of the author, so the sense of "keeping off" here is quite in keeping with the significance of the sentence. That this *anāvṛṭtiya* "is naturally connected with *ālasīyena* and "the last term of the series belongs

to the same order of ideas" have also been observed by Senart, but the idea of an adjective in this word never suggested itself to him or to any other scholar. They have practically followed in the footsteps of Prinsep who was the first scholar to take *āsulopena*, *tulanāya*, and *anāvṛṭṭiya* as substantives. Other scholars followed, but all of them was trying to solve the problem by twisting the meanings of these words, always sticking to the idea of substantives in them, with the result that they advanced various interpretations which did not agree with one another. That this should be the natural consequence is undoubtedly true, for, the taking of *āsulopa* as a substantive in the sense of that which ends abruptly, may mean a lot of things. From "readiness to be discouraged" we may come to "lack of perseverance" as well as to the ideas of moral cowardice, or of lacking in firm conviction; and cannot 'precipitate giving up' refer to short memory or want of stamina? Thus, various are the interpretations that can be put on these words in this manner. It is doubtful that when we have definite words like *isāya*, *nīḥṛṭṭiyena*, *ūlasiyena* and *kilamathena* in this sentence, the other three should be used in the figurative sense to convey the ideas of certain dispositions? We have in the Pillar Edict III, *chamḍiye* for fierceness, *nīḥṛṭṭiye* for cruelty, *kodhe* for anger, *māne* for pride, *isyā* for envy. The two words *isyā* and *nīḥṛṭṭiye* are those that we find here used in the Kaliṅga Edict. Does it now seem possible that *āsulopa* was used in the figurative sense to signify anger, *tulanā* for hurry, and *anāvṛṭṭiya* for want of practice?

Thus we find that only three natural dispositions are referred to here, instead of seven, as has been hitherto understood and they are envy, cruelty, and sloth or idleness. We shall see here below how Asoka has referred to all of them by two words *anāsulope* and *atulanā*. We shall also see that these three dispositions, but not more, were meant by the king, when we come to deal with the three adjectives that were used by Asoka to qualify the *Mahāmātra* whom he proposed to send every five years.

It may be argued that by taking *āsulopena* and *tulanāya* as adjective of *isāya* and *nīḥṛṭṭiyena* respectively we have not followed strict grammatical rules. But in the language of the edicts it is not an entirely new departure. Senart observes—"Everywhere here the distinction between masculine and neuter is completely obliterated." (*Ind. Ant.*, 1890, p. 87, n. 6). He also says—"Iyaṃ would be used for the masculine which is in no way extraordinary in monuments in which

the same form is constantly employed both for *feminine and the neuter, and in which the difference between the neuter and the masculine in the singular is almost obliterated.*" (*Ind. Ant.*, 1888, p. 306). Mark also *Kampdhāni* and *Yutāni* used in the masculine plural. The instances of shortening the feminine termination 'ā' in singular, giving the words the appearance of masculine forms, are also not rare. In the Sep. Ed. II, we have *lipi-sotaviya* at Dhauli, *dhiti patimnū ca acala* twice at Jaugada. Then, *esū* is a nom. sing. feminine form, but in nom. sing. masculine it is used in the Girnar version in the R.E. VIII, 5; XIII, 4. *Sā* has also been so used in G. XIII, 10. (Vide Hultsch's *Corpus*, p. lxiv., and p. 15, n. 7). It may thus be seen that the authors of the edicts were not strictly particular about the gender of words.

If still one should persist in the aforesaid objection, we can say that there is another construction possible which can satisfactorily remove the cause of this objection. Here we take *isūya* not in the instrumental but in the genitive case (both having the same form), connected with *āsulopena*, a substantive in the instrumental case, so that *isūya āsulopena* means, as before, "by precipitate giving up of envy." This also accounts for the use of *āsulopena* after *isūya*. Similarly, *tulanāya* has been used in the genitive sense, so that *nibhūtiyena tulanāya* means "by cruelty of comparison." The significance of this phrase we have explained before, from which it will be evident that the sense becomes more clear in this arrangement. Then, we stick to the sense of *anāvṛtiya* as an adjective qualifying, as we have said before, the two words *ālasiyena* and *kilamathena*. *Anāvṛtiya* coming from *anāvṛtti*, which is a Bahuvrīhi compound, can be used in all the three genders without any change of forms perceptible in the language of the edicts. Thus the supposed defects of grammar can be entirely removed without any change in the meanings we have noted before. We are more inclined to prefer this arrangement.

(To be continued)

MANINDRA MOHAN BOSE

The Lost Bhowal Copper-Plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva of Bengal

The Asiatic Society of Bengal from its very inception realised the great importance of 'inscriptions on stone and metal' and turned its attention to this class of materials for the reconstruction of history from the earliest times. As a result, a very valuable collection of copper-plates and other inscriptions began to be formed in the archives of the Society. Owing unfortunately to the system of lending them out, many of the plates that were noticed in the early volumes of the *Researches* and the *Journal* have been lost and are not to be found now in the collections of the Society. The early notices, however imperfect they may have been, compensate to some degree for the loss of the original plates ; but it is a great pity that some of the plates presented to the Society appear to have disappeared before even a moderately satisfactory notice of them appeared in any of the periodicals. The plate of Raṇavaṅka Malla, found in 1803 in taking the Kalirbāzār Road over the Lālmāi hills in the Tippera district of Bengal and noticed by Colebrooke in vol. IX of the *Asiatic Researches*, is no longer to be found. The Idilpur plate of Keśava Sena noticed by Prinsep in an early volume of the *Journal* has gone, leaving no trace behind. The loss of the documents became so marked that Prinsep thought it prudent to publish them serially with facsimiles, and thus put on permanent record all the plates that he found in the collection of the Society (*JASB.*, V, VI, and VII).

In Bengal, students of literature dealing with the history and antiquity of East Bengal, may have met with the vernacular history of Bhāoāl, a *parganah* of the Dacca District, by Babu Nabin Chandra Bhadra. The book is very rare and comparatively little known. On page 26 of the book, there is a short notice of a copper plate that was found at a place near Kāpāsia in Bhāoāl which is recorded to have been sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal for decipherment and thence to England. I have long searched for any detailed notice of the plate in every possible quarter, but all my efforts have hitherto been unavailing.

Some years ago, however, Mr. J. T. Rankin, I. C. S. handed over to me a volume of the *Asiatic Journal* and *Monthly Register* and pointed

to a passage in it. It was the XXVIII volume of the Journal, (July—December, 1829) and the passage occurs on page 709 under the heading 'Varieties.' It is a quotation from the Calcutta Government Gazette of the first week of May, 1829, and it is a report of the proceedings of a meeting of the Asiatic Society, held on the 6th May, 1829. I was glad to find that the report contained a notice of the copper-plate from Bhāoāl. The details given are necessarily vague and uncertain, but still its value cannot be overestimated, as it is at present the only notice available of this important historical document.

Few, I believe, would go to seek this lost copper-plate again in this rare corner, and the report therefore deserves a fresh lease of life. It will, moreover, afford an interesting sample of the manner of antiquarian studies in the beginning of the last century. The name of Mr. Walters, Magistrate of Dacca, lives in his handiwork, the iron bridge on the Dolai creek at Dacca, which as the memorial tablet shows was erected during his magistracy in 1832. It is gratifying to find the name of this public spirited magistrate again in connection with the Bhāoāl copper-plate. It was Mr. Walters who obtained the plate from Golak Narayan Roy, Zeminder of Bhāoāl and presented it to the Asiatic Society.

Mr. Walters gives the following account of the ancient copper tablet :—

"About thirty miles north of the city of Dacca, a few miles above the site of the ancient fortress of Akdala and a short distance from the banks of the river Luckiah is situated Mowza Rajabary, appertaining to Parganah Bhowal and included in the modern division of Thanah Jamalpore. At this place, on the crest of a low hill stands an ancient building called by the natives Moggee's *Mut*. It is built in the usual pyramidal form of Hindu *Muts* but it is of considerable solidity and contains a small square vaulted apartment. The building is much dilapidated, but it is held together by some old Banian trees, which have encircled it with a netting of roots, many of them being of large dimensions. These trees attest the antiquity of the building from their great size and age. From their elevated situation they also form a landmark visible from a considerable distance. Close to the *mut* is a tank of some magnitude, evidently a work of considerable labour and expense and which must have been excavated during the flourishing period of the Hindu rājās; other buildings appear to have stood near the *mut*.

"At the distance of about two miles to the north-west of the *mut*

stood the palace of Raja Chundal. The site is on a small hill surrounded by a deep and broad moat. The interior is over-run with rank jungle but a large tank called the Dunwa Dighi and the scattered remains of old brick buildings evince that the spot was once the habitation of man.

"The current tradition relative to the *mut* is that Ranee Muggee, after long separation, set out with a splendid retinue to visit her brother, the Criminal Raja.

"The Raja hearing of the approach of a large body of armed men, imagined that the *Mussalmans* were coming to plunder the place and immediately fled. The Ranee however, having pacified his fears, the brother and sister met on this spot, in memory of which event, the *mut* was erected by Ranee Muggee. About forty years ago (i. e., 1790) the accompanying copper tablet was dug up by a Koonch Ryott at a short distance from the *mut*. It was conveyed to the Bhowal Zemindar Luckhenarian Rae, from whose son Goluknarain Rae, it has now been obtained. The inscription on the tablet appears to be composed of Devi Naguree, Sungskritu and Bengali characters. It has been partly decyphered after great labour by Bhyrub Chander Turk-lunkar, Pandit of the Dacca city-court and from his account, it appears to be a "Dunputer" or deed of settlement by Raja Jye Seen and is something to the following effect:—

"It commences with an invocation of Narayunu and proceeds to state that he, Jye Seen, divides all his possessions in the manner set forth in the copper tablet. To Goree Pereah, his daughter whom he has given in marriage to Mulla Seen, and whose beauty is without rival in the world, he gives one lac and 8000 gold mohurs, 81 horses, 136 slaves, 27 *nuts*, 127 elephants and jewels without number together with all his possessions to the south of the Sybolence river. To his youngest brother, Beer Seen, he gives all the kingdom of Kachar and all to the eastward of the Gomut river. To his second brother Jorea Seen he gives his capital city and palace, all his remaining slaves, army, ordnance and wealth, together with the kingdoms of Gour and Bungu and also the kingdom of Coos (Beyhar) and all the remaining kingdoms under his dominion. He enjoins him to feed the holy Brahmins, to make Poojah to Narayan, to build *nuts* in honor of Sheeb; and to follow his example; also to protect and cherish the learned pundits, to take care of all his dependents, and to perform frequent ablutions in the sacred Ganges; also to perform Deebta Pooja and to *jup* (or cause the names of the gods to be repeated on rosaries by the Brahmins);

he further enjoins his daughter and brothers to live together in harmony, under the care and direction of Jorea Seen."

Poor Bhairab Tarkālāṅkāṛ, in order to save his court-pandit-ship as well as his reputation, which were seriously jeopardised by this calamitous copper tablet inscribed with strange characters, concocted, as is evident from the above description of the inscription, an amount of fictitious reading which were too much even for the shallow Dr. H. H. Wilson was then the Secretary of the Asiatic Society. The great scholarship of Dr. Wilson in Sanskrit learning is well-known and he gazes correctly at the name of Tarkālāṅkāṛ's reading.

"Mr. Walters," the report goes on to say "placing reliance upon the accuracy of the account before him, enters into some ingenious speculations respecting the dates and boundaries referred to in the grant, which our limited space prevents our adverting to at greater length; suffice it to say that with respect to the date of the document in question, he concludes the settlement to have been made 379 years ago, or about the middle of the 15th century."

"Subjoined are the observations on the document that were read by the Secretary of the Asiatic Society."

"The inscription sent by Mr. Walters is written in a character, for the greater part the same as modern Bengali, but some of the letters are of an unusual form and some are not decipherable; much of the plate is worn, so that the letters are no longer legible. Upon referring to the copy made by the Pandit, upon which, it is to be presumed, his account of the purport of the inscription is founded, the copy appears to be exceedingly and unnecessarily defective. Scarcely any of the right half of the plate is given and in what is attempted, not only broken and detached sentences but single syllables and solitary letters occur repeatedly. Such as it is, it by no means warrants the interpretation given, and the whole story of Jaya Sen's bequest is his own invention. Gouripriya which implies the beloved, the friend or companion of Gauri, has its place in the first (verse) which is here, as it usually is, a benedictory stanza or an invocation of some deity, and cannot therefore apply to any mortal; the object of the record as to the *Raths*, elephants, mohurs and rupees, the version affords not the least vestige of them; nothing like the word Kachar is given in Bunga, nor Cooch Behar. The name Vic(r)a Sena is to be read but without the epithet 'younger brother.'

"Even if the transcript had borne out the summary of the contents of the inscription, it would have been very doubtful, if reliance is to

be placed in it, and a comparison of it with the original is by no means favourable to its accuracy. Three Pandits have with great pains made out a fresh copy but even of the correctness of their labours there are strong doubts, and no great dependence upon the result can be placed. That it is much more faithful than the copy sent by Mr. Walters has been ascertained by comparing portions of it with the plate.

"The object of the inscription is evidently the common purpose of similar documents and is the record of a grant of land or villages, not provinces, bestowed on Brahmins, not princes. It evidently also comprises a genealogy which might be of value if it could be distinctly followed, but the names that are to be made out are separated by such wide intervals, that it is impossible to say what connection subsists between the persons particularised. The first name that occurs is that of Vijaya Sena, the same apparently with Mr. Walters' Jaya Sena; but he is the first of the race and cannot therefore be the person who makes the grant, as several other names succeed, as Vullala Sena, Kasiraja, Rajagiwa, Vira Sena and Lakshmana Sena Deva. Belal or Bellala Sena and Lakshmana Sena are well-known as Hindu kings of Bengal. The latter was the native sovereign when Muhammad Bukhtiar Khilji invaded and conquered the province in 1202 A.D., and the founder of Gour, Lakshmanavati or Lucknauti. The mention of this raja is therefore wholly incompatible with the date of the inscription as given by the Pandit *viz.*, A. D. 1314 (Sañivat 1370); but the original contains no such number having only the cyphers 37, which will of course, be the year of the reign, not that of the era. Belal Sena, it is also well-known, was Raja of Bengal in the 12th century.

"The inscription may throw some light upon the genealogy of the ruling family of Bengal in the 12th century, if it shall be hereafter more satisfactorily decyphered; but its imperfect condition renders this very problemetical."

This is all that is recorded about the Bhāoāl plate of the Sena dynasty in the report of the monthly meeting of the Asiatic Society published in the Calcutta Government Gazette and quoted in the Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register. Now, the problem before us is to find out to which particular king of the Sena dynasty can the plate be ascribed and what was the nature of its contents.

Very few data indeed are available for the task. The following are about the only points on which we can rely:—

- (a) The plate began with an invocation of Nārāyaṇa.

(b) The word *Gaurīpriyā* was to be made out in the first, i. e. the invocatory stanza.

(c) The names of *Vīra Sena*, *Vijaya Sena*, *Ballāla Sena*, *Kāśīrāja*, *Lakṣmaṇa Sena* could be made out in various places.

(d) The figures 3 and 7 could be read, probably at the end of the plate. As the 12th century figure for 2 is easily mistaken for 3, I suspect that the figures were really 2 and 7.

The first point on which the Secretary of the Society based some discussion and which therefore is very definitely stated, is very helpful in identifying the plate. In granting copper-plates to *Brāhmaṇas*, the kings generally used to follow a stereotyped draft, introducing only such variations of place and personal names as are necessary in each individual grant. Instances of those stereotyped drafts are to be met with in the series of land grants of both the *Pāla* and the *Sena* dynasties of Bengal. The *Idilpur* grant of *Keśava Sena* and the *Madanapāda* grant of *Viśvarupa Sena* are copies of the same draft with different person and place names. Of the number of grants of *Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva* discovered up to this time, the *Tapandighi* plate, the *Anulia* plate, the lost *Jayanagar* plate and the new *Govindapur* plate are copies of the same draft. The *Madhainagar* plate of *Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva* is, however, a proof of the fact that the same draft was not always followed throughout a long reign, as it is a completely different draft from the above mentioned four grants of the same king. It is certain that the *Bhāoāl* plate, if it was not a copy of a hitherto unknown draft, must have been similar in composition to one or other of the plates of the *Sena* dynasty hitherto known. We know from our point (c) that the plate contained the name of *Lakṣmaṇa Sena*. As this is the name of the latest monarch in the list of names mentioned, we may safely conclude that the plate was of *Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva*; and from the point (d) it appears that the plate was of the thirty seventh year of his reign. As already explained, two types of drafts of the grants of *Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva* are known, *viz.*, the type of the *Tapandighi*, *Anulia*, *Jayanagar* and *Govindapur* plates and the type of the *Madhainagar* plate. The first type opens with a *śloka* which does not contain the word *Gaurīpriyā*; but the *Madhainagar* grant which opens thus,—*Oṃ namo Nārāyaṇāya. Yasyāṅke śaradambudorasi taḍillekheva Gaurīpriyā*—contains the sought-for word in the very first line¹.

1. Mr. R. D. Banerjee on the *Madhainagar* grant. *JASB.*, 1909, p. 471.

From the above, we may not unreasonably conclude that the Bhāoāl plate was a plate of king Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva of Bengal granted in his 27th regnal year and the contents of the plate were similar to those of the Madhainagar grant. The mention of the name of Kāśīrāja in the Bhāoāl plate lends additional support to the identification, as we find the mention of Kāśīrāja on the Madhainagar plate also in the 11th śloka, on line 20.

The portion which contained the date in the Madhainagar plate is unfortunately very badly corroded and undecipherable. The Bhāoāl plate was dated in the 27th regnal year and we have sufficient proof that the draft of the type of the Madhainagar grant must be ascribed to years late in the reign of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. The first type of draft which was followed in the Tapandighi grant dated in the 3rd regnal year,¹ the Jayanagar grant dated in the same year,² the Anulia grant³ dated in the same year, the Govindapur grant⁴ also dated in the same year, was apparently the draft adopted in the early part of the reign. The Jayanagar plate which was issued four months later than the Tapandighi plate disposes of Lakṣmaṇa Sena and his glories in one śloka containing only the usual general praise without any specification, while, the latter after repeating this śloka, adds another of an equally unsubstantial nature. The Anulia plate adds two more verses of unspecific character adding nothing to our knowledge of Lakṣmaṇa Sena's achievements. The epithets given to Lakṣmaṇa Sena in the Anulia and Tapandighi plates are Parameśvara, Paramavaiṣṇava, Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Mahārājā-dhirāja, while in the Jayanagar plate, the more specific epithet of Paramanārasimha (পরমনারসিংহ) takes the place of the epithet Paramavaiṣṇava. In the Madhainagar plate, however, the ślokas eulogising Lakṣmaṇa Sena, as well as the epithets applied to him have grown both in substance and form. Four ślokas are applied to describe the achievements of Lakṣmaṇa Sena in the course of which we learn of his victories over the kings of Gauḍa, Kaliṅga, Kāmarūpa, and Benares. Three of the lines describing his epithets are lost, being undecipherable,

1 Mr. R. D. Banerjee in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XII, p. 10.

2 *Varṅga sākṛitya-viṣayaka Prastāva* by Pandit Ramagati Nyāyaratna, 1st ed., p. 373.

3 A. K. Maitra, in *JASB.*, 1900, p. 61-65.

4 ভাৱতবৰ্ষ—ফাঙ্কন, ১৩৩২।

but four others can be read in which he is called the supreme among heroes, the overlord, the light of the Soma race, the supreme initiated, the like of Lord Nārāyana in kingly glory, the Sumeru mountain of the Brahmakṣatriyas, the lord of Gauḍa, and last of all Parameśvara, Paramanārasimha, Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Rajādhirāja, the four epithets of the Tapandighi, Jayanagar and Anulia grants. The victories achieved by him and the numerous epithets indicating the spread of his renown, detailed in the Madhainagar plate, unmistakably show that it was issued late in his reign, as he must have taken considerable time to win them.

The fact of the Bhowal plate escaping all notice up to this time is very strange. Prinsep does not mention it; neither Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra nor Cunningham knows of the plate, and of course subsequent writers on the Sena kings like the late Kailas Chandra Sinha and Mr. R. D. Banerjee do not mention it. Yet the plate was presented to the Society and an account of it was read in a monthly meeting. We have only to look to the records of the Society for a solution of this mystery. We learn from the Centenary Volume of the Society that the proceedings of the Society were published in the years 1821-1827 in the *Quarterly Oriental Journal* started by Dr. Wilson. Before and after these years, the proceedings were "read at meetings and then pigeon-holed to decay." In 1829 however, Captain J. D. Herbert started a monthly Journal under the name of "*Gleanings in Science*" in which the precis of the monthly meetings were regularly published. This probably missed the meeting of the first week of May, 1829. Thus we see how the proceedings of the monthly meeting in which an account of the Bhāoāl plate was read, failed to get recorded in any of the official publications of the Society and consequently were lost to all scholars. The Calcutta Government Gazette, however, very fortunately, recorded the important proceedings which were quoted by the vigilant editor of the *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register*; and a copy of the Journal containing the quotations kindly placed in my hand by Mr. J. T. Rankin, has enabled me after the lapse of about a century to speculate on this long-lost copper-plate again.

NALINI KANTA BHATTASALI

The Origin and Development of Numerals

I. THE MEANING AND USE OF NUMERALS

"The numerals or the nine figures, with the device of places, to make them suffice for all numbers," says Bhāskara in his *Vāsanā*, "originate from the beneficent Creator of the Universe." Such was the great importance of the numerals in the daily life of human beings that the Hindus were more inclined to ascribe their origin to the Divinity than to human agencies. It might mean, of course, that the great antiquity of these numerals among the Hindus was beyond calculation, having been used at a period anterior to all existing records. This was also the practice with the Greeks, Egyptians and most other nations, with respect to more important inventions in the arts of life whose origin is lost in the remoteness of antiquity.

The chief use of numerals is for reckoning. The use of visible signs to represent numbers and aid reckoning is not only older than writing, but also older than the development of numerical language on the denary system. We count by tens because our ancestors counted on their fingers and named the numbers accordingly. So used, the fingers were with our ancestors really numerals, that is visible numerical signs; and in remote antiquity the practice of counting by these natural signs were in vogue in all classes of society.¹ In the later times of antiquity the finger symbols were developed into a system capable of expressing all numbers below 10,000. The left hand was held up flat with the fingers together. The units from one to nine were expressed by various positions of the third, fourth and fifth fingers alone, one or more of these being either close on the palm or simply bent at the middle joint, according to the number meant. The thumb and index were thus left free to express the tens by a variety of relative positions, e.g., for thirty their points were brought together and stretched forward; for fifty the thumb was bent like Greek Γ and brought against the ball of the index. The same set of signs, if executed with the thumb and index of the right hand,

1 Even now used in the course of uttering *Gāyatrī* mantras to remember the number of times.

meant hundreds instead of tens and the unit signs if performed on the right hand meant thousands.¹ The fingers served to express numbers, but to make a permanent note of numbers some kind of mark or tally was needed. Alphabet writing did not do away with the use of numerical symbols, which were more perspicuous and compendious than words written at length. But the letters of the alphabet themselves came to be used as numerals. One way of doing this was to use the initial letter of the name of a number as its sign.

Numerals, therefore, mean the instruments of reckoning. Needs of reckoning were felt with the very dawn of human consciousness, for expression of ideas required reckoning. Hence it is conceivable that reckoning came into force from the time human beings became articulate. Human literature, that is available at the present time as records of the oldest antiquity, bears testimony to this fact. The oldest records of Hindu literature, i.e., the Vedas, show that reckoning was of everyday necessity in practical life. On astronomical grounds some Sanskrit scholars hold that the oldest Vedic hymns date from 3,000 B.C., while some others put them as far back as 6,000 B.C., it is also an established fact that the R̥g-veda is the oldest literary document of the Indo-European languages. There also we find in the famous Sāvitrī hymn :

तिस्रो द्यावः सवितुर्वा उपस्था
एका यमस्य भुवने विराषाट् ।

There are *three* heavens; *two* are the laps of Sāvitrī, *one* over-coming men, in the abode of Yama. (I, 35, 6).

or

अष्टौ व्यष्ट्यत्ककुम्भः पृथिव्याम्
त्री धन्व योजना सप्त सिन्धून् ।

He has surveyed the *eight* peaks of the earth, the *three* waste lands, the leagues and the *seven* rivers (I, 35, 8).

And also in the famous Puruṣa hymn :

सहस्रशीर्षा पुरुषः
सहस्राक्षः सहस्रपात्
स भूमिं विश्वतो हत्वा-
त्यतिहृद्दृशाङ्गलम् ।

Thousand-headed was Puruṣa, *thousand*-eyed, *thousand*-footed. He having covered the earth on all sides, extended beyond it the length of *ten* fingers. (X, 90, 1).

¹ The system is described by Nicholas Rabda of Smyrna. Vide Palmer in the Journal of Philology, vol. II, pp. 247 ff.

Here it is seen that fingers were not only used for measuring length but also for reckoning.

This system of reckoning by numerals has been adopted, with slight variations, not merely in all languages of the same class and origin, but likewise in many others which are radically different from them. If we proceed to the expressions of higher numbers, we find the same general law of their formation by the combination of names of the articulate numbers, with those of the nine digits.

Speaking of the antiquity of the numbers Dr. Peacock in his work on arithmetic observes :—"From the consideration that when a national literature whether oral or written, is so generally diffused as to form a standard, or a test of purity, which while it enforces a legitimate character upon all existing terms, watches over the introduction of all others with extreme jealousy; from this consideration alone, independently of other evidence, we should be inclined to assign to the Sanskrit terms for high numbers, and consequently, to their system of numeration upon which they are founded, an antiquity at least as great as their most ancient literary monuments; as the arbitrary impositions of so many new names for the most part independent of each other, and in numbers, also, so much greater than could possibly be required for any ordinary application of them, would be a circumstance entirely without example in any language which had already acquired a settled and generally recognised character."

This much is sufficient to prove the antiquity of numerals. Of their use in our daily life it is needless to add more than what has been said by Bhāskara that their importance has been such as to lead ancient people to think them to have originated from the Creator himself. We have seen what the general meaning of numerals was and has been and in their early conception the fingers played the principal part. So much useful have been the numerals with people all over the world from the very ancient times and so much familiar are we with them, that it is difficult to ascertain correctly their origin and more difficult to find the place of their birth. There are, moreover, such scanty materials to fall upon that the task of determining their origin becomes almost improbable, if not impossible. The meaning and use of numerals are so self evident that we are often led to believe that Bhāskara was right when he attributed the origin to divine agency and not to any human authorship.

II. THE HINDU-ARABIC QUESTION

In histories of the mathematical sciences it has been usual to trace the knowledge of arithmetic to the Arabs, and the numerals are distinguished by the symbols termed Arabic. Dr. Peacock, in his work on arithmetic, observes that there is nothing in the Greek notation which in the slightest degree resembles the present numerals, and nothing in the object proposed in the researches of Archimedes and Apollonius which could naturally lead to their invention.

The idea that the numerals are Arabic in origin is not an old one. The Mediæval and Renaissance writers generally recognised them as Indian, and many of them expressly stated that they were of Hindu origin.¹ Others were of opinion that the numerals were probably invented by the Chaldeans or the Jews because they increased in value from right to left. Robert Recorde (c. 1542), England's earliest arithmetical text-book writer, probably referred to this general idea of notation when he wrote: "In that thing all men do agree, that the Chaldays, whiche fyrste invented thys arte, did set these figures as they set all their letters for they wryte backwards as you tearme it, and so do they reade. And that may appeare in all Hebrewe, Chaldaye and Arabike books whereas the Greekes, Latines, and all nations of Europe, do wryte and reade from the left hand toward the ryghte."² There were others also, among whom were such influential writers as Tartaglia in Italy and Kobel in Germany, who asserted the Arabic origin of the numerals on the ground of their order being from right to left. This order of writing probably led Mr. G. R. Kaye to think that the numerals are of Arabic origin. "Sanskrit and kindred scripts" says Mr. G. R. Kaye "are, and have been, for centuries, written from left to right, while the Arabic family of scripts are written from right to left. It would be natural to expect number, words and symbols to be affected by the mode and direction of writing."³ But how is it then that the

1 Maximus Planudes (c. 1330) states that "the nine symbols came from the Indians." (Waschke's German translation, Halle 1878, 3).

2 From the 1558 edition of the *Ground of Artes*, fol. C, 5.

3 G. R. Kaye, "Notes on Indian Mathematics—Arithmetical Notation," *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. III, 1907, p. 489.

Arabs themselves never laid claim to the invention of numerals, and always recognised their indebtedness to the Hindus both for the numeral values and for the distinguishing feature of place value? The foremost among the Arab writers on mathematical classics, Muhammad, the son of Moses, from Khowarezm, or more after the manner of the Arab, Muhammad ibn Mūsā al-khowārezmī, a man of great learning and one to whom the world is much indebted for its present knowledge of Algebra and Arithmetic, distinctly stated that the numerals were of Hindu origin. Even the later Arab writers, down to the present day, use the phrase 'ilm hindī,' "Indian science," for arithmetic as also the adjective 'hindī' alone. Probably the most striking testimony from Arabic sources is that given by the Arabic traveller and scholar Muhammad ibn Ahmed, Abū 'l-Rihān al-Bīrūnī (973-1048 A.D.) who spent many years in Hindustan. He states¹ explicitly that the Hindus of his time did not use the letters of their alphabet for numerical notation as the Arabs did, and that the numerical signs called *anḥā*² had different shapes in various parts of India, as was the case with letters. In his Chronology of Ancient Nations he gives the sum of a geometric progression and shows, how, in order to avoid any possibility of error, the number may be expressed in three different systems:—with Indian symbols, in sexagesimal notation, and by an alphabet system. He also speaks of "179, 876, 755, expressed in Indian ciphers," thus again attributing these forms to Hindu sources.³ Preceding Al-Bīrūnī, another eminent Arabic writer of the tenth century, Motahhar ibn Tāhir in his "Book of the Creation and of History" gave as a curiosity, in Indian Nāgarī symbols, a large number asserted by the people of India to represent the duration of the world. In Motahhar's time the present Arabic symbols had not yet come into use, and that the Indian symbols, though known to scholars, were not current.⁴ Because of this fact Motahhar found something extraordinary in the appearance of the number he cited. Another Arabic writer named Al-Kindī (800-870 A.D.) wrote five books on arithmetic and four books on the use of

1 Al-Bīrūnī's 'India,' vol. I, chap. XVI.

2 The Hindu name for the symbols of the decimal place system.

3 Sachau's English edition of the Chronology, p. 64.

4 Huart's History of Arabic Literature, Eng. Edition, New York, 1903.

the Indian method of reckoning. We are therefore forced to the conclusion that the Arabs from the early ninth century on fully recognised the Hindu origin of the numerals.

But Mr. G. R. Kaye does not think the above evidence sufficient to prove the Hindu origin of the numerals. He says, "In the early stages of any language we generally find that the smaller elements of the higher numbers are expressed first. Thus we have *two and hundred seventig* in Alfred's Chronicle for the modern 'seventy-two' and the Germans still keep to this fashion much more than we do. Such examples as fifteen, trydaca (त्रयोदश) are found in many languages." He further adds, "The order in which we write our numbers is contrary to the nature of our script and has been imposed on us really by a people with a right to left script. This conclusion, if generally acknowledged as correct, would appear to dispose of the question as to the notation in use being of Indian origin." As an illustration of his theory Mr. Kaye says that the date "Śaka samvat, 867" (A.D. 945 or 946) is given by "giri-rasa-vasu" meaning "the mountains" (seven), "the flavours" (six), and the gods "Vasu" who were eight in number. But here Mr. Kaye is misinformed. In reading the date these were read from right to left. The period of invention of this system is uncertain. The first trace seems to be in the Śrautasūtra of Kātyāyana and Lāṭyāyana. It has been asserted by W. Brennand that Āryabhaṭa was also familiar with this system.¹ But it was certainly known to Varāha-Mihira (d. 587), for he makes use of this system in his Bṛhat-Saṃhitā. In Chapter VIII, śloka 10 of this work in the course of calculation of a particular time he mentions *bibhāḥjy cchūnyasarāgarāmaiḥ* ("should divide by 3750," Śūnya—zero, Śara—arrow—five, aga—mountain—seven, Rāma—3, as there were three Rāmas.—Rāma, Paraśurāma and Balarāma.)² Here the reckoning is made from right to left. So that the objection of Mr. G. R. Kaye to the numerals being of Hindu origin on the ground of the order not being from right to left does not stand at all. Further, Al-Birūnī remarks that the Hindus writing in ślokas changed their orders, though they generally reckoned from right to left, for otherwise, the meter would have been disturbed. Apart from this word-and-letter system

1 W. Brennand's Hindu Astronomy,

2 Varāhamihira's Bṛhat-Saṃhitā, edition of Dr. H. Kern, p. 50.

there was the old *Kharoṣṭhī* dialect prevalent in the North-West of India, the characters of which were written from right to left instead of from left to right. Of this, probably, Mr. G. R. Kaye took scanty notice, and hence he was so much perplexed to think of the order. For, this *Kharoṣṭhī* script affects the Hindu-Arabic question vitally.

Next to the finger calculation came in vogue the abacus, a mechanical contrivance, for reckoning. It had been introduced very early for keeping number of different denominators apart. Abacus literally means a wooden plank. It was a table with compartments or columns for counters, each column representing a different value to be given to a counter placed on it. This might be used either for concrete arithmetic—say with columns for rupees, annas, pies; or for abstract reckoning. An old Greek abacus found at Salamis has columns which, taken from right to left, give a counter the value of 1, 10, 100, 1000 drachms, and finally of one talent (6000 drachms) respectively. An abacus, on the decimal system might be ruled on a paper or on a board, strewn with fine sand, and was then a first step to the decimal system. Two important steps, however, were still lacking; the first was to use instead of counters distinctive marks (ciphers) for the digits from one to nine; the second and the most important was to get a sign for zero, so that the column might be dispensed with and denomination of each cipher seen at once by counting the number of digits following it. These two steps being taken, the present system of the so called Arabic numerals and the possibility of modern arithmetic are reached; but the invention of the cipher and zero came slowly.

Sir E. C. Bayley says, "It need hardly be said that the use of the abacus is still common in every village bazar in India, and has been universal apparently from time immemorial".¹ Burnell tells us that the Indian abacus was by using heaps of couries for the numbers, the number of these shells being equal to that of the number expressed, the cipher being a blank space. Thus " $\therefore 11 \therefore = 303$; $\therefore 1 \therefore = 33$."² Mr. S. B. Dikshit writes: "Hindu astrologers use a wooden plank, which they cover with dust; this plank is called *pāṭī*; hence arithmetic is called *pāṭigaṇita* by Bhāskarācārya and others."³ Bayley also maintains

1 Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. XIV, p. 14.

2 Burnell's South Indian Palæography.

3 Indian Antiquary, vol. XX, p. 54.

this view. The mention of this abacus is necessary inasmuch as it leads to the invention of cipher or zero without which the system of numerals was not complete. Taylor, Wœpcke, Bayley, Burnell and others derive the Sanskrit numeral words that signify zero from the use of the abacus. These terms, they say, indicate the space not filled up by a counter. All these terms indicate emptiness or the sky, ether, etc. The term cipher is derived from *śūnya* through the Arabic *syfr*. "In Sanskrit" wrote Taylor in 1816, "the word Śūnya signifies a circle, cipher or vacuity; and the Arabs on receiving the numerical notations from India translated it by the word *syfr*, which in their language also means emptiness, vacuity or nothing." The origin of the abacus has a special importance in the history of the origin of the numerals. But where did this abacus originate? Bayley and Burnell say that it was frequently used in India. How is it then that there is no mention of this in any Sanskrit literature?

Previous to the advent of the oriental scholars it was the consensus of opinion in Europe that the numerals were of Arabic origin and they were generally termed Arabic numerals. We have already mentioned that such influential writers as Tartaglia in Italy and Kobel in Germany asserted the Arabic origin of the numerals. But in later days the laborious rescarches of the oriental scholars led most of them to believe the numerals to be of Hindu origin. S. Corrington in his history of arithmetic says, "In the section called Algorithms of Brahmagupta's mathematics we have undoubtedly the numeration and notation of the Hindu system given and explained. In the twelfth century Bhāskara composed a fuller and more valuable work on arithmetic, and undoubtedly there was a race of scholars (between Brahmagupta and Bhāskara) during the intervening centuries to whom was due the maintenance and extension of Hindu learning. Thus the mathematical writings of the Hindus became known to the Arabians and specially the wondrous system of notation having nine digits and a cipher with device of a place." Rodet shows that Āryabhaṭṭa's rule for the extraction of square root implied a knowledge of the value of position:—

भागं हरेद् अवगोन् नित्यं दिगुणेन वर्गमूलेन ।
वर्गाद् वर्गे युद्धं लब्धं स्थानान्तरे मूलम् ॥

"Always divide the part that is not square by twice the root of the square, after having subtracted from this squared part the square of the root ; the quotient is the root of the next term."

But this implication, says Mr. G. R. Kaye, is no proof of the origin of the numerals among the Hindus. Of the oriental writers, only a very few, Mr. G. R. Kaye and others, doubt the Hindu origin of the numerals, but at the same time cannot prove that they owe their origin to the Arabs.¹

Apart from the assertion of the oriental scholars who belong mostly to the western countries, we have already cited the evidence of the Arabs themselves. Al-Birūni, the great scholar and traveller, conclusively says, "numeral signs which we use are derived from the forms of the Hindu signs. The Hindus use the numeral signs in arithmetic in the same way as we do. I have composed a treatise showing how far the Hindus are ahead of us in the subject." Even Mr. S. Khoda Bux, an eminent Islamic scholar, in a recent article on "Literary and scientific activities under the Caliphate," says, "The Arabs in the IX century borrowed from the Indians their decimal system, numerals and arithmetic." In this chapter we have opened the question of the origin of Hindu-Arabic numerals, a solution of which will be attempted by an examination of the materials hitherto available.

III. THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF HINDU NUMERALS WITH THE INVENTION OF ZERO AND THE PLACE VALUE

"It is known," says Sir E. C. Bayley, "that while in European parlance the modern numerals have been termed 'Arabic,' yet that they differ in several important points from those used in Arabic writing ; moreover Arab writers emphatically declare these last to be an Indian invention. Still, the chain of descent of either form from an Indian source has never been satisfactorily elucidated. And while

1 In spite of any documentary evidence in his favour, Mr. Kaye has, in season and out of season, so much harped upon this view in his writings on Indian Mathematics that it has to some extent prejudiced the impartial thinking of even scholars like Dr. D. E. Smith.

no doubt the modern system of using, for all purposes of notation and calculation, nine unit figures and a zero, arranged in decimal order, is apparently indigenous in India, it has not yet been distinctly shown how this simplified form was eliminated from the complicated system of notation which was in ancient times used in India."¹

It is with this unsatisfactory material that we have to deal in searching for the early history of the Hindu Arabic numerals, the probability being that writing was not introduced into India before the close of the fourth century B.C. and literature existing only in spoken form prior to that period.

The whole question of the Hindu numerals therefore divides itself into two parts, *viz.*,

(1) The origin of the ancient Indian system of numerals ;

(2) The simplification of this system, by the rejection of all the signs except those for the nine units, and by the invention of the zero.

The early Hindu numerals may be classified into three great groups, (1) the Kharosthi, (2) the Brahmi and (3) the word and letter forms.

The Kharosthi numerals are found in inscriptions formerly known as Bactrian, Indo-Bactrian, and Aryan, and appearing in ancient Gandhara, now eastern Afganistan and northern Punjab. The alphabet of the language is found in inscriptions dating from the fourth century B.C. to the third century A.D., and from the fact that the words are written from right to left it is assumed to be of Semitic origin. Not until the time of king Asoka, in the third century B.C., do the numerals appear in any inscriptions, thus far discovered ; and then only in the primitive forms of marks. These Asoka inscriptions are found in widely separated parts of India, often on columns, and are in the various vernaculars that were familiar to the people. Two are in the Kharosthi characters, and the rest in some form of Brahmi. In the Kharosthi inscriptions only four numerals have been found, and these are merely vertical marks, for one, two, four and five, thus,—I, II, IIII, IIII. In the so-called Śaka inscriptions, possibly of the first century B.C., more numerals are found, and in more highly developed form, the right-to-left system appearing, together with

¹ Sir E. C. Bayley, Genealogy of Numerals, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. XIV, p. 335.

evidences of three different scales of counting four, ten and twenty. The numerals of this period are as follows,—

I II III X IX IIX IIIX XX

7 3 73 733 333 7333 KI KII

10

20

30

50

60

70

100

200

In this system there are several noteworthy points. In the first place, it is probably not as early as that shown in the Nānā Ghāt forms:

— = ≡ ✕ 6 7 ? α σ' O †

1

2

3

4

6

7

9

10

10

20

60

although the inscriptions themselves at Nānā Ghāt are later than those of the Asoka period.

It is not in the Kharosthi numerals, as we see, that we can hope to find the origin of those used by us, and we turn to the second of the Indian types, the Brahmi characters. The alphabet attributed to Brahman is the oldest of the several known in India, and was used from the earliest historic times. There are various theories of its origin. The numerals are not as old as the alphabet, or at least, they have not been found in inscriptions earlier than those in which the edicts of Asoka appear.

The following numerals appear in the Asoka edicts:

I II † 6 6 6 50 † H Z

1

2

4

6

50

200

200

200

Here we notice that the "one" and "six" of the Brahmi numerals resemble the same of modern numerals. These fragments from the third century, crude and unsatisfactory as they are, are surely fore-runners of the present system.¹

influence in certain of the early numerals of the Hindus.¹ But these are mere guess works and cannot be relied upon.

We have thus far spoken of the Kharosthi and Brahmi numerals; now we shall mention the third type, *viz.*, the word and letter forms, with which the perfected system of the Hindus with the symbol zero is closely connected. This system came to be used as early as the sixth century of the Christian era, if not earlier. For example, Brahmagupta says in his *Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta*, "If you want to write one, express it by everything unique, i.e. one by ādi (beginning), śaśin, indu (moon), sītā, dharā, urvarā, bhū (earth), Brahman, Pitāmaha, raśmi, etc., two by yamala, yama (twins), kara (hands) netra, akṣi, darśana, locana (eyes), Aśvins (the two brothers), etc.; three by Rāma (the three Rāmas), guṇa (virtue); four by sāgara (ocean); five by viśaya (senses), śara (arrows), etc.; six by rasa (flavour), ṛtu (seasons), etc., seven by aga (mountain), and so on; ten by āśā, diś (quarter) kendu, Rāvaṇāsura (because he had ten heads); zero by śūnya (void), ambara, ākāśa (heaven, space), pūrṇa (circle), etc."

As an example of this system, it has already been said that the date "Śaka Saṃvat, 867" (A.D. 945 or 946) was given by "giri-rasa-vasu," meaning the mountains (seven), the flavours (six), and gods "vasu" (who were eight in number) i.e. 867, the words being read from right to left. The period of invention of this system is uncertain. But as we have already remarked that the first trace seems to be in the Śrautasūtra of Kātyāyana and Lāṭyāyana and it is quite certain that Varāhamihira (d. 587) used it in the Bṛhat-saṃhitā (chap. VIII, 20). In the Pañcasiddhāntikā also Varāhamihira citing details laid down by Lāṭācārya in a work in which he explained the Romaka and Pauliśa Siddhāntas tells us that for some calculative purposes a certain moment was assumed to be fixed (as regards the year)

सप्तत्रिंशदसंख्यं शककालमपास्य चैवशुक्लादौ

i.e. by deducting the Śaka-year having the number seven, the two Aśvins, the four Vedas i.e. 427 or 506 A.D. at the end of the bright half of the Caitra month.

This method of calculation came down even to the time of Bhāskara (1150 A.D.) who while giving in his Siddhāntaśiromaṇi details about his birth and parentage says :

1 C. E. Woodruff, "The evolution of modern numerals," Amer. Math. Monthly, 1909.

रसगुण-पूर्णे महीसमथकचपसमयेऽभवन्मनोत्पत्तिः

रसगुणवर्षेण मया सिद्धान्तशिरोमणी रचितः ।

i.e. I was born in the Śaka-year 1036 (rasa—flavour—six, guṇa—virtue—three, pūrṇa—circle—zero, mahī—earth—one) and wrote Sid-dhānta-śiromaṇi in my 36th year (rasa—six, guṇa—three), (the words being read from right to left).

Next in importance is the alphabetic system invented by Āryabhaṭa to express numbers. Āryabhaṭa's rule giving his alphabetic system of expressing numbers is as follows :—

वर्गाक्षराणि वर्गेऽवर्गेऽवर्गाक्षराणि कात् उन्नी यः ।

खद्विनवके स्तरा नव वर्गेऽवर्गे नवान्तरवर्गे वा ॥

It may be translated thus : Varga consonants from क (onwards) [should be used] in varga places (i.e., places corresponding to the varga or square units 1, 10², 10⁴, &c.) and avarga consonants in avarga places i.e. places corresponding to the avarga or non-square units 10, 10³, 10⁵, &c.). व stands for 30 (lit., 5 and 25). Vowels should be used in eighteen places, nine vowels (with distinctly different sounds) in varga places as well as in the (corresponding) avarga places. Those nine vowels should be used in higher places in a similar manner.

The above translation differs from that given by the late Dr. Fleet (J.R.A.S., 1911, p. 115). He writes: "The concluding words 'navāntyavarge vā' or 'in the square immediately following the nine' that is 'in the tenth square place' are enigmatical. They seem to indicate a nineteenth place (the number belonging to which the British trillion, would be square of the Vṛnda No. 10) and nothing after it" (ibid, p. 120). The alleged enigmatical nature of the words disappears when it is noticed that 'navāntyavarge' is not a single compound word (नवान्त्यवर्गपद) but has been formed by joining the words 'nava' and 'antyavarge' according to the rules of svarasandhi or conjunction of vowels. "antya" means 'following' or 'which comes after' and "varga" means 'a group of the same class.' So the compound word 'antyavarge' means 'in the following group of the same class.' As a group of eighteen places has already been spoken of in the verse, the word 'antyavarge' can only mean 'in the following group of eighteen places.' In Sanskrit the word vā (वा) is used in the sense of 'or' as well as in the sense of 'and.' Here it cannot mean 'or'; it must have been used in the sense of 'and.' The word 'vā' has also the force of similarity (सादृश्य). Hence the suggestion is that the number of place is un-

limited and that nine vowels are to be used, as explained before, in each group of eighteen places.¹ Fleet translates the second line of the above verse thus: "the nine vowels (are used) in the two nines of spaces square (and) not square, or in the square immediately following the nine." How can nine vowels be used in 'the square following the nine' by which expression Fleet means the nineteenth place? Only one vowel is to be used in each place. This is sufficient to prove that Fleet's translation is incorrect.

It has been suggested² that Āryabhaṭa's system of expressing numbers has been derived from the alphabetic notation of the Greeks. The reason for the above suggestion has been given³ by the late Dr. Fleet in the following words: "Knowing the Greek source of the greater part of the astronomy, etc., which we have in the Āryabhaṭīya and subsequent works, we naturally think of the possibility of a similar origin for this system of numeration." Does the question of borrowing at all arise in connection with the original matter which is included with admittedly borrowed matter in the work of a western savant? In giving his value of π Āryabhaṭa has used, not the Greek myriad or any of its corrupted forms, but the word 'ayuta' which is equivalent to the Greek myriad and has been in use in India at least since the time of the Vedas⁴ (i.e. long before the Greek civilisation came into being). Yet it is asserted⁵ that the way in which Āryabhaṭa has expressed his value of π points to a Greek source on the alleged ground that the Greeks alone of all peoples use the myriad as their unit of the second order. But has any European critic ever thought of the possibility of the Greek myriad having been borrowed from India and of Pythagoras's calling ten, hundred, etc., units of the second, third, etc., course after the Vedas which contain the earliest record of the use of a strictly decimal system of numeration, the different units being 1, 10, and higher powers of 10?"⁶ The renowned German mathematician Euler included both original and borrowed

1 Vide Prof. S. K. Ganguly, *Alp. System of Āryabhaṭa*, Bull. Cal. Math. Society, vol. XVII, no. 4.

2 Sudhākara Dvivedi, *Gaṇakatarāṅgiṇī* (1892) p. 5: Kaye, *JASB.*, (1907), p. 478; Fleet, *JRAS.*, (1911), p. 125.

3 *JRAS.*, (1911) p. 125.

4 Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. I, pp. 342, 353.

5 Heath, *History of Greek Mathematics*, vol. I, p. 234.

6 *Yajurveda*, chapter XVII, mantra 2.

matter in his writings. When "he employed practically the same method of solution"¹ of the so-called Pellian equation as was given some centuries before by the Hindu mathematicians, did anyone naturally think of the possibility of Euler's indebtedness to India for the solution? On the contrary, an attempt has been made² to belittle the importance of the equation in order to prove that the Hindus achieved nothing of importance in the field of mathematics.

"Priority of statement of a proposition does not necessarily imply its discovery." Previous use alone of an alphabetic notation by the Greeks, should not, therefore, lead us to trace Āryabhaṭa's alphabetic system to a Greek source.

If the second verse of the Gaṇitapāda (i.e. chapter II) of the Āryabhaṭīya be read with the corresponding verses of Mahavira and Bhāskara, it will be seen that it contains an exposition of the modern place-value decimal notation.³ No one has hitherto claimed that the modern place-value notation was known to the Greeks or to any other non-Hindu people before the sixth century.⁴ It cannot, there-

1 Kaye, *JRAS.*, (1910), p. 752.

2 Ibid., p. 754.

3 This fact has so far escaped the notice of distinguished oriental scholars owing to their attention having been too much attracted by Āryabhaṭa's alphabetic system. Accordingly Mr. Kaye has been inconsistent in translating Āryabhaṭa's verse giving the modern notation. Fleet perceived this inconsistency and tried to be consistent. But in doing so he has mistranslated the principle "*sthānāt sthānaṃ daśagunaṃ syāt.*"

Mr. Kaye writes that Jamblichus (4th century) "had perfectly clear ideas on the value of position" and gives the following example in his support :

"If the digits of any three be added together, and digits of their sum be added together, and so on, the final sum is six." (*JASB.*, p. 493).

4 Mr Kaye attributes this example to Jamblichus and cites as reference Gow's History of Greek Mathematics. But a comparison of Mr. Kaye's statement of this example with the statements of Gow (p. 98) and Heath (History of Greek Mathematics, vol. I, pp. 114 and 115) will show (i) that Mr. Kaye is not justified in putting the example in the above form which seems to support his conclusion and (ii) that other peoples who regarded numbers as being made up of a certain number of units, a certain number of tens, a certain number of hundreds, etc., had equally "clear" (?) ideas on the value of position.

fore, be said that Āryabhaṭa's rule explaining the modern notation was borrowed from the Greeks.

Now, the only point of similarity between the Greek and Āryabhaṭian alphabetic systems is that the first nine letters of the alphabet denote the first nine numbers in each case. Āryabhaṭa's system differs from the Greek system in every other particular. The principal points of difference may be stated as follows :

(a) In the Greek system the second group of nine letters denoted the first nine multiples of ten and the third group of nine letters the first nine multiples of hundred. To express multiples of higher powers of ten, strokes or dots were used. Each stroke or dot indicated multiplication by 1,000. Fleet says¹ that Āryabhaṭa's system is certainly not an adaptation of this system of the Greeks, but that Āryabhaṭa derived his inspiration from another Greek system of expressing large numbers in which myriads used to be expressed by means of two letter numerals, viz., (i) a symbol M for a myriad and (ii) the already adopted symbol for the number indicating the multiple. In Indian Kharosthi and later Brāhmi notations hundreds used to be expressed in this way. But in Āryabhaṭa's system each multiple of a power of ten was denoted by a single consonant-numeral combined with a vowel-sign. Fleet is right in holding² that in Āryabhaṭa's scheme the vowels had no numerical values in themselves but marked the places to which the consonants, etc. were to be referred. If they had any numerical value, they could be used to express component parts of a number where no confusion was likely to arise. For example, २५ could be used to denote 170. But vowels as such were never used by Āryabhaṭa ; and vowel-signs cannot stand by themselves.

(b) As has been already stated, Āryabhaṭa's vowel-signs are not numerical symbols but indicate places which the consonant-numerals occupy. Hence Āryabhaṭa expresses numbers by means of consonant-numerals and as many places indicating vowel-signs. But the Greek system exclusively employs letter numerals only. Place-indicating signs are conspicuous by absence in the Greek system.

(c) Unlike the Greek system and the old and modern Indian systems³ of notation and Indian way of speaking numbers, Āryabhaṭa's

1 *JRAS.*, (1911) page 125.

2 *Ibid.*, page 118.

3 These systems do not include the so-called 'word-symbol notation' which is not notation at all but which gives numbers expressed

system (i) recognises component parts of a number, which are higher multiples than the ninth of even powers of ten, (ii) makes no provision for expressing the first two¹ multiples of the old powers of ten as such, and (iii) admits of a number being expressed in more ways than one. For example, (i) नि (ni) stands for twenty-five hundreds; (ii) two thousand cannot be expressed as such; it should be regarded as twenty hundreds before it can be expressed by नि (ni); and (iii) forty-five can be expressed by सन, भय, वफ, यण, or रड.

(d) The Greek alphabetic system was an arithmetical notation, i.e., it was used in performing arithmetical operations. But Āryabhaṭa's system was not so. As an arithmetical notation it has many and grave defects and is, therefore, useless. Hence it has not been given any place in the arithmetical portion of the Āryabhaṭīya. Arithmetical operation could be more easily and rapidly performed with the previous Indian notations.² The only merit of Āryabhaṭa's system is its conciseness and it has been devised chiefly to secure brevity of the rules composed in verse.

Āryabhaṭa³ had undoubtedly been a student of Sanskrit grammar and metrics. In Sanskrit grammar single letters are used for two different purposes, viz. (i) as a suffix (प्रत्यय, e.g., क, ट, etc.) and (ii) as a संज्ञा or name for something to which frequent reference has to be made (e.g. कृ, खि, दि, etc.). In Piṅgala's manual of metrics single consonants (e.g. भ, स, ज, etc.) have been used for the second purpose. To be included in metrical composition numbers must, of necessity, be expressed by word-numerals or letter-numerals. The study of Sanskrit grammar and metrics seems to have led the mathematical genius of Āryabhaṭa to use letters of the Devanagari alphabet for the sake of brevity, as it afterwards led the well-known grammarian Vopadeva to use these letters in shortening the Sanskrit grammar. The vowels were not

in the modern notation by stating the digits (one or two at a time) beginning with the unit's place.

1 According to Āryabhaṭa's scheme there are no letter numerals for 1 and 2 to occupy a-varga places. It will be seen from what follows that for the figures 3, 4, 5, etc., up to 10 there are two sets of letter-numerals—one set for varga places and the other for a-varga places.

2 Vide Sir Richard Temple's article on the Burmese system of arithmetic, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, pp. 53-69.

3 Prof. S. K. Ganguly, "Alphabetic System of Āryabhaṭa," *Bull. Math. Society*, vol. XVII, no. 4.

suitable for this purpose as they often disappear and merge into unrecognisable forms owing to conjunction (सन्धि) which is an essential feature of Sanskrit. Āryabhaṭa had, therefore, no other alternative than to use consonants to express numbers. The modern place-value notation was known to Āryabhaṭa who classified the places as *varga* and *a-varga*. Most probably phonetic resemblance was responsible for the rule "varga consonants should be placed in *varga* places and *a-varga* consonants in *a-varga* places." To indicate the *varga* or *a-varga* place occupied by a consonant nothing could be more convenient than a vowel-sign. Hence vowel-signs have been used as place-indicators. Āryabhaṭa names the first ten places (*ekam*, *daśa*, etc. up to *vyndam*) only. The first ten vowels were perhaps intended to indicate these places. Here some difficulty presented itself. Of the two vowels अ, आ, the second is a long अ. The vowels of each of the remaining four pairs have similar sounds, the first vowel being short and the second long. In books on Sanskrit grammar the vowels constituting each of the five pairs are called equal (समान) vowels. Hence Āryabhaṭa seems to have overlooked the distinction between long and short vowels and made the rule that

अ (or आ)	should indicate the places of the units				... 10 ⁰ , 10 ¹
इ (or ई)	...	...	...	...	... 10 ² , 10 ³
उ (or ऊ)	...	...	...	...	... 10 ⁴ , 10 ⁵
ऋ (or ॠ)	...	...	...	...	... 10 ⁶ , 10 ⁷
ॡ (or ॢ)	...	...	...	...	... 10 ⁸ , 10 ⁹

Thus, each of the five vowels, अ, इ, उ, ऋ, ॡ long or short, was assigned to a *varga* place and the next higher *a-varga* place. This could not result in confusion, as *varga* places were to be occupied by *varga* consonants only and *a-varga* places by *a-varga* consonants only. Then by the principle of analogy—a principle which is responsible for two serious mistakes¹ made by Āryabhaṭa—he also assigned the remaining four vowels ए, ऐ, ओ, औ (which have distinctly different sounds), each to two consecutive places. Hence the rule "vowels should be placed in eighteen places, nine vowels in *varga* places and the same nine vowels in *a-varga* places." As by his rule, अ and न denote the first and second multiple of 10, he used इ, र etc., up to ङ for the 3rd, 4th, etc. up to the 10th multiple of 10. It should be noted here that only when the consonants अ, इ, उ, ऋ, ॡ etc. are each associated with the vowel अ they

1 Āryabhaṭa's rules for the volumes of a tetrahedron and a sphere. (vide *JRAS.*, 1911, p. 118).

denote 30, 40, 50, 60, etc. Thus, वि means वृ (or 3) put in the thousandth place (the a-varga place assigned to वृ). If वृ stood for 30 वि would denote 30 tens or 300. Fleet is not right in holding that in Āryabhaṭa's scheme consonants have no numerical value in themselves. The metre shows that this reading is correct. If he were right, ड् in the rule "ड् सौयः" could not stand for 5.¹

Mention should also be made, in this connection, of a curious system of alphabetic numerals that sprang up in Southern India. In this we have the numerals represented by the letters as given in the following table:—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
क	ख	ग	घ	ङ	च	छ	ज	झ	ञ
ट	ठ	ड	ढ	ण	त	थ	द	ध	न
प	फ	ब	भ	म					
य	र	ल	व	श	ष	स	ह		

For example, the word

2 3 1 5 6 5 1

Kha gant yan me śa mā pa (खगन्तान्मेषमापः) has the value 1,565,132, reading from right to left.² This is given in a commentary on the R̥gveda, representing the number of days that had elapsed from the beginning of the Kaliyuga. Burnell states that this system is even now in use for remembering rules to calculate horoscopes, and for astronomical tables.³

But these systems without the zero were impracticable to designate the tens, hundreds, and other units of higher order by the same symbols used for the units from one to nine. There was therefore no possibility of place value without some further improvement. So the Nānā Ghāṭ symbols required the writing of "thousand seven twenty-four" almost like T 7, tw, 4 in modern symbols, instead of 7024, in which the seven of the thousands, the two of the tens (concealed in the word twenty, being originally "twain of tens," the 'ty' signifying ten), and the four of the units are given as spoken and the order of the unit is given by the place. The system required the zero for its perfection. It is possible that one of the forms of ancient abacus suggested to some Hindu mathematician the use of a symbol to stand for the vacant line when the counters were removed. There were however different names

¹ For this interpretation I am indebted to Dr. Bibhutibhusan Datta, D. Sc. of the Science College of the Calcutta University.

² Bühler, *Paleographic*, p. 82.

³ Burnell, *South Indian Palaeography*, p. 79.

for the higher orders of the Hindu numerals. We have in Bhāskara's *Līlāvati* :

Ekadaśaśatasahasrāyutalakṣaprayutakoṭayaḥ kramaśaḥ
 Arbudam abjaṃ kharvanikharvamahāpadmaśaṅkavas tasmāt
 Jaladhiścāntyaṃ madhyaṃ parārdham iti daśaguṇottaraṃ saṃjñāḥ
 Saṃkhyāyāḥ sthānānāṃ vyavahārārthaṃ kṛtāḥ pūrvaiḥ.¹

I.e., older mathematicians have invented the names eka, daśa, śata, sahasra, ayuta, lakṣa, prayuta, koṭi, arbuda, abja, kharva, nikharva, mahāpadma, śaṅku, jaladhi, antya, madhya, parārdha, and such multiples of ten for indicating the place values of numbers. Indeed this may have necessitated the introduction of a word to signify a vacant place or lacking unit, with the ultimate introduction of a zero symbol for this word.

To enable us to appreciate the force of this argument a large number, 8,443,682,155, may be considered as the Hindus wrote and read it, and then by way of contrast as the Greeks and the Arabs would have read it.²

Modern American reading :—8 billion, 443 million, 682 thousand, 155.

Hindu:—8 padmas, 4 arbudas, 4 koṭis, 3 prayutas, 6 lakṣas, 8 ayutas, 2 sahasras, 1 śata, 5 daśa, 5.

Arabic and early German:— eight thousand, thousand thousand and four hundred thousand thousand, and forty-three thousand thousand, and six hundred thousand, and eighty-two thousand and one hundred fifty five (or five and fifty).

Greek:—eighty-four myriads of myriads and four thousand three hundred sixty-eight myriads and two thousand and one hundred fifty-five.

The reading of numbers of this kind shows that the notation adopted by the Hindus tended to bring out the place idea. No other language than the Sanskrit has made such consistent application, in numeration, of the decimal system of numbers; nor did any other ancient people carry the numeration as far as the Hindus did.

When the aṅkapalli (the nine ciphers were called aṅka), the decimal place system of writing numbers, was perfected, the tenth symbol was called śūnyabindu, generally shortened to śūnya (the void). It is generally thought that this śūnya as a symbol was used about 500

1 *Līlāvati*, chap. I, verses 2, 3.

2 D. E. Smith and L. C. Karpanski, *Hindu Arabic Numerals*.

A.D. ; but it is certain that in the sixth century the use was frequent, as we have seen that Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* uses śūnya while speaking of numerals. Varāhamihira used frequently the word-system with place value in his *Pañcasiddhāntikā*.¹ At the opening of the next century (c. 620 A.D.) Bāṇa wrote of Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* as a celebrated work and mentioned that the stars dotting the sky were there compared with ciphers. Traces of the numeral words with place value, therefore, are found very early in India. Bühler² gives the copper-plate Gurjara inscription of Cedi-saṃvat 346 (594 A.D.) as the oldest epigraphical use of the numerals "in which the symbols correspond to the alphabet numerals of the period and the place." Vincent Smith³ quotes a stone inscription of Ś15 A.D., dated saṃvat 872. So F. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*⁴ gives a Pathari pillar inscription of Parabala, dated Vikrama-saṃvat 917, which corresponds to 861 A.D. and refers also to another copper-plate inscription dated Vikrama-saṃvat 813 (756 A.D.). The inscription quoted by V. A. Smith above is that given by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. i, pp. 193, 198) and another is given by the same writer as of date Śaka-saṃvat 715 (798 A.D.), being incised on a pilaster. Kielhorn also gives two copper-plate inscriptions of the time of Mahendrapāla of Kanauj, Valabhi-saṃvat 574 (893 A.D.) and Vikrama-saṃvat 956 (899 A.D.). That there should be any inscriptions of date as early even as 750 A.D., would tend to show that the system was at least a century older. "That the system now in use by all civilised nations is of Hindu origin cannot be doubted; no other nation has any claim upon its discovery, especially since the references to the origin of the system, which are found in the nations of Western Asia, point unanimously towards India."⁵

The testimony and opinions of men like Bühler, Kielhorn, V. A. Smith, Bhandarkar, and Thibaut are entitled to the most serious consideration. As authorities on ancient Indian epigraphy and cultural history no other rank higher, their work is accepted by Indian scholars the world over, and their conclusion as to the rise and development of the system with a place value—that it took place in

1 *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, chap. I, verses 8, 9, 10.

2 Bühler, *Paleographie*, p. 78.

3 "The Gurjaras of Rajputana and Kanauj",—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, January and April, 1909.

4 Vol. ix, 1908, p. 248.

5 Thibaut, p. 71.

India as early as the sixth century A.D.—must stand unless new evidence of great weight can be submitted to the contrary.¹

The improved Hindu system with a place value would never have dominated the numeral system of the western world, unless there had been the symbol zero. “The earliest undoubted occurrence of a zero in India is an inscription at Gwalior, dated Śaṃvat 933 (876 A.D.), where 50 garlands are mentioned (line 20), 50 is written as ५०, 270 (line 4) is written as २७०.” Apart from the appearance of zero in early inscriptions, there are indications of the Hindu origin of the symbol in the special treatment of the concept zero in the early works on arithmetic. Brahmagupta in the early part of the seventh century gives in his arithmetic a distinct treatment of the properties of zero. A still more scientific treatment is given by Bhāskara. Even in the most recently discovered work on ancient Indian Mathematical lore, the *Gaṇita-sārasaṃgraha* of Mahāvīrācārya (c. 830 A.D.), there is a discussion on the calculation with zero.³ In the first chapter of this book we find the word and letter system of numerals, though there is no indication of the numerals with the place value. But in the second chapter there is a long discussion on the śūnyabindu.

It is not till the time of Bhāskara (1150 A.D.) that we find traces in writing of a perfected system of numerals with the place value of zero. From that time the modern Sanskrit numerals

१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	०
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0

came into use.

But Bhāskara mentions the names of a number of works in the concluding chapter of his *Bija-gaṇita* from which he gathered materials for his work:—

“As the treatises of Brahmagupta, Śrīdhara, and Padmanābha are too diffuse, I have compressed the substance of those works in a well-seasoned compendium for the benefit of learners.” (verse 2).

Colebrooke was fortunate enough to secure a copy of Śrīdhara's arithmetic and there he found an indication of the complete system with place value.

1 D. E. Smith and L. C. Karpinski, *Hindu Arabic Numerals*.

2 From a letter to D. E. Smith from G. F. Hill of the British Museum.

3 D. E. Smith in the *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, vol. IX (3), pp. 106-110.

We have thus seen that the following types of numerals prevailed in ancient India which by evolution gave rise to the modern numerals :

	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९
Kharosthi—	1	11	111	1111	5	6	7	8	9

Asoka—	1	11	111	1111	+	6
--------	---	----	-----	------	---	---

Nānā ghat—	—	=	≡	✱	φ	7	?
------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

“Cave”	—	—	—	7	h	φ	7	7	?
(Na-ik)—	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9


Letter— ऀ द त च प ष स ञ न (very primitive).

The last ones are first letters of the words, ekā, dvī, trī, catur, pañca, ṣaṭ, sapta, aṣṭa, nava.

1 The modern Sanskrit ‘१’ has no doubt originated from ऀ combined with “Asoka” 1.

2 २ from Nanaghat = . One spur mark inside made it two.

3 ३ from Nanaghat ≡ . Two spur marks inside made it three.

4 ४ from “Cave”  The super-imposition of the last side


stroke of three made it four.


5 ५ from ऀ with a spur at the foot, ५.

6 ६ from Asoka “six” with a spur at the foot.

7 ७ from Nanaghat “seven” turned through a right angle.

8 ८ from “Cave” “eight” with the tail shortened.

9 ९ from Nanaghat “nine” with the upper part turned,  or from “Cave” “nine” turned.

0 ० from circle or from Nanaghat  (ten).

This last theory of the development of the modern numerals is entirely my suggestion. A minute examination of the formation of all the types of ancient Hindu numerals led me to believe in this theory, in order to explain the modern numerical forms.¹

In this chapter I have tried to trace the gradual development of the Hindu numerals on the distinct and direct testimony of ancient writers on arithmetic. (To be continued)

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

¹ Also Burnell, South Indian Palæography, 1874.

On Metals and Metallurgy in Ancient India

I

Metallurgy in the R̥g-veda

Many scholars, even up to the present day, are apt to disbelieve that IRON was known to the ancient Hindus as is seen from the following lines which appeared in the Smithsonian Annual Report of 1911, p. 520: "Blackenhorn maintained (Zeitsch. Ethnol., 1907, p. 368) that iron was generally known in India at least as early as 1500 B. C. but he was unable to produce proofs for this assertion, and as little was G. Oppert able conclusively to prove that it was known as early as 1000 B. C. (Zeitsch. Ethnol., 1908, p. 60). It was merely a conviction of Oppert which he could argue with probable reasons, but not support with positive proofs. Hence I would emphasize the statement that iron finds made in strata of old East India ruins of the tenth to fifteenth pre-Christian centuries do not justify the conclusion that there existed a native iron industry among the Hindus. Such objects only prove that the ancient Hindus were acquainted with iron utensils but not that they actually made them. We have few accounts of the use of iron by the Hindus, and these scarcely favour the assumption of a native iron industry, but rather suggest that the Hindu iron utensils of the tenth to fifteenth centuries B.C. were foreign importations, and the Phœnicians will probably have to be considered as the importers of such iron manufactures. For, in my opinion, it has been proved above that the Phœnicians at least as early as 3000 B.C. had regular commercial relations with India which they carried on from Eluth-Aelana on the Red Sea. If then, at the period 1300 B.C. iron and steel utensils were practically unknown to the Hindus, as may well be assumed, while among the Phœnicians they were objects of common barter, it seems natural that the latter carried such articles to India to use for barter. It is, therefore, not only not impossible, but very probable that in excavations in India, especially on the sites of harbours, such isolated imported Phœnician iron and steel articles will be found."¹

¹ *The Discoveries of the Art of Iron Manufacture*, translated by the Smithsonian Institution from the German of W. Belck, Die

Such inferences as the above owe their origin to a common belief that *iron* was not known in India in the *Mantra Age*, for most of the Vedic scholars cannot yet come to a decisive conclusion as to whether the "Ayas" of the Ṛg-Veda could be interpreted as iron.¹

One would see, however, after a careful investigation into the subject of Metals and Metallurgical processes in the Ṛg-veda itself, that it mentions three metals only, viz., *Hiranya*, *Rajata* and *Ayas*, of which the first one may be definitely identified with *gold*, the second with *silver* and the third with *iron*.

The evidences in support of the identification of "Ayas" with "iron" are too many and mostly conclusive. They may, however, be grouped under three distinct headings, viz., (1) *Primary*, from the definite mentions in the Ṛg-veda itself, (2) *Secondary*, from the traditions in support of the Ṛg-vedic statements and from post-Vedic literature, (3) *Collateral*, from a comparative review of statements on the subject from diverse authors both foreign and Indian.

Such evidences, taken collectively, would certainly offer most reliable materials for a clear and definite solution of the long tried equation of *ayas*=*aes* of antiquarian research, which would most evidently go to disprove such erroneous conclusions as the German scholar Belck has arrived at, and most firmly and positively uphold that a native iron industry existed in ancient India in an age that lies beyond the beginning of all history.

Contemporaneous civilisation is ever eager to know the state of the society and its adjuncts that existed on the face of the globe in the remotest past. This period of the hoariest antiquity may be rightly included in an age generally called the *Age of the Saṃhitās*, and the age of the Ṛg-veda can be regarded as the oldest one. Indeed though scholars differ in determining the actual age of the Ṛg-

Erfinde der Eisentechnik in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, vol. 42, 1915, part I, pp. 15-30.

I Vincent Smith's Review (in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1915) of *Iron in Ancient India* by Prof. Panchanan Neogi, in which he observed "the fact that Sāyaṇa assumed '*Ayas*' in various passages of the Ṛg-veda to mean 'iron' does not prove that to be the real meaning. I am not convinced that Ṛg-vedic *Ayas* must necessarily be interpreted as 'iron'".

veda, yet they all seem to agree on one point that the Ṛg-veda is the oldest record of human civilisation on earth. One may, therefore, be naturally inquisitive as to the state of the civilised life in those ancient times in the land we live in.

“Amongst the great turning points in the history of culture” says a distinguished scholar, “may with good reason be reckoned the epoch when man makes his first acquaintance with the metals” and thus the knowledge of the metals being considered as one of the principal characteristics of human civilisation, it would be most suggestive to an orientalist to find out the state of metallurgy in the Ṛg-vedic age.

The task, pleasing and interesting no doubt as it is, is beset with the greatest difficulties possible, inasmuch as, an enquiry of this nature, if it carries any value, must be based on pure scientific principles. But the Ṛg-veda is not a treatise on metallurgy nor does it speak of the metals in a general and scientific way. Our data must be gleaned from a mass of poetic and literary materials and will often be found in the form of archaic similes and metaphors, seldom in plain matter-of-fact forms of expression. Further this data being embodied in the high-flown language of religious and fervent hymns of prayer composed by bards of yore, the difficulty of their proper elucidation becomes at once apparent. Therefore, it is evidently necessary for the inquirer to make a careful and comparative study of the various commentaries, annotations and writings of diverse authors, foreign and Indian, using as best as he can, the modern scientific methods. Further a proper acquaintance with the traditions and traditional customs still prevalent in India, as well as, a fair knowledge of the Vedic rituals would also be highly useful to the inquirer.

It is thus seen to be a task of stupendous difficulty and it is only the interest and importance of the enquiry that emboldens me to offer to the public, the results of my investigation, as a humble contribution to the subject.

If we confine our enquiry to the Ṛg-veda alone, we will find that in that age three metals only were known. They are *Hiraṇya*, identified with *gold*, *Rajata* identified with *silver* and *Ayas*, the identification of which with *iron* or *copper* or *bronze* has long been a subject of much doubt and controversy.

Of *Hiraṇya* there are about a hundred mentions in the Ṛg-veda in various forms while Yāska in his Nirukta gives sixteen synonyms for the term all meaning gold. From these we have a good glimpse into the knowledge of gold amongst the ancient Vedic people. That

gold was highly valued in the R̥g-vedic age is amply evidenced by the R̥g-veda itself. The Vedic hymns addressed to various deities abound with fervent prayers for gold—*Hiraṇyam*. This shows clearly the passionate hankering after gold in that ancient age. The Vedic singers would pray to their deities to give them sons bedecked with gold.¹ They would very often describe their gods *Indra*, *Mitra*, *Varuṇa*, etc. as golden in hue² driving from golden seats³ in golden chariots⁴ having shafts or poles⁵, wheels and axles all bright as gold⁶ with golden reins for the horses⁷ who had golden manes⁸ and were bedecked with golden ornaments.⁹ They would often compare their deities to gold itself as in I, 4, 5; Rudra is said to be shining in splendour like the Sun, and refulgent and bright as gold. They wore gold rings on their fingers,¹⁰ gold earrings on their ears¹¹ and had on them golden necklets¹² and armlets too¹³. They would most frequently compare the lightening flashes to clear and bright gold.¹⁴ They used to call the Sun and its light as bright as gold at break of dawn.¹⁵ Thus "the tawny" Rudra they would say "adorns himself with bright gold."¹⁶ They would designate the progenitor of the Universe, the Prajāpati, as "*Hiraṇyagarbha*"¹⁷ (the golden foetus) and Āṅgīrasa as "*Hiraṇyastūpa*,"¹⁸ (the hoard of gold). They would very often identify "*the soma*" with the fountain of gold,¹⁹ inasmuch as, by its influence, as they fully believed, they could win any amount

I i, 122, 14.

2 i, 46, 10; i, 167, 3; i, 139, 2; ii, 35, 10; iv, 3, 1; iv, 10, 6; vi, 16, 38; vii, 45, 2; viii, 61, 6; viii, 66, 3; x, 20, 9.

3 iv, 46, 4; viii, 5, 28; 22, 9.

4 i, 30, 16; 35, 2; 56, 1; 139, 4; iv, 1, 8; 44, 4; 5; vi, 29, 2; 66, 1; viii, 1, 24; 33, 4; 46, 24; 66, 2; 69, 16.

5 i, 35, 4; 5; viii, 5, 29.

6 i, 38, 5; 64; 11; 105, 1; 139, 3; 180, 1; vi, 56, 3; viii, 5, 29.

7 viii, 22, 5.

8 viii, 32, 29.

9 vii, 7, 27.

10 ix, 86, 43.

11 i, 122, 14.

12 & 13 vii, 56, 13; i, 165, 9; i, 64, 10; v, 54, 11; vii, 56, 13; i, 168, 3; ii, 34, 2; vi, 16, 40, x, 38, 1.

14 i, 79, 1; iv, 58, 5.

15 i, 46, 10; iii, 38, 8.

16 ii, 33, 9.

17 x, 121, 1.

18 x, 149, 5.

19 ix, 107, 4.

of gold.¹ To them their gods had golden eyes and golden tongues² and golden teeth³ and they had the power of bestowing gold upon them.⁴ They would often speak of the celestial horses as gold-feathered⁵ and the gods themselves as golden handed,⁶ i.e. meaning either the hands were adorned with gold for making gifts or they were wrought of gold itself. They would also speak definitely at times of having secured lumps of gold,⁷ as well as pitchers full of gold.⁸ They would sing the hymns in praise of their deities applying such epithets as pleasing, bright and purest gold.⁹ Indra's *Vajra* (thunderbolt) they would often describe as bright and beautiful as gold.¹⁰ They would very frequently mention in their prayers gold—gold that glitters.¹¹ They would speak of their gods' arrows¹² and the water ewers¹³ too to be wrought of gold. They would also speak of *Varuṇa* as wearing golden coat of mail.¹⁴ They would be often seen mentioning treasures of gold.¹⁵ They would also not very unfrequently refer to their gods as bedecked with gold.¹⁶ They would describe their kings as gold to look upon.¹⁷ The Soma-juice, the heavenly nectar of life, they would very often describe as entering into golden jars (*kalasas*).¹⁸ The places of sacrifice even would be spoken of as golden.¹⁹ The heavenly birds they would describe as of golden colour.²⁰ The birds *Vena* (Savitar's Swans) they would describe as having golden pinions.²¹ They would very often refer to golden cloths,²² golden mantles²³ and gold trappings.²⁴ They would often speak of gold that gives wealth,²⁵

1 ix, 78, 4.

2 i, 35, 8; vi, 71, 3.

3 v, 2, 3.

4 ii, 35, 10; x, 101, 2.

5 & 6 i, 22, 5; i, 35, 9; 10; iii, 54, 11; vi, 50, 8; 71, 1; 4; vii, 34, 4; 38, 2.

7 vi, 47, 23; x, 48, 4.

8 i, 117, 12.

9 viii, 65, 11 (that there was known a distinction between the purest gold and the ordinary one is indicated. So it would be apparent that the brightest and the purest gold was the objective of the Vedic singers).

10 i, 57, 2; 85, 9; x, 23, 3.

11 x, 107, 7.

12 viii, 77, 11.

13 iv, 32, 19.

14 i, 25, 13.

15 iii, 34, 9; ix, 97, 50.

16 i, 43, 5; viii, 31, 8.

17 viii, 5, 38.

18 ix, 71, 6; 75, 3.

19 v, 67, 2; ix, 64, 20

20 ix, 85, 11.

21 iv, 45, 4; x 123, 5.

22 xiii, 1, 32.

23 v, 55, 6.

24 i, 162, 16.

25 ii, 34, 11; vii 66, 8.

that is self luminous¹ and heightening the pleasure of mankind.² They would speak of Indra as possessing a bull's strength in his golden whip³ and bringing treasures bright and golden.⁴ They would address the Maruts as having gold chains on their breasts and visors wrought of gold on their heads.⁵ They would speak of the robes that were spread on the horses to clothe them and of the upper coverings and the trappings as golden and adorned with an array of gold jewels.⁶ They would frequently refer to golden helmets⁷ and golden swords too.⁸ They would tell of Pusan travelling in the mid-ocean or air in golden ships.⁹ They would mention of golden celestial doors filled up with their frames on high.¹⁰ They would often speak of winning gold as anything.¹¹ At times they would be showing a chronic longing for gold and gold and nothing else.¹² The driving box of Savitar's chariot they would describe often as golden.¹³ They would speak of 'Agni' as invested with golden colours bright with hues of gold.¹⁴ They would most frequently pray in their hymns of prayer for becoming wealthy in horses, kine, cattle and gold.¹⁵ And gold being their object of desire they were often found to pray fervently to their worshipful deities for pouring on them wealth in goods, treasure and gold.¹⁶ They would most definitely pronounce their cherished *Ghṛta*m (clarified butter or sacred oil) to be golden in colour.¹⁷ They would also clearly refer to the washing and cleaning of gold for purification.¹⁸ They would be frequently found to speak of golden paths (*Hiranyavartanī*).¹⁹ That the river Sindhu was full of golden beads is definitely mentioned in the Ṛg-veda.²⁰ The river Svarasvatī has been described as

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|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|
| 1 v, 87, 5. | 2 x, 107, 7. | 3 vii, 33, 11. |
| 4 iv, 17, 11 ; vii, 31, 3. | | 5 v, 54, 11. |
| 6 i, 162, 16 ; i, 33, 8. | | 7 ii, 34, 3 ; viii, 7, 25. |
| 8 i, 42, 6 ; vii, 97, 7 ; viii, 7, 32. | | 9 vi, 58, 3. |
| 10 ix, 5, 5. | | 11 ix, 86, 39 ; x, 48, 4. |
| 12 ix, 27, 4. | 13 viii, 23, 8. | 14 vi, 16, 38. |
| 15 i, 30, 17 ; 92, 16 ; 94, 9 ; viii, 22, 17 ; ix, 41, 4 ; 61, 3 ; 63, 18. | | |
| 16 vii, 90, 6 ; viii, 32, 9 ; ix, 69, 8 ; 72, 9 ; 86, 38 ; ix, 97, 50. | | |
| 17 ii, 35, 11. | | |
| 18 i, 117, 5, cf. Taittirīya Samhitā, vi, 1, 7, 1. | | |
| 19 i, 92, 18 ; v, 75, 2 ; 3 ; viii, 5, 11 ; 8, 1 ; 87, 5. | | |

20 x, 75, 8—*Sindhu* or modern *Indus* (The Sands of the Indus at Cuttock are also washed for gold. See Ball, *Geology of India*, iii, p. 210 (1881 Edn).

abounding in gold, "terrible with golden paths"¹ The Vedic bard would sing, "this river with his lucid flow attracts you more than all the streams, even Sindhu with his path of gold."²

From such a long array of similes and metaphors and a luxuriant terminology founded on the term "Hiranya" as also from descriptions pure and simple, that are often met with in the Ṛg-vedic hymns one could easily conclude that the people of the Ṛg-vedic antiquity had an extensive knowledge of and practical acquaintance with gold and its usefulness in its manifold forms of jewellery, embroidery and perhaps even coinage.

Again it may be easily conceived from the fact of their mentioning the various rivers and their beds as full of gold that that noble metal used to be found on the beds of the rivers³ whence they used to be carried for purification by washing and then finally to the melting pots⁴ to be molten into lumps.

1 Ṛv., vi, 61, 7.

2 Ṛv., viii, 26, 18.

3 "The sands of all the rivers which flow from the Alps contain gold. Thus, for instance, the sands of the Upper Rhine have for centuries been washed for gold although the richest portion of the sand contains only about 56 parts of gold to 10 million. Gold has also been found in many streams in Cornwall and the precious metal is now being worked to a considerable extent in North Wales..... In Asia gold occurs chiefly on the eastern flanks of the Urals and in other parts of Siberia, but the metal has been found in almost all parts of this continent specially in India and Corea"—Roscoe, *Chemistry*, Vol. II, p. 388.

"The most striking feature of the gold deposits of the Assam Valley is the universal distribution of the metal in extremely small percentages throughout the gravel of the river beds."—Watt, *Commercial Products of India*, p. 566.

"At the time of his visit he (Dr. Walker) could hear nothing locally of this mine, but learnt that washing had been carried on comparatively recently in the streams which feed the Godāvarī from the South"—Ball, *Geology of India*, III, p. 188.

"It has been not unfrequently stated that all the rivers of the Punjab, the Ravi alone excepted, contain cuniferous sands..... the rivers and streams of this province do as a general rule contain gold.—Ball, *Geology of India*, III, p. 209.

4 Ṛv., vi, 3, 4.

The metallurgical processes for obtaining gold, therefore, so far as we are informed from the R̥g-veda alone, were clearly in those days of remotest past, quite simple as consisting of gathering sandy deposits from the river beds, washing them clean with water and the fine powder thus obtained was brought to the melter's pot to be molten into lumps. By this process very pure gold was obtained. That this metallurgical process, though very simple, yet compares most favourably with that existing even at the present date could be easily seen.¹

Thus we see "gold, renowned in history, gold which glitters in the sands of rivers and is usually deposited in the veins of mountains, pure and unmixed gold, the beautiful gleam of which rouses the desires of the savage as much as the ease with which it can be worked attracts the artistic sense of more civilised man; gold highly prized and highly abused, which is decried by moralising poets now as *melius irreperum*, now as *ferro-no-centius*, but which is equally desired by all, won for itself its high position in the esteem of man in an age, that lies beyond the beginning of all history."²

"*Rajata*" the second metal, known as silver we met with once only in the R̥g-veda³ in the form of an adjective to *aśva* (horse) which may be construed to mean "white." Thus we cannot see

1 "The extraction of the particles of gold from alluvial sands is effected by taking advantage of the high specific gravity of the metal (19·3) which causes it to remain behind, whilst the sand, which is very much lighter (sp. gr. 2·6) is carried away by water. This washing is commonly performed by hand, in wooden or metal bowls, in which the sand is shaken up with water, and the light portions dexterously poured off, so as to leave the grains of gold at the bottom of the vessel."—Bloxam, *Inorganic Chemistry*, p. 404.

"The simplest method of gold mining, namely, *alluvial-washing* or *placer-digging*, as it is termed in California, come down from the simple pan-washing to hydraulic mining in a stupendous scale, necessarily requires a considerable quantity of running water. This or a similar process was in use amongst the ancients"—Roscoe, *Chemistry*, vol. II, p. 390.

2 Schrader, *Prehistoric Antiquities* (Jevon's translation, 1890), p. 169.

3 R̥v., viii, 25, 22.

anything about the metallurgy of this metal at so remote a period of our civilisation. From this it is evident that silver was very rarely used in that age of the dim past, and not much favoured like gold by the people of those ages long gone by. "The preference, thus demonstrated," observed a learned scholar,¹ "for silver to gold at a very early period in the history of human culture undoubtedly finds its explanation in the later and rarer appearance of that metal amongst the oriental nations and amongst mankind generally, a phenomenon which is clearly indicated by facts of archæology (cf. Lubbock, Pre-historic Times, pp. 3, 20, 22, 25) and is sufficiently explained by the circumstance that silver occurs only in mountains and not in the sands of rivers and on the whole is not of such widespread occurrence and is harder to get than gold."

Next, as regards "*ayas*," the third Ṛg-vedic metal round which have been woven the most subtle threads of controversy and doubt as to its proper identification, there are as many as forty references in the Ṛg-veda.²

The Vedic bards are profuse in their use of vocabulary "*ayas*" and indeed it is no less copious than that used of "*hiranya*" or gold. But it is a remarkable fact that they are very particular in calling Indra's horse bright and beautiful as "*hiranya*," but as to its legs they describe them as wrought of "*ayas*,"³ a hard metal as they apparently desired to speak of the horses as possessing very strong legs for fast and swift running. Almost all the comparisons that are found to be made with "*ayas*" seem to be quite apt signifying the idea of either sharpness or strength or both combined. The arrow, a weapon of considerable importance, owing to the part it plays as a sharp and strong weapon of war, they would describe as "*ayomukham*"⁴ or "*ayoagrayū*,"⁵ i.e., tipped with "*ayas*" to render it sharp as well as strong. They would often call Indra as being "*aya apūṣṭi*,"⁶ i.e., armed with claws of "*ayas*" as they would be extremely sharp like those of the hawk for slaying *dasyus* or robbers. The "Jātavedas" they would call "*ayodaṃṣṭra*,"⁷ i.e., armed with the teeth of *ayas* (for attacking demons). The "Maruts"

1 Schrader, Prehistoric Antiquities (Jevon's translation), p. 180.

2 Ṛg-vedic Concordance and Max Müller's Index to Ṛg-veda.

3 i, 163, 9.

4 vi, 75, 15.

5 x, 99, 6.

6 x, 99, 8.

7 x, 87, 2.

they will address as "ayodaṁṣṭras",¹ i.e., having tusks of "ayas" as sharp and effective as those of the wild boars. The progeny of Indra have been termed "ayaḥśīprā,"² i.e., having stout and strong jaws like those made of "ayas." The "Soma" they will often speak of as entering into its *ayas* fashioned home,³ i.e., the receptacle which has been framed by hammering with a tool made of "ayas," evidently indicating the strength and hardness of the metal as well as the hammer itself. The god "Savitar" has been called "ayohana,"⁴ i.e., having cheeks as strong as those of "ayas." They speak of "agni" as whetting his splendour like the edge of "ayas,"⁵ clearly indicating that "ayas" would admit of being sharpened. Again they are found to address—"Be gracious, Indra! sharpen my thought as it were a blade of "ayas."⁶ They would also mention cauldrons or huge pots of *ayas*,⁷ for pouring or heating or holding milk of cows, evidently indicating that "ayas" being tough could be beaten into large vessels. Very frequently they would call Indra "āyasa,"⁸ i.e., having the weapon wrought of "ayas" and therefore fierce even against the strong. Indra's *vajra* has often been mentioned as wrought of "ayas",⁹ stuck fast in his hands¹⁰ and having a thousand very sharp edges—one that kills enemies and shoots out a thousand flames in the sky.¹¹ At times Indra would be said to be as stout and strong as "ayas" itself.¹²

From all these descriptions one could easily understand the nature and characteristics of the third Ṛg-vedic metal "ayas." It was a very hard metal, tough, tenacious, malleable and ductile, one that could be sharpened at the same time into murderous weapons, admit of being easily forged or worked into tools and beaten into desired shapes and sizes.

Again in the Ṛg-veda IV, 2, 17 we have the definite mention of smelting of "ayas." We have the Vedic bards singing in this hymn—"purify us by smelting like ore",¹³ meaning the purification of humanity as ore is purified by smelting in the hands of "karmāras"¹⁴ or smiths.

1 i, 88, 5.

3 ix, 1, 2; 80; 2.

5 vi, 3, 5.

7 v, 30, 15.

9 i, 80, 12.

11 x, 96, 3; 4;

13 iv, 2, 17.

2 iv, 37, 4.

4 vi, 71, 4.

6 vi, 47, 10.

8 i, 56, 3.

10 viii, 96, 3.

12 x, 96, 8.

14 ix, 112, 2; x, 72, 2.

We have here a definite mention of "Karmāra" or "Dhmātṛ"¹ in connection with "ayas"—a particular guild of artisans associated with the work of "ayas." Again we have a clear and most definite mention of "*welding*"² in connection with the acts of the smiths often identified with the forging of "ayas". This forging is very clearly described in Rv IX, 112, 2, thus—"with dry faggots of trees, and fans of bird's wings and bright whetting stones, the *karmāras* (engaged in the making of arrows) would desire for rich men (to buy them). Evidently then we have in reference to "ayas" the process of smelting or purifying the ore, forging and then welding by particular guilds "Dhmātṛs" or "Karmāras," the master smiths. Added to these if we bring in the facts already enumerated above that "ayas" requires to be *hard, tough, tenacious* admitting the process of *sharpening*, then a scientific mind could not but construe it as *iron* (of steely character) and nothing else.³ For "ayas" if identified with gold, or silver or even copper would not answer to having simultaneously the properties ascribed to it, of being *hard, tough, tenacious, malleable, ductile*—a metal *that is purified by smelting ores*, one that could be *welded* and at the same time admit of being sharpened into tools and weapons and beaten into any desired shape, etc. While in the absence of "tin" in the whole of the "R̥g-veda"⁴ we could be hardly justified

1 Rv., v, 9, 5.

2 Rv., x, 81, 3.

3 "Bar-iron is a hard, grey, lustrous metal. Its texture is fibrous. When heated it first becomes pasty, and in this condition may be welded. At a greater temperature it may be fused. At red-heat it is both ductile and malleable; compared with other metals its tenacity is enormous"—Tidy, *Handbook of Modern Chemistry*, p. 351.

"When carbon is absent or only present in a very small quantity we have *wrought iron*, which is comparatively soft, malleable, ductile, weldable, easily forgeable, and very tenacious, but not fusible except at temperatures rarely attainable in furnaces, and not susceptible of tempering like steel. When present in certain proportions, the limits of which cannot be exactly prescribed, we have the various kinds of *steel* which are *highly elastic, malleable, ductile, forgeable, weldable*, and *capable of receiving very different degrees of hardness by tempering*, even so as to cut wrought iron with facility and *fusible* in furnaces." Percy's *Metallurgy*, p. 102.

4 *Trapu* denotes 'tin' in the Atharva-veda (xi. 3, 8) and later.

in introducing at all any idea of bronze. But even if for argument's sake we ever attempt to bring in such a hypothesis, it would utterly fail as untenable, as the only bronze known to India *viz.* *bell-metal*, or any kind of bronze if it was at all then known, could not be identified with the qualities possessed by "ayas" as mentioned in the R̥g-veda. Thus taking all points into consideration, "ayas" cannot but mean "iron," which is a metal, ordinarily obtained by *smelting ores* and is *tough, tenacious, malleable* and *ductile*, at the same time very *hard*, could admit of being easily *sharpened*, the *only* metal that could be *welded* and allow of being *forged* in the way as described in the R̥g-veda.¹ And this identification of "ayas" is clearly affirmed by the Vedic bard's associating "ayas" with "harita"² i.e., with the colour of the morning Sun (not rising Sun) which is faintly bluish shining and dazzling in brilliance like the blade of a damask steel.

Further, the very mention in the R̥g-veda of a particular guild "Karmāra" or blacksmith, still known to prevail on Indian soil plying on its most ancient profession of forging iron and nothing else under the strict traditionary discipline of the caste-system affords a proof of the existence of iron in those ages. While the clear and definite description of a very sharp shaving instrument "kṣura"³ (razor) and the fact of killing horses with weapons by a single stroke,⁴ a custom still prevalent in animal sacrifices throughout India are evidences which throw considerable light on our ideas of 'ayas' and support our attempt to identify it with iron and iron alone.

1 It may be pointed out, however, that bronze, whatever may be its composition, could never be *welded*, and no metal, as is very well known to all scientific men, save and except *iron* could admit of being *welded* at all. Electric welding was not known in the R̥g-vedic age. Again the process of smelting for purification from ores could only be applicable to *iron* alone, inasmuch as, it could not be identified with copper smelting which was never so simple—a fact best known to chemists and metallurgists. Further the idea of purification of bronze of any kind by smelting would be scientifically most irrelevant.

2 x, 96, 3; 4.

3 i, 166, 10; viii, 4, 16; x 28, 9.

4 i, 162, 20.

Now "ayas" being identified with *iron* we can now somewhat describe its metallurgy in that remote period of human civilisation. The metal was found in the ores, which were smelted for purification by a particular guild called "*dhmāt*," identified also with "*Karmāra*" or blacksmiths. The smelting was done by means of a furnace with dried iaggots of trees as fuel and bellows of birds' wings. The iron balls thus smelted were then hammered down and welded into lumps. In forging tools of iron the process would consist in heating the iron in a smith's forge worked with bellows, and hammering, welding the parts together and finally sharpening on clean whetting stones. The vessels made were beaten into shape probably by hand-hammering like that still used in India. Very probably smelting and forging used to be carried on in the same forge or furnace. These processes compare very favourably with those now done by the Indians in general even up to the present times.

Thus from the above it is seen that the knowledge of the metallurgy of iron in those ancient days of civilised life was a pretty advanced one and we have it from the Rg-veda that from the household utensils of jars, pots, kettles, vessels of various types, tongs, scissors, sharp razors, needles, pipes, tubes, awls, hammers, and the agricultural implements such as plough-share, spade, shovel, furrow, sickle to warriors' helmets, coats of mail, spears, axes, daggers, swords, lances, and arrows were all known to them and even the substitution of a broken-limb by one made of iron,¹ the sure indication of skill in the making of surgical implements was also not beyond their scope.

(To be continued)

MANINDRA NATH BANERJEE

Siege of Bednore, 1783

Tipu Sultan's own story—translated from his Memoirs (India Office MS.)—and accounts of two English eye-witnesses

II

The English force marched out, "the next day", to a place fixed for the burial of such of their troops as had fallen. The Sultan's *Sardārs* "stood in their way", and "searched" them closely, "one by one" (*farī-farī*). Those "cursed people" were found to have carried secretly coins (*Haidrī* coins) and other jewels, which had been concealed, "sewed up" in all their garments.¹ They had "made holes"² "in the cheeks of goats"³ and "filled" them "with jewels" and other (valuable) things. They had concealed gold coins in their loaves (*nān*). Jewels were also found to have been concealed inside the pipes and in the bottoms of their *huggas* (hubble bubbles). And they had also "concealed jewels and gold pieces" in their "private places."⁴ Some "sweepers" (*khāk-rūbān*) "were engaged in this business" and "every thing was brought out."⁵

1 "*Dar tamāmi dukht (dokht)-i-pārcha-ī-khud pīnhān wa nihān Haidrī wa jawāhir dukhta (dokhta) budand.*"

2 "*Sūrākh namūda*", having made holes.

3 "*Dar kala-ī-gūsfandān (gosfandān)*".

4 "*Dar marwāsi makhsūsa*".

5 There may be a great deal of exaggeration in this account of the Sultan, but the whole thing, however, cannot altogether be rejected as a fictitious story. The fact that the Sultan's men made a vigorous search of the members of the English force, that they made a very close search of their bodies, is sufficiently proved by the statements of Capt. Oakes and Lt. Sheen (*passim*). One may doubt, of course, whether as a result of this search, coins, jewels, etc., were actually discovered in abundance from all the alleged places of concealment enumerated by the Sultan. As regards this point also, one would not be perhaps justified in wholly disbelieving his statements. The Sultan,

At the time of the search, the Sultan continues, "some male and female children belonging to the *Sarkār*", who had been carried away by the English, "dressed after their own fashion", "cried out." "About five hundred [such] persons were found" with them. "After due search", the Sultan's people [those found with the English] were all separated from the "Nazarenes"—the believers (Musalmans) were thus all separated from the "unbelievers" (or "infidels")¹ and the "polytheists."¹

The Sultan next gives the justification of the step taken against the English. As they "did not", he says, "keep" their written promise, all of them were made prisoners and handed over [in separate batches] to the charge of different high officers (of his government). At the time of the search, the Sultan writes, "ten or twelve Muhammadan ladies" were also found, who had been [previously] captured by the "Nazarenes" from Surat and Bengal, and [so long] "kept with them". They were now "set free" by his men. Here ends the Sultan's narrative of the Bednore incident. We shall now give below the English version.

THE ENGLISH VERSION

Capt. Oakes writes that after a siege of 17 days, "a cessation of arms took place" on the 24th of April, 1783. On the 26th, General Matthews called a council of war, which after deliberating on the situation of affairs came to the resolution of capitulating on the following terms :

(1) "That the garrison should march out of the fort with the honours of war, and pile their arms on the glacis."

who is never tired of using abusive terms about his vanquished enemy, may, of course, be suspected of giving a grossly exaggerated account, in order to discredit his enemy. But it should, at the same time, be pointed out that there is hardly anything in it that can be rejected as altogether absurd. It is now really very difficult for us to find out the whole truth about the incident.

¹ "*Kuffārān*"—from *Kāfir*, unbeliever, infidel. (Ar. plu., *Kuffār*. *Kuffārān*—double plural with Pers. suffix.)

² "*Mushrikān*"—plu. of *Mushrik*, one who believes in many gods, a polytheist [Steingass].

(2) "That all public stores should remain in the fort."

(3) "That all prisoners, taken since the siege began, should be delivered up."

(4) "That after being joined by the garrisons of Cowladroog and Anantapore, the whole should have full liberty to march unmolested with all their private property to Sadashagur, from thence to embark for Bombay."

(5) "That Tipoo Sultan Nawab Bahadur shall furnish a guard to march with the English troops, for their protection through the country, which guard should be under the orders of Brigadier General Matthews."

(6) "That Tipoo Sultan Nawab Bahadur should likewise furnish the English troops with a plentiful bazaar [*bāzār*] and proper conveyances for sick and wounded during their march to Sadashagur."

(7) "That a guard of 100 Sepoys from the garrison of Bednore with their arms and accoutrements, and 36 rounds of ammunition, should attend Brigadier General Matthews, as a body-guard, during the march to Sadashagur."

(8) "And that Tipoo Sultan Nawab Bahadur, for the performance of the articles on his part, should deliver two hostages prior to the garrison's marching out of the fort."¹

Lt. Sheen has narrated how the English force made a last desperate attempt to continue the struggle after General Matthews had already

Lt. Sheen's
narrative.

sent the terms of capitulation to the Sultan. This incident has neither been mentioned in the Sultan's Memoirs nor in the narrative of Capt. Oakes. Lt. Sheen's narrative may be stated as follows: After the continuation of the siege for 20 days, General Matthews was "at length obliged to send out a flag of truce and afterwards terms of capitulation." The Sultan "acceded to these terms", "which were to leave in the fort all the property" they (the English) "had taken", and "to agree not to fight against him [the Sultan] for a stipulated time".² The Sultan on his part "promised to let" the English force "return unmolested" to their "own garrison"; but they "were first to march out and pile" their arms "in the front" of the Sultan's army. "These conditions were thought so ignominious", that they prepared themselves "for fresh

¹ *Narrative of Capt. Oakes*, pp. 1-2.

² The latter point has not been mentioned by Capt. Oakes, nor has it been found in the Sultan's version.

hostilities." And, "the next morning at daybreak", they "accordingly made a sally in two divisions", and "stormed" the Sultan's "grand battery", and there "killed a few of the French and about one hundred irregulars." This was "accomplished almost in an instant", but the main body of the Sultan's troops soon surrounded them, so that they were forced "to retreat with precipitation into the fort", in the course of which Lt. Sheen received "a slight wound."¹ A "council of war" was then held within the fort, in which "all the officers present" agreed to accept the "proffered terms". Lt. Sheen says that at that time their sick and wounded numbered 530, who were "lying exposed to the Sun", and, moreover, "a putrid fever" was then "raging in the fort."²

After "the capitulation having been signed, the hostages received, and doolies sent for the sick and wounded", the English garrison marched out of the fort on the 28th April, 1783. Lt. Sheen writes that on that day, before they left the fort, General Matthews "ordered all the officers to draw of the Paymaster-General as much money as they wanted." At this, "both officers and men drew as much as they judged they should have occasion for, some officers taking two thousand", and "others one thousand pagodas". "This [money]", Lt. Sheen continues, "was all taken from the Sircar [*Sarkār*] property, which by treaty was to belong to the captors. But the General, being apprehensive of so much money being discovered in the possession of one man, ordered it to be distributed among the troops." We further find it explicitly stated by Lt. Sheen in one place that "not a single rupee" was found by the Sultan in the fort, after the English force had left it.³

"In the afternoon" of the 28th April, the English garrison marched out of the fort, and piled all their arms before the Sultan's force. Capt. Oakes has given a detailed account of the incidents which followed. This is substantially corroborated by Lt. Sheen's letter. We shall give below the full narrative of Capt. Oakes, with reference to Lt. Sheen's account where necessary.

How the English drained the Bednore treasury—Lt. Sheen's statement.

Events after the English force had left the fort.

1 In the Sultan's account, we have noticed the incident of an English attack on the Sultan's battery on the 5th day and how it ended.

2 Lt. Sheen's letter, in *Narrative of Capt. Oakes*, pp. 83-84.

3 Lt. Sheen's letter, in *Narrative of Capt. Oakes*, pp. 84-85, 87.

After they had piled their arms, Capt. Oakes writes, they were "immediately escorted by a strong body of the enemy about half a mile beyond the Onore gate". At that place, General Matthews "was informed that he must encamp that night", "to which he reluctantly consented".¹ "When the whole came up", "the enemy surrounded" them, and "posted sentries on every side, beyond whom no person was permitted to pass." General Matthews next learned from his body-guard that "the enemy had forcibly taken away their arms and ammunition, immediately on their leaving the fort, and had also deprived many of the officers of their side arms." He further learned that "Lt. McKenzie of the 100th regiment", who had a few days before been shot through the body, "was forced out of his dooly [*duli or doli*] by the enemy with their bayonets, as he was coming out of the fort, and several others were treated in the like cruel manner." He also heard that "Capt. Facey of the Bombay establishment, with 50 sick and wounded, were detained in the fort till the next morning, with Mr. Shields, Asst. Surgeon". " * * * Early in the morning [of the 29th April, while the troops were preparing to march, the General received a message from the Nawab desiring him to see him, together with Capts. Eames and Lendrum of the Bombay establishment, and Mr. Charles Stuart, the pay-master", General Matthews accordingly went to see the Sultan, accompanied by the officers mentioned above and several of his *cravats*. The hostages also, "of their own accord", accompanied him.

"Soon after their departure", Capt. Oakes continues, "a good buzzaur [*bāzār*], furnished with a great variety of provisions and other articles, arrived in camp".² "At the same time", "people came to carry away the doolies, out of which they threw the sick and wounded in a most inhuman manner, seizing those who had lately suffered amputation by the stumps, and left them in that painful wretched condition upon the bare ground, entirely exposed to the heat of the

1 Lt. Sheen also says that after being conducted "about a mile from the fort", they were asked "to halt till the morning", and "then to march" to one of their settlements.

2 Lt. Sheen also says that after the departure of General Matthews, who was called for by the Sultan, the latter "entertained with all manner of liquors and provisions, of which the officers and soldiers made liberal purchases [italics our own], having tasted some of these delicacies within the fort." [*Narrative of Capt. Oakes*, Appendix, p. 87.]

Sun". On "being asked the cause of such barbarous treatment", "the brutes replied" that they had "received orders to make the doolies two feet longer."

The English force "waited with the greatest impatience" for the return of Gen. Matthews "till 5 o'clock in the morning, when intelligence was received that the general and the gentlemen who accompanied him were immediately on their arrival at the Darbar, without being admitted into the Nawab's presence, made close prisoners."¹

"At 10 o'clock at night", they "were alarmed by the arrival of an additional force of the enemy, when the guards turned out and posted double sentries all round". "Their design was easily seen through", "though they endeavoured to lull" the suspicion of the English force with some "pretext".

"The next morning" (30th April), they perceived that "the enemy had spies in every part" of their camp, and "emissaries employed to entice the troops" to enter the service of the Sultan. At "about 10 o'clock", a messenger arrived from the Sultan, who informed the people belonging to the English force that they "were to remain there some days", and they were asked to tell him "what number of tents" they wanted. Capt. Oakes says that they "refused" the tents, and wrote a letter to the Nawab, "signed by all the officers",² "requiring him immediately to fulfil the terms of capitulation". The letter was "sent to him by Major Fewtrill of the Bombay establishment, but no answer was received."

The search was made in the morning, on the 1st of May. The description of Capt. Oakes may be given as follows: "At 10 o'clock, the buzzaur [*bāsūr*] was taken away, the guards ordered under arms, and all the European officers immediately sent for to the spot of ground from whence the buzzaur [*bāsūr*] had been taken, where we were, one by one, plundered by the enemy, *in the most scandalous manner*, of our

The Search and
confinement—
Capt. Oakes'
description.

1 We notice some difference between the accounts of Capt. Oakes and Lt. Sheen. According to Lt. Sheen's statement, "General Matthews alone was, on the 29th morning, called by the Sultan, and "they met half-way between the two camps". And on the next day (30th April), the Pay-master and other officers were sent for by the Sultan, and they were detained on their arrival.

2 According to Lt. Sheen's account, the "Field and Staff officers, with all the captains, the Pay-master and Commissary" were on this

horses, peltanqueens [palanquins], money, plate, watches, valuables, etc., and in short of every article except our bedding and cloths [clothes], *searching us most minutely in every part, without the least regard to decency.* [Italics our own.] The European soldiers, black outcasts, and Sepoys, with all their wives and children, as also all the camp followers, were searched and plundered in the same indecent, infamous manner, and at 4 o'clock in the afternoon were marched with a strong guard to Bednore, the sick and wounded being left to perish on the ground. Shortly after, the European officers with their servants were likewise conducted to Bednore, where we were closely confined in the barracks which had been formerly occupied by a battalion of our own Sepoys; and from the time the villains began to search and plunder us, we had nothing of any kind to eat till 12 o'clock the next day, at which hour they brought and delivered to each person one pile and a bowl of the coarsest rice, which they informed us was to be the daily allowance of officers and servants indiscriminately."¹

Lt. Sheen gives the following account: On the "1st of May, our eyes were fully opened as to the intention of the Nabob, when we were taken before the Buckshee [*Bukhshee*], or Pay-master and ordered to be searched before him; we were then stripped of our money, which, among the officers alone, amounted to 40 thousand pagodas, besides our watches, horses, camels, etc. They afterwards confined us in a large yard, and fed us up on a penny worth of rice per diem. Having remained in this confinement for a few days, they tore our cloaths [clothes] off in the most indecent manner, coupled us in irons two and two together, and marched us in that manner, exposed to the damp at night and the heat of the Sun by day, afflicted no less by hunger than thirst, till they conducted us after 16 days' march to a fort called Chittabroog [*Chittledroog*]."

Lt. Sheen's
account.

The Sultan in his Memoirs has tried to justify his action, as we

day (30th April) "sent for and detained" by the Sultan. In order to pacify, however, the English troops, he sent two Brahmins to them, "with assurance" that they would "all return the next day."

1 *Narrative of Capt. Oakes*, pp. 7-9.

2 Lt. Sheen's letter, in *Narrative of Capt. Oakes*, Appendix, p. 88.

The prisoners were brought to the fort of Chittledroog on the 21st of May. [*Narrative of Capt. Oakes*, p. 19.]

have found, on the ground that the English had violated a very important item of the solemn peace terms, by trying to take away secretly all the money, jewels, etc., from the Bednore fort. This action on the part of the English, even so far as the charge is corroborated by the statement of Lt. Sheen, mentioned before, was certainly a gross violation of a very important term of capitulation, which vitally affected the Sultan's interest. It cannot, as such, be denied that the Sultan could really claim sufficient justification for the search, and even some justification for the wholesale imprisonment of the English force. It should, however, be pointed out that the very harsh and often inhuman treatment of the English prisoners of war, made on this occasion as well as in Hyder's reign, in different forts of the Sultan,¹ which can scarcely be justified by the laws of war of any civilized age, remains a stigma on Tipu Sultan's administration.

One may, of course, say that the Sultan had sufficient reason for having a strong grudge against the English. They had taken possession of Bednore and some other places by a secret transaction with the traitor *Ayāz Khān*. The English General and that traitor had tried to share between themselves a vast amount of the Sultan's wealth at Bednore, as is clear from the statement of Lt. Sheen and the evidence of *Tārīkh-i-Tipū* (see previous issue). They had, further, tried to deceive the Sultan by draining the Bednore treasury, in distinct violation of the terms of capitulation. This certainly added fresh fuel to the fire of the Sultan's wrath against them. It may, in this connection, be mentioned that in the Preface to the *Narrative of Capt. Henry Oakes*, with Lt. Sheen's letter in the appendix, there is a note (perhaps of the publisher), which goes so far as to justify, on this ground, to a considerable extent, the Sultan's cruel treatment of the English prisoners. It runs as follows: "His (Sultan's) conduct was evidently founded upon principles of retaliation; and candour must

1 As vividly described by Capt. Oakes and Lt. Sheen, and by another English officer belonging to Col. Baillie's Detachment—all eye-witnesses and actual sufferers. [*Narrative of the imprisonment and sufferings of the English officers and soldiers*, by an officer of Col. Baillie's Detachment—in *Memoirs of the War in Asia, 1780-84* (2nd. ed., 1789), pp. 155 ff.; *Narrative of Capt. Henry Oakes*, pp. 5-10, 19-21, 41, 61-62, etc.]

acknowledge that the unjustifiable behaviour of the Company's army goes a considerable way in justification of that of the enemy."

Another important question arises in connection with the Sultan's conduct—namely, whether he had a preconceived plan of not allowing the English force to go away safely out of his clutches. If it were so, it can of course be said that perhaps the same fate would have befallen the English troops, even if they did not violate the capitulation terms. Lt. Sheen seems to have brought, in a mild form, a charge of this nature against the Sultan. He has not tried, it appears, to justify the English conduct, but he says that the Sultan "determined to make" it "a plea for an infraction of the treaty."¹ This has been asserted definitely by Wilks. "There is abundant reason", he says, "to believe that Tipu had predetermined to seek some pretext for infringing its conditions [those of capitulation]; but, an empty treasury, together with the money found on searching the prisoners, exempted him from the necessity of recurring to fictitious pleas."² Beveridge has also echoed the same view. He has not, in the least, justified the English conduct, but he says that Tipu, "who only wanted a pretext for violating the capitulation, found too good a one in the example thus set him" by the English army.³

Without sufficient evidence, it is difficult to assert that the Sultan had really such a preconceived plan, and that he wanted only a pretext for doing so. Of course, that is quite possible, for certainly he bore a strong grudge against the English.

But if the Sultan had really such a design, the English army surely did not act wisely in thus offering a fresh provocation and furnishing him a sufficiently strong *plea* for taking such action. If one analyses the conduct of the English army, it would appear that a greed for wealth clouded the brain of General Matthews and other English officers. The former had already given a strong proof of his greed after he had taken possession of Bednore. On the present occasion, it is apparent, he successfully made all the other English officers approve of the action by freely distributing among them the wealth of the Bednore treasury. They are also, as such, not immune from the blame, which, of course, principally

Conduct of the
English Army.

1 Lt. Sheen's letter (*Narrative of Capt. Oakes*, p. 87).

2 Wilks, *Mysore*, vol. II, p. 61.

3 Beveridge, vol. II, p. 518.

falls upon General Matthews. Their greed, it appears, overshadowed their judgment, so that they could not perhaps think calmly of the possible consequences of the action, for which the whole army would suffer. Beveridge has, therefore, rightly criticised the English action in "fraudulently" emptying the Sultan's treasury. "Unfortunately", he says, "a rapacity, of which too many examples had previously been given, prevailed over a sense of honour and even of self-preservation."¹

SURATH CHARAN SENGUPTA

Indian Literature Abroad

VII

The Tang Dynasty collapsed in 507 A. D. owing, as we have already indicated, to the incapacity of the later emperors and was succeeded by a period of troubles in which five short dynasties, founded by military adventurers, three of whom were of Turkish race, rose and fell in 53 years. One of the emperors of this epoch, Shih-tsung of the Later Chou Dynasty, stopped building monasteries and turned bronze images into currency. But in the south, Buddhism flourished in the province of Fukien under the princes of Ming and the dynasty which called itself South Tang. In 960 the Sung dynasty united the Chinese people, but had to struggle against the Khitan Tartars. In the 12th century appeared the Kins or Golden Tartars, who demolished the power of the Khitans in alliance with the Chinese but turned against their allies and conquered the whole of China on the north of the Yang-tse' and harassed the Sung. But the Mongols soon appeared in the field. In 1232 the Sung emperor entered into alliance with the Mongols against the Kings, and although the Kings were driven, Kublai Khan of the Mongols became emperor of entire China in 1280.

The Sung
Dynasty 960
A. D.

"The dynasties of Tang and Sung mark two great epochs in the history of Chinese art, literature and thought, but whereas the virtues

1 Beveridge, vol. II, p. 518.

and vices of the Tang may be summed up as genius and extravagance, those of the Sung are culture and tameness.¹ Buddhism inspired many artists to paint their masterpieces. We remember that Bodhidharma, the twenty-eighth patriarch, founded the Chan or Contemplative sect better known as Zen Sect in Japan. This school of thought was specially responsible for great movements in art and literature in China as well as Japan. Block-printing was popularised, and culture and learning greatly spread. Taitsu, the founder of the Sung Dynasty, although not a Buddhist, was a man of culture.

It was in his reign (972 A.D.) that the first printed edition of the Tripiṭaka was published. The early and thorough application of printing to this gigantic Canon is a proof of the popular esteem for Buddhism. The emperor himself wrote a preface to this edition and his name will ever be remembered with gratitude for having printed and popularised the Chinese translations of Sanskrit books. In 971 A.D., he caused two copies of the same canon to be made, one written in gold and the other in silver paint. This may be called the eighth collection made by the order of the Emperor of China, though no Catalogue or Index seems to have been compiled on the occasion. The blocks of wood on which the characters were cut for this edition are said to have been 130000 in number. After this between 960 and 1368 there are said to have been as many as twenty different editions under the Sung and Yuen dynasties.

The first edition of the Tripiṭaka did not close the work of translation, for 275 works translated during the Northern Sung Dynasty are still extant. Religious intercourse with India continued, although henceforward the number of Chinese Śramāṇas proceeding to India either on pilgrimage or for study was more than that of the influx of Indian monks into China. On the whole there was a decrease in the volume of religious literature, after 900 A.D. This decrease is natural; by this time most of the important and unimportant Sanskrit books of different sects had been rendered into Chinese. The literature of the Tang and the Chao dynasties was not at all favourable for the growth and spread of Buddhist culture. A few Indian monks came from India for a century and half before the Sung came in power. The history of the Sung Dynasty, in its

First printed
Chinese Tripi-
ṭaka.

Chinese pilgrims and Indian paṇḍits in the Sung period. account of India, refers to the arrival (in A.D. 951) of Samanta, a monk, with a large number of companions belonging to sixteen families of W. India. In 965 a Chinese priest, named Tan-Yuen, returned from a journey to the western countries with relics and Sanskrit Buddhist books written on "Palm-leaf" to the extent of 40 volumes. He was absent for twelve years and resided in India alone for half the period. He gave an account of his travels to the emperor and showed him the Sanskrit books he had brought.

M. Chavannes¹ says that between 964 and 976, 300 Chinese Śramaṇas travelled to India. Edkins says that in 966 A.D., 157 Chinese priests set out together, with the emperor's permission, to visit India and obtain Buddhist books. They passed through Karashar, Kutchah, Khotan, Peshawar (Pu-lu-sha) and Kashmir but nothing is said of their further travels.² One of the travellers of this period Kiye wrote a short account which has been translated into English by Gustav Schlegel under the title "Itinerary to the Western Countries of Wang-nieh in A.D. 964"³. Indians continued to come to China and in 972 A.D., three Śramaṇas arrived at the royal court of the Sungsh from Western India. Another came from a land called Sou-ko-to, who offered the emperor the relics and flowers of Manjuśrī. Fourteen more Śramaṇas, about whose activities we have no particular information, came to China from Western India.

In 973 appeared in China one of the greatest translators of Sanskrit named Dharmadeva⁴ (Fa-Tien or Fa-hsien). He was a native of Magadha and came from the great Buddhist monastery of Nālandā. Dharmadeva [Fa-T'ien]. He worked from 973 to 982 under the name of Fa-tien, when he was honoured by the emperor and changed his name in 982 to Fa-hsien. In 982, a board of translators was formed with Dharmadeva, Tien-si-tsai and Dānapāla, each of whom was asked to translate one work into Chinese. There were also other Chinese monks well-versed in Sanskrit language. They were engaged to supervise translations, others were appointed to make the

1 Appendix to Les inscriptions Chinoises de Bodh-Gaya par Ed. Chavannes. (*Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, 1896, Jul-Aout).

2 Edkins, *op.cit.*, p. 144.

3 *Memoires du Comité Sinico-Japonais*, XXI, 1893.

4 Nanjio, pp. 450-451.

Chinese style idiomatic and perfect. We shall hear of their literary activities later on.

In 977 A.D. Ki-siang a Śramaṇa from India came, and brought with him some Sanskrit texts written on palm-leaves. It is said that he presented to the emperor a pretentious translation which he called the 'Sūtra of Collection of Magic Prayers of Mahāyāna,' but Dharmadeva denounced that work as spurious having no Sanskrit original and the emperor had it burnt.

Ki-t'song, a Śramaṇa of the temple of K'ai-pao in Western India, came to China with a number of his companions. He offered Sanskrit books, a relic of a stūpa of Buddha, the leaves of Bodhi-tree and some curios. Another Śramaṇa Po-na-mo of Central India also brought some curios to the emperor, but no books. Sometime back in 971 A.D., a prince named Mañjuśrī had come to China with the Chinese monks returning from India. He was the youngest son of a king of Northern India, and according to custom, he had to become a monk. Tai-tsung (960-975) the then reigning emperor asked him to live in the temple of Siang-Kuo. He observed the discipline religiously and became the favourite of the people of the capital. The monks became jealous of him and as he did not know Chinese, they falsely told the emperor that the Indian prince-monk was homesick. The emperor granted him his request; Mañjuśrī was greatly annoyed, but there was no help for it. He said that he would go towards the South Seas to return on a merchant boat. It is not known where he had gone (978 A.D.).

In 980, landed in China two most famous Indian monks, whose literary activities have won them an immortal name in Buddhist Chinese literature. They were Tien-si-tsai and Che-hu or Dānapāla.¹ Two years after, the emperor honoured the three great Indian translators—Dharmadeva with the title of Chwang-chio-ta-shih, Tien-si-tsai with Ming-chiao-ta-shih and Dānapāla with Hsien-chiao-ta-shih. They were put at the head of the Translation Committee. The Chinese monks versed in Sanskrit were charged to pick up the translation by writing and by correcting the phrases, modelled at first on the Sanskrit original. The high functionaries were to polish the Chinese styles.

1 Nanjio, App. II, p. 161.

The same year a priest of Western China returned from India with a letter from a king of Western India, an impression of the skull of Buddha, some pages of palm-leaf texts, and leaves of Bodhidruma, the most favourite thing of a Buddhist. It was translated by (Che-hu) Dānapāla and it contained congratulations on the favourable attitude shown by the emperor to Buddhism, together with some geographical details of India and adjacent countries. This king Mo-si-hang is identified with Mahāsena mentioned in the Mahāvamsa of Ceylon.

The next year 983 the Chinese monk Fa-yu¹ while returning from India, whither he had gone in search of sacred books, arrived at San-fotse, a country bordering on Cambodia to the south-west, met a Hindu monk named Vimalaśrī (Mi-mo-lo-che-li). He expressed his wish to go to China to translate sacred books there. The emperor, having heard that, sent for him and engaged him in the work. Fa-yu started again for India with the emperor's credentials.

The annals of the Sung Period mention quite a number of Indian monks who went to China, and Chinese monks who came back after a tour in India. A Buddhist priest of the Brahmin caste with Aliyin, a Persian, is mentioned as having visited the capital. Some people came by sea; they could not make themselves understood, but the images and books, they brought with them, showed that they were Buddhists. Several other arrivals are also recorded. They presented Sanskrit books and Buddhist relics to the emperor as token of their gratitude to him for his love for Buddhism. In 989 Pout'o-k'i-to, a Śramaṇa of Nālandā came to the Chinese court with relics and Sanskrit texts. In 995 Kāla-śānti (?) of Central India brought the same thing. Rāhula, Ni-wei-ni, Fo-hu (Buddha-rakṣa) all brought Sanskrit texts between 997 and 998. In 1004 A.D. arrived another great Sanskrit scholar and translator Fa-hu (Dharma-rakṣa). He brought the relics of Buddha and Sanskrit texts written on palm-leaves. Śīlabhadra, another monk, also brought some Sanskrit texts. Mou-le-che-ki of Kashmir, Ta-mo-pa of Western India, Chang-te, Kio-chie, Tsi-hien, and a host of these Indian travellers went to China with Sanskrit texts. Probably in India after the Hindu revival the Buddhists were no more safe, and sorely needed a shelter for themselves and their books.

Other Indian
monks in China.

The intimate relation between China and India is proved also by the three inscriptions in Chinese, found at Buddha-Gaya by Beglar and Cunningham of the Archaeological Department in 1878. These were first deciphered and reproduced by S. Beal in the *JRAS.*, for 1881 and noticed in the *Indian Antiquary* of the same year. In 1895 G. Schlegel made some observations in the *T'oung Pao* (vol. VI, pp. 522-524) and corrected a few mistakes of Beal. In 1896 M. Ed. Chavannes published the complete text with critical study and translation in the *Revue de l'histoire des Religions* (1896, Jul.-Aout.—Les inscriptions Chinoises de Bodh-Gaya).

These inscriptions tell us that as late as the early eleventh century Chinese monks came to India. The first and the shorter inscription gives us the name of Chi-i, a priest of the great Han country, who had vowed to exhort or encourage thirty thousand men to prepare themselves by their conduct for birth in heaven, to distribute in charity 30,000 books relating to heavenly birth, and himself to relate as many books : then in company with others he travelled through India and arrived at Magadha, where he saw the Vajrāsana and other sacred places. After this in company with other Chinese monks he travelled through India.

The second, third and the fourth inscriptions belong to 1022 A.D. The second one is very long ; it says that Ho-Yun, a priest came to Buddha-Gaya with a view to worship the sacred relics of the place. He had great ambitions about religious piety and left behind him a hymn of praise of Tri-kāya of Buddha and of the three thrones occupied by them. The third inscription tells us that in 1023 A.D. two men, called I-tsing and I-lin, were sent from the eastern capital of China with a *Kāṣṭhā* garment in a golden case which they hung above the Bodhi-tree. The fourth inscription is very short and relates the same thing as above, but the monk was Chao-p'in. The fifth inscription is dated 1033 A.D., which says that a man named Hoai-Wen commemorates the erection of a Stūpa close to the Vajrāsana. He came as an agent of the Chinese emperor and empress.

These five inscriptions may not have any great value in ordinary history, but are of momentous importance to the religious history of the East ; it shows the strength of the religious impulse that urged so many pilgrims from China to visit Buddha-Gaya and other sacred places of India, and the sincerity of their belief in the merits of their pilgrimage.

During the Sung dynasty of 167 years, ten translators worked for the Chinese literature. The most prominent among these was Dharmadeva.

Dharmadeva (Fa-Tien or Fa-hien as he called himself after 982 A.D.), a Śramaṇa of Magadha, who came from the great Nālandā University in 973 A.D. In 982 he received from the emperor Tai-Tsung an honorary title for his great learning. He died in 1001. 118 works are ascribed to him, these are all mentioned in the Ming Catalogue. Of these 118 books, 31 were either second or third or sometimes fourth translation of works done previously. These were mostly monograms or parts of bigger books. He translated 78 new books, mostly dhāraṇīs and sūtras of not much merit. Among the translations we find a very interesting composition by King Śīlāditya. It was a laudatory verse in Sanskrit (Nanjio 1071). M. Sylvain Lèvi restored this Sanskrit poem and published it. There were other Sanskrit poems, the originals of which are long lost, viz., *Trikāya-saṃskṛta-stotra* (1072), *Mañjuśrī-bodhisattva-srī-gāthā* (1074), *Ārya-vajrapāṇi-bodhisattva-nāmaśloka-śataka saṃskṛta-stotra* (1075), *Ghaṇṭika-saṃskṛta stotra* etc. These transliterations show that Sanskrit was greatly revered by the Buddhists in China.

Sanskrit stotras
in Chinese
transliteration.

A large number of Dhāraṇīs are found in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, both in translation and transcription. The transcription of Sanskrit sounds in Chinese ideograms is highly important to the students of Chinese phonetics. Some of the Dhāraṇīs are written in Nāgarī characters as well as in Chinese letters. The writing of these Gupta Nāgarī characters should receive the attention of epigraphists.

Dhāraṇī.

I mention below a few of the *Dhāraṇīs* which are found both in transcription and translation from a collection called *T'o-lo-ni-tsa-chi* [T'o-lo-niṃ Dhāraṇī], compiled during the Liang Dynasty (502-557):

- 1 Śākya Mahānāma Dhāraṇī.
- 2 Ānanda-bhikṣu-bhāṣita Dhāraṇī.
- 3 Samantabhadra-bodhisattva-bhāṣita Mahādharmaṇī.
- 4 Mañjuśrī Dhāraṇī.
- 5 Samādhiśvara-rāja-bodhisattva Dhāraṇī.
- 6 Śaḍlakṣara-bodhisattva Dhāraṇī.
- 7 Guṇalakṣaṇā-lakṣara-bodhisattva Dhāraṇī.
- 8 Sukṛti-bodhisattva Dhāraṇī.
- 9 Ratnacandra-prabhā-bodhisattva Dhāraṇī.
- 10 Dhrūva-bodhisattva Dhāraṇī.

- 11 Mahābrahma-devarāja Mahādhāraṇī.
- 12 Māheśvara-devarāja Dhāraṇī.
- 13 Nirmāṇarati-devarāja Mahādhāraṇī.
- 14 Tuṣita-devarāja Mahādhāraṇī.
- 15 Yama-devarāja Dhāraṇī.
- 16 Trayastriṃśa-devarāja Mahādhāraṇī.
- 17 Maheśvara-devarāja Dhāraṇī, etc.

Courant in his *Catalogue des Livres Chinois*, etc. mentions 172 works on Dhāraṇī¹ most of which contain transliteration, and translation.

The fourth emperor Jin-Tsung of the Sung Dynasty was a distinguished patron of literature ; during his reign there was a galaxy of scholars ; he appointed fifty youths to study Sanskrit, although he himself showed no inclination towards Buddhism. In the system of education, Buddhist and Taoist subjects were introduced.²

Tien-si-tsai and Dānapāla (Sh-hu) were contemporaries of Dharma-deva (Fa-tien or Fa-hsien) already mentioned. Tien-si-tsai (whose original Indian name has not been restored) was a Śramaṇa either of Jalandhar or of Kashmir. He arrived in China in A.D. 980, and worked indefatigably for twenty years till 1000 A.D. He received Imperial honours during his lifetime and even after his death he was honoured by the emperor. Eighteen works are attributed to him. Of his works *Kāraṇḍa-vyūha* or *Ghana-vyūha-śāstra* is important. His translation was in 4 fasciculi, whereas the earlier translations by Dharma-rakṣa in 270 A.D. and the later by Guṇabhadra two centuries after contained only 2 fasciculi. Burnouf says that there are two versions of this book, the prose version having 67 folios or 134 pages, and the poetry version having 185 folios or 390 pages.⁴ It is evident that Tien-si-tsai translated from this longer version of *Kāraṇḍa-vyūha*. His other works were *Alpākṣara Prājñāpāramitā* in four leaves. We have heard of *Pañca-viṃśati-sahasra-prajñā-pāramitā* and its abridgment, but not of the Alpākṣara. *Mañjuśrī Mūlatantra* in 20 fasciculi was translated by

1 Maurice Courant—*Catalogue des Livres Chinois*, Coriens, Japonis etc. (Bib. Nationale of Paris), 1910, II, pp. 564-590. Also the Chinese Tripiṭaka (Shanghai ed.), bk. 27.

2 Eliot, III, p. 270.

3 Biot, *L'Instruction Publique en China*, p. 350, quoted by Eliot.

4 *Introduction du Bouddhisme*, p. 196.

him. Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryā-sūtra* which is wrongly attributed to Nāgārjuna, (354) and *Dharmasaṅgraha-mahārtha-gāthā-sūtra* or better known as *Dharmapada* collected by Dharma trāta were rendered into Chinese. Tien-si-tsai's translation of *Dharmapada* is the last of the four Chinese versions of this famous book, which has been rendered into all the civilized languages of the ancient and modern world. A brief resumé of the Chinese translations of the *Dharmapada* will not be out of place here.

There are four principal copies of what may be called *Dharmapada* in Chinese, the first dating from Wu Dynasty, about the beginning of the third century A.D. This Chinese *Dharmapada* translation called Fa cheu-ching, is the work of a Śramaṇa Wei-chi-lan and others. Its title means 'the sūtra of law verses'—Gāthāsaṅgraha. In the preface the Chinese translator states that the Śramaṇas in after ages copied from the canonical scriptures various gāthās, some of four lines and some of six, and attached to each set of verses a title, according to the subject therein explained. This work of extracting and collecting is ascribed to the uncle of Vasumitra and Ārya-Dharmatrāta, the author of the Samyuktā bhidharma-śāstra and other works.

In the preface to the Fa-chun-ching we are told that the original, which consisted of 500 verses, was brought from India by Vighna in 223 A.D., and that it was translated into Chinese with the help of another Indian. After the translation was finished, 13 sections were added, making up the whole to 752 sections, 1458 words and 39 chapters (S.B.E., X, Intro., p. viii). The Pāli *Dhammapada* does not agree with Chinese and we know from the Central Asian finds that there were Prākṛt as well as Sanskrit versions of the *Dharmapada* and it is probable that the Chinese source is Prākṛit and not Pāli. The translation of Vighna is somewhat difficult in its expression, though simple words were used in order to make the meaning of the text as accurate as possible. Afterwards in the reign of Hwui-ti (290-306) Fa-li and Fa-chu translated a shorter sūtra with a commentary.

A third Chinese version is called Chie-ten-ching. Its translator was Buddhasmṛta (about 410 A.D.). The text of this work is said to have been brought from India by Saṅghabhadanta of Kipin (Cabul) about 345 A.D. It is an extensive work in 33 chapters with a very large commentary. The fourth translation was done by Tien-si-tsai; it consisted of 33 chapters.

(To be continued)

PROBHAT KUMAR MUKHERJI

The Nyāyapraveśa of Dinnāga*

1 The Nyāyapraveśa

The *Nyāyapraveśa* is one of the most important works on Buddhist logic. It has also been named *Nyāyapraveśaka*¹ or *Nyāyapraveśa* or *Nyāyapraveśaka-sūtra*.² This name, *Nyāyapraveśa*, is supported also by such titles of works in Skt. as *Nyāyapraveśa-vṛtti*, a commentary on it by Haribhadra (about 1120 A.D.); *Nyāyapraveśa-pañjikā*, another commentary on the same work by Pārśvadeva (1133 A. D.); and *Nyāyapraveśa-ṭīppaṇa*, a gloss by Śrīcandra on Haribhadra's *Nyāyapraveśa-vṛtti*. In the Tib. index to the Tanjur it is named *Nyāyapraveśa-śāstra* (Bstan bcos rigs pa la hjug pa); while in T¹ it is

* It is included in the Gaekward's Oriental Series forming vol. xxxix : Part I, Sanskrit Text with Haribhadrasūri's *Vṛtti* and Pārśvadeva's *Pañjikā* edited by Principal A. B. Dhruva of the Benares Hindu University ; Part II, Tibetan Text compared with Sanskrit and Chinese Versions edited by the present writer. The second part will shortly be issued. The references are to this edition. The following abbreviations have been used in the paper :

NB = *Nyāyabindu*, Bibliotheca Indica or Bibliotheca Buddhica edition, both Sanskrit and Tibetan versions.

NP = *Nyāyapraveśa*.

PS = *Pramāṇasamuccaya* (Tibetan version).

Skt = Sanskrit.

T¹ = The Tibetan translation direct from Skt.

T² = The Tibetan translation from Chinese which in its turn was made from Skt.

Tib = Tibetan.

1 Haribhadra's *Vṛtti*, p. 9 (Skt. text) : “न्यायप्रवेशकव्याख्या,” “न्यायप्रवेशकाख्य शास्त्रम्,” Pārśvadeva's *Pañjikā* : “न्यायप्रवेशकमिति प्रथिते सुशास्त्रे प्रारभ्यते तनुचियापि हि पञ्चकियम्।”—quoted in the *History of Indian Logic* by Vidyābhūṣaṇa, p. 220.

2 As found in our Skt. text edited by Principal Dhruva. He informs me that the title is given in the oldest Ms. which contains both the text and the *vṛtti* of Haribhadra. One of the later Mss. refers to all the quotations from the text as *sūtra*.

styled *Pramāṇanyāyapraśādvāra* (Tshad ma rigs par hjug paḥi sgo), p. 1; or simply *Nyāyapraśādvāra* 'Rigs par hjug paḥi sgo', pp. 10, 28; and in T² *Pramāṇaśāstra-nyāyapraśādvāra* (Tsad maḥi b-tan bcos rigs pa la hjug pa), p. 28. In Chinese it is *Yin min yu cén li lun*, p. 28. meaning literally in Skt. *Hetuvidyāpraveśa-samyagvyūttāraśāstra* which is in other words, *Nyāyapraśādvāra Tarkaśāstra*. T² observes in the clophon (pp. 28-29) that in a Chinese book it is seen as *Nyāyapraśādvāra*, while in Tibet it is now known as *Nyāyadvāra* (Rgyaḥi dpe la rigs pa la hjug pa shes snan diū saū bod rnam rigs paḥi sgo shes grags so ||). That this observation of T² is quite right, so far as the Tib. version is concerned, is evident from the references to it in the *Viśālāmalaśāstrī*, now extant only in Tibetan, a commentary on Diānāga's PS, as we shall see presently in discussing the question of the authorship of NP. In that work, as well as in Diānāga's own *urtti* on his PS it is always alluded to as *Nyāyapraśādvāra*. It goes without saying that in fact *Nyāyapraśādvāra* and *Nyāyadvāra* are one and the same. It may also be noted that in the title, *Nyāyapraśādvāra*, one of the last two words is unnecessary.

In Chinese we have a work on logic called *Yin min cén li man lun*, which literally in Skt. is *Hetuvidyāsamagryūttāraśāstra* or *Nyāyatarkaśāstra* (Nanjio, Nos. 1223, 1224). This is generally known by the name, *Nyāyadvāratarkaśāstra*. But, I think, the Chinese title should be translated by *Nyāyatarkaśāstra*. For, why the word *advāra* (*man*) should be taken with *nyāya* (*yin min*) and not with *tarka* (*cén li*) which just precedes it? That this word must be *Nyāyatarkaśāstra* is supported by the last five characters of the last *kārikā* (No. 28) of the book itself. Those characters are *miao i cén li man*, the Skt. equivalent of which is *sadārtatarkaśāstra*. Clearly we have here *tarkaśāstra*. Sugiura (*Hindu Logic*, p. 74) has translated the *kārikā* rendering those five characters into English by "Gate of the supreme Nyāya" somewhat figuratively. Yet, he styles the work *Dvāra-tarka-śāstra*.

Vidyābhuṣaṇa (*History of Indian Logic*, p. 289, note 1) says that the NP is probably the same as *Nyāyadvāratarkaśāstra* (= *Nyāyatarkaśāstra*). That these two works are different was quite clear from Sugiura's *Hindu Logic* long before (1900) Vidyābhuṣaṇa's book (1921). The NP is now before us. It is in prose with only two verses, one at the beginning and the other at the end; while the *Nyāyatarkaśāstra* is composed only of verses or *kārikās*, twenty-eight in number, there being not a single line in prose.

Here explaining the word स्तनिवन्धनदतः (rañ gi gshuñ kun las) Diānāga himself says in his own *urtti*¹ on the PS:

de lta buñi yon tan can gyi ston pa la phyag ltshal nas tshad
ma bsrub par bya bañi phyir *rañ gi rab tu byed pa rigs pañi*
sgo la sogs pa rnams las hdir gcig tu btus te tshad ma kun las
btus pa brtsam par byaḥo

= 'एव' गुण' शास्त्रारं प्रमाणसिद्धिं स्व प्र क र ण न्या य द्वा रा दिव्य
(= न्या य प्र वे शा दि न्य) इहैकवोचिन्त्य प्र मा ण स मु च य आरब्धव्यः ॥²

Thus it is perfectly clear from the above that the author of NP is Diānāga.

Again, Jinendrabuddhi writes on the same passage in his *Viśālāmalavati* (Mdo, Re, fol. 4^b) referred to in a previous note:

gal te deñi don du hdi brstam par bya ba yin na / deñi
tshe brtsam mi bya ste / tshad ma grub pa ni *rigs pañi sgo*
la sogs pa rañ gi gshuñ gis khyod kyis sñar kho nar bsrubs
zin pa byed kyī phyir ro // gañ bsrubs zin pa de ni sgrub
pañi ched du rto₂s pa dañ ldan pas brtsams par bya ba ma
yin te / bsrubs zin pañi zan bshin no // tshad ma sgrub pa
yañ bsrubs zin no /

= यदि तदर्थमारब्धव्यस्तदा नारब्धव्यः । प्रमाणसिद्धिर्हि न्या य द्वा रा दि (= न्या य प्र वे शा दि)
स्त नि व न्धे न त्वया साधितत्वात् । यत् सिद्धं तस्य सिद्धिनिमित्तं प्रेक्षावता नारब्धः कर्तव्यः ।
सिद्धान्तवत् । प्रमाणसिद्धिश्च साधिता ॥²

The same author writes again in the same connection after a few lines:

The last two lines are conjecturally reconstructed by the present writer. In his commentary on PS, *Viśālāmalavati* (Yañs pa dañ dri ma med pa dañ ldan ma) Jinendrabuddhi or Jinendramati (Rgyal bañi dbañ poñi blo gros), but in no case Jinendrabodhi (as writes Vidyābhuṣana in his *History of Indian Logic*, p. 328, for the Tib. words *blo gros* mean *buddhi* or *mati* and not *bodhi* for which we have *byañ chuḥ*) says in the course of commenting on the words *sna tshogs ltñor rnams* in d: 'rab tu rtogs ni pra sñ taḥo / gañ la rab to rtogs pa dañ bral ba de ni vi pra sñ taḥo //'. It may be translated thus : प्ररूपणं हि प्रवृत्तम् । यत् प्ररूपणविरहितं तद विप्रवृत्तम् । As the Skt. word is transliterated here we are sure that it was actually used by Diānāga for the Tib. words referred to above.

1 Mdo, Ce, fols 13^b ff. (Narthang ed.); Cordier, III, p. 434.

2 We may read also निवद्धव्यः for आरब्धव्यः (Tib. *brstam byā*).

ran gi gshun rigs¹ pañi sgo la sogs pa ni tshad ma gtan la
hbebs pa rab tu rtogs pa dan bral baño // de ltar yañ der
"mñon sum rtog pa dan bral ba" shes pa mñon sum gyi
mtshan ñid ñdi la dmigs bsal byas pa med la // deñi phyir
zla ba gñis la sogs pañi ces pa yañ mñon sum ñid du
thal bar hgyur ro // rgyas pa dan bral ba yañ de ste ñdod badus
paño //

खनिबन्धो न य इति रा दिः (= ना य प्र वे शा दिः) प्रमाणनिर्णयप्रहृष्टपरहितः । तथा हि । तत्र
 "प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोऽस्मिन्" प्रत्यक्षलक्षणम् (NP, Skt. p. 7, 1, 13 ; Tib § 54) । अखलक्षणं न
 विरुद्धम् । तस्माद् द्विवद्वादिज्ञानमपि प्रत्यक्षमेव प्रसज्यते । विचाररहितं हि तत् संक्षिप्तमिष्टम् ॥

Here NP is not only mentioned as Diñnāga's own work, but also a line is quoted from it. Haribhadrāsūri is, therefore, quite right when he explains the word अखल (gshan las, § 65, p. 8) by "प्रमाणसमुच्चयादी."

There are some references to Diñnāga or his works in Kumārila's *Śloka-vārtika*. While some of these references are made from PS² the others are from NP as evidenced also from the commentary, *Nyāyara-tnūkāra*, by Pārthasārathi Miśra, on the *Śloka-vārtika* (Chaukhamba S. Series, 1898). Among the nine *pakṣābhāsas* (phyogs ltar snañ ba, § 11) the first is *pratyakṣaviruddha* (mñon sum gyis bsal ba) and its example is अत्रावणः शब्द इति (sgra mñan bya ma yin shes pa lta buño). Kumārila refutes it thus (I. 1. 5, Anumāna, vv. 59-60, pp. 364-365) :

“अत्रावणता तु शब्दादेः प्रत्यक्षेण विरुध्यते ॥

तेषामत्रावणत्वादि विरुद्धमनुमानतः ।

नहि आवणता नाम प्रत्यक्षेणावगम्यते ॥”

According to the characteristics of *pratyakṣa* as explained by Diñnāga (§ 54; PS I. 3; NB p. 103), *śrūvanatva* is a *viśaya* of *anumāna* and not of *pratyakṣa*. This point is raised by Haribhadra in his *Nyāyapraśaṅgavārtti*: “अत्रावणं सामान्यलक्षणत्वात् प्रत्यक्षमवगम्यते न भवति, कथं प्रत्यक्षप्रसिद्ध-धर्मविरुद्धः ।” The example (अत्रावणः शब्दः) may, therefore, be of an *anumānaviruddha* and not of *pratyakṣaviruddha*, as the author says. Thus with reference to the passage quoted above Pārthasārathi Miśra comments: “अनुमानविरोधमुदाहरति तेषामिति । दिङ् ना ग स्त्विदं प्रत्यक्षविरोधोदाहरणमिच्छति । तन्निराकरोति नहीति ।” Here it refers to the NP (p 2, § 11) as the passage occurs there. It is also clear from it that according to Pārthasārathi

1 The Xylograph has *rig*.

2 My pupil Mr. H. R. R. Iyengar of the Mysore University has shown it clearly in a paper, *Kumārila and Diñnāga*, which will shortly be published.

Miśra this example does not allude to NB of Dharmakīrti though it is to be found also there (p. 111).

In commenting on Kumārila's threefold *śabdavirodha* ("विधा शब्द-विरोधः," pp. 61-63) Pārthasārthi Miśra writes: "जननी नै वस्येति । सोऽयं स्ववचनविरोध इति ।" This reminds us at once of our "स्ववचनविरोधो यथा माता नै वस्येति" in NP (§ 16).

Regarding *sarvalokavirodha* which is the same as our *lokaviruddha* (hjiḡ tren pas bsal ba or hjiḡ rten gyis gnod pa, §§ 11, 14) Kumārila has (pp. 64-65):

"चन्द्रशब्दाभिधेयत्वं शशिनो यो निषेधति ।
स सर्वलोकसिद्धेन चन्द्रज्ञानेन बाध्यते ॥"

This is with reference to "शशी (Ch. lit. शशाङ्कः) न चन्द्रः" found in this connection neither in Skt. nor in T¹ of our NP, but in Ch. and T.² See Note 22, p. 15, and Add. et Cor. This is quoted also in NB, p. 111 with the reading अचन्द्रः for न चन्द्रः.

On the passage referred to above with regard to *lokaviruddha* Pārthasārthi Miśra quotes the following sentence: "यथा शुचि नरशिरःकपालं प्राख्यङ्गत्वाच्छुक्तिवत्." This is actually found in our NP (§ 14) as an example of *lokaviruddha*. The only difference is that for शुक्तिवत् in the former the latter reads शङ्ख-शुक्तिवत् adding the word शङ्ख.

Among the *hetvūbhāṣas* (gtan tasigs ltar snañ ba) *viruddha* (hgal ba) is one (§ 22) and it has four kinds (§ 35) of which one is *dharma-viśeṣaviparītasādhana* (chos kyī khyad par phyin ci log tu sgrub par byed pa, §37). It is illustrated there by "पराधीनचक्षुरादयः सङ्घातत्वाच्छयनासनाद्यङ्गवत्" (See Note 74). This is quoted in a slightly different words by Kumārila (v. 105; p. 380) when he says:

"पारार्थ्यं चक्षुरादीनां संघाताच्छयनादिवत्" ¹

Dharmakīrti (about 635-650 A.D.), as says Dharmottara (about 847 A.D.), wrote his NB as a *vārtikakāra*² of Diānāga's work. *Vārtika* means a work in which three kinds of things are discussed, viz. (1) those which are said, (2) those which are not said, and (3) those which are said wrongly.³ And so Dharmakīrti is found to have

1 In the corresponding reading T² omits आसन and thus exactly agrees with Kumārila on this point reading शयनादिवत्. See notes 73, 74.

2 NB (Tikā), p. 78: "अयं च विरुद्ध आचार्यदिङ्मनोक्तः । स कश्चाद् वार्तिककारिणः सता लब्धोक्तः ।"

3 "उक्तानुक्तदुरुक्तचिन्ता वार्तिकम् ।" Rājasekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, GOS, 1916, p. 5.

criticised Diānāga throughout his book. And though he has not mentioned the name of Diānāga or his NP, it is quite clear from the NB and its *ṭīkā*; in the latter Diānāga is expressly named (pp. 78-84). See Vidyābhūṣaṇa's *History of Indian Logic*, p. 316.

From what has been said above there cannot be any doubt about the fact that the real author of our NP is Diānāga. But against it is the evidence from Chinese and Japanese sources. At the very beginning of the Chinese version of NP after its name is mentioned it is clearly written that the author is Bodhisattva Śāṅkarasvāmin (*Sam cha la chu p'u s. tsao*).¹ Kwhei-ci, a great disciple of Hiuen-tsang and the writer of the 'Great Commentary' on the NP says the same thing, and we are told the same story in Japanese accounts (see Sugiura's *Hindu Logic*, pp. 37 ff.). Now, Hiuen-tsang has mentioned so many authors in his travels, but why not Śāṅkarasvāmin, who is said to have been a great disciple of Diānāga and whose work, NP, he himself has translated? Evidently it was very important to him, otherwise he would not take the trouble to carry it with him to his country and to translate it. Nor is Śāṅkarasvāmin's name found in I-tsing's travel, though the book, NP, itself seems to have been recorded by him. He writes (*Records of Buddhist Religion by I-tsing*, 1896, p. 186): "When a priest wishes to distinguish himself in the study of Logic he should thoroughly understand Jina's eight śāstras." Jina is here no other than our Diānāga who is generally called *Dinna* in China and Japan. Watters (*On Yuan Chuang*, 1905, vol. II, p. 211) has sufficiently proved that the two Chinese characters *chén-na* do not represent the sound of *jina* (See Sugiura, p. 33), though we find that Nanjio (p. 371) and Takakusu have written so. Watters has also shown that *Dinna* is the shorter form of the name of Diānāga the full one being *Din-na-ka* found in other treatises. Now, I-tsing has given the names of the eight books of Jina or Dinna or Diānāga of which nos. 4, 5, and 6 are as follows (p. 189):

- "4 The Śāstra on the Gate of the cause (Hetuvidyā) (not found).
- 5 The Śāstra on the Gate of the resembling cause (not found).
- 6 The Nyāyadvāra (tarka) śāstra (by Nāgārjuna), not found) (Nanjio's Catal. Nos. 1223, 1224)."

¹ In the *Tattvasaṅgraha* of Śāntarakṣita with Kamalaśīla's *Pañjikā* recently published in GOS, Śāṅkarasvāmin is quoted several times.

Among these three we have already seen that the last book is in fact *Nyāyadvāratarakāśāstra* and its author is Diānāga and not Nāgārjuna. This fact is supported also by Sugiyura (p. 34). About the identification of the fifth work I have nothing to say; but as regards the fourth, most probably it is identical with our NP. *Hetu-dvāra* (which seems to be for the fuller form *Hetuvidyādvāra*) and *Nyāyadvāra* (= *Nyāyapraveśa*) actually mean the same thing.

Now, here is a very remarkable point that none of the books on logic mentioned in the list is connected with the name of Śāṅkarasvāmin as its author. It appears from this that among the important writers of books on logic which were then being studied in India Śāṅkarasvāmin was not known to I-tsing. I am unable to explain how the work, NP, was attributed to him by Chinese and Japanese authors. However, in the face of so much evidence alluded to, it cannot be accepted that Śāṅkarasvāmin was the real author of it. We have the Chinese translation of it by Hsuen-tsang and its Tibetan version (T²). As we have already seen, T² clearly says that the author is Diānāga, and there is no mention whatever of Śāṅkarasvāmin. It is further said in the colophon of T² that it was made with much care after having collected and corrected two books, one from China and the other from Tibet (rgyañi dpe dan bod kyi dpe gñis po legs par btus ciñ bcos te dag par bsgyur bañoll p. 29). So at least at the time of this translation, Śāṅkarasvāmin as the author of the work was unknown not only in Tibet but also in China to a large number of those who had much interest in it.

3 *Translations of the Nyāyapraveśa*

First it was translated from its original Skt. into Chinese (Ch.) by Tripiṭakadharmācārya (*Sān tsūn fa shi*) Hsuen-tsang (647 A.D.), as is written at the very beginning of it and known from Chinese and Japanese sources. There is a Tibetan translation (T²) from this Chinese version. In the colophon of this Tibetan translation (T²) it is stated (p. 28, l. 28; p. 29) that the Chinese version from which it is made was done by a Chinese translator, Than Sañ Tsañ (Rgyañi lo tsa ba thañ sau tsañ gis bsgyur ciñ). This translator is no other than Hsuen-tsang as interpreted by Cordier, III, p. 436, and accepted by scholars, though the three Chinese characters, Thañ Sañ Tsañ do not give his name expressly, they simply mean 'Tripiṭaka of the Thañ dynasty (618-907 A.D.)' This is, however, an abbreviation

of the fuller form 'the master of the Tripiṭaka of the Thai period' and it refers to Hiu-en-tsang, as says Cordier.

This Tibetan translation from the Chinese version was made, as mentioned there in the colophon (pp. 28, 29), by one *Señ Gyañ Ju*¹, a *kalyāṇamitra* of China, and Ācārya Kumāra (Ston gshon) also a *kalyāṇamitra* of Tibet (p. 28). Then one Deva bhadanta Dharma-ratna of Mahācīna belonging to Mahāsarvāstivādanikāya translated it again in the great monastery of Śrīpāṇḍubhūmi in Upper Tsang, Western Tibet, having collected and corrected two books, one from China and the other from Tibet (pp. 28-29). I could not ascertain the date of this translation.

There is another translation in Tibetan which is now edited for the first time (T¹). It is made direct from Sanskrit by one Śākya-bhikṣu Kirttidhvaja Śrībhadrā with help from the Kāśmīraka mahāpāṇḍita sarvajña Śrīrakṣita in the Mahāvihāra at Śrīpāṇḍubhūmi, i.e., at the same place where the first translation was made (p. 28). Cordier says that Kirttidhvaja Śrībhadrā was probably the fifth hierarch of Śrīpāṇḍubhūmi, 1147-1216 A.D.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

1 As regards the name I have nothing to say. I am however, glad to write what my friend, Dr. Tucci, thinks of it. He says that *señ* is certainly a very common name for a Buddhist monk. *Gyañ* is perhaps *yañ*. Compare in the translated Chinese title of the book (gyen miñ gshai ciñ liñi lun) *gyen* for *yin*. And this *yañ* may correspond to the character which has the same pronunciation under the radical No. 170, nine strokes. (Owing to the want of Chinese characters in the Press it could not be written here.) About *Ju* Dr. Tucci, too, has nothing to suggest.

MISCELLANY

Tibetan Translation of the *Sādhana-mālā* : A Reply

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (vol. II, pp. 626ff.) Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya has contributed an article in which he has offered a detailed criticism of the *Sādhana-mālā* published as No. XXVI in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series* of Baroda. The learned critic has compared the printed Sanskrit text with its translation in the Tibetan Tangyur and has come to the conclusion that only the Tibetan translation has preserved the true reading and not the Sanskrit Mss. Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya the editor of the *Sādhana-mālā* must consider himself honoured for receiving attention from so great a critic and a Tibetan scholar like Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya. But what we deplore is that he is so enamoured of the Tibetan translation that he goes to the length of underestimating the value of the Sanskrit text and all the reliable Mss. which the editor used in preparing his edition. In the course of this paper we shall examine how far his Tibetan readings are rational when compared with Sanskrit. Moreover, some of his statements are so bold that they should not go unchallenged.

Pandit Vidhushekhara knows quite well that the printed text is based on eight different Mss. the earliest among them bearing a date in Newari Era which corresponds to A.D. 1165. Two other Mss. of the same work have also been shown by the editor to have belonged to a period not later than the 13th century. The date of the collection may be placed in about 1100 A.D. as it contains Sādhana of Advaya-vajra, his disciple Lalitaguṇa, and Abhayākara-guṇa all of whom flourished in the immediately preceding period. It therefore stands to reason that the earliest Sanskrit Mss. of the text of the *Sādhana-mālā* is only about 65 years later than the date of the collection, and as such the Sanskrit text is likely to be more reliable than its Tibetan translation which must be of a later date. The authority of the Sanskrit text therefore cannot be set aside so lightly as the learned critic has done. We would have certainly attached some value to the Tibetan translation had it contained some sensible readings suggesting improvement on the printed text. But a very

large majority of readings found therein having been of an unreliable nature we cannot subscribe to the opinion of the critic. We shall show presently how his assertion in holding that the Tibetan translation has only preserved the true readings is absolutely without any foundation.

The critic further complains that many points in the Sanskrit text are unintelligible to him. That the Buddhists, especially the Tāntrics, purposely violated grammatical rules is known to all, and we will refer him again to the preface of the *Sāadhanamālā* and to an interesting quotation from the *Vimalaprabhū*, a commentary on the *Laghukālacakraṭīkū* in the first volume of the *Catalogue of Mss. in the Government Collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, p. 78.

The critic needlessly discusses the title of the printed Sanskrit text and gives us the useful information that both the titles *Sāadhanamālā* and *Sāadhanasamuccaya* express the same meaning and therefore any title among the two is justified. There is nothing new in this information as the editor has already mentioned this in his short preface. Moreover, the critic is evidently unaware that all the Mss. of *Sāadhanamālā* follow one plan of arrangement while the Mss. of the *Sāadhanasamuccaya* have an entirely different arrangement though the individual Sāadhanas are the same in both the works. Therefore the title *Sāadhanamālā* only is justified and not the other one.

While examining the arguments of the critic we do not consider it necessary to discuss the obvious mistake in the Tibetan readings such as *Jagatūṃ* instead of Sanskrit *Jagati* (p. 15 verse 1b), *anya* instead of S. *para* (verse 3c), *balasya vegam* instead of Sanskrit *balam vegam* (verse 11c). Nor is there any necessity of paying attention to such immaterial points such as *evam* for Sanskrit *eva* and many omissions of lines and words in Tibetan. The editor must however plead guilty for adding the hyphen (which is, of course, a printer's error) at the end of the line *c* in verse 3 before *satatam* in line *d*.

With these few preliminary remarks let us turn our attention to the Tibetan readings where the critic is positive about the correctness of Tibetan and whereby he claims to have understood many points made obscure by Sanskrit.

p. 15, verse 1.

The critic complains that the word *samata* does not give any sense though he tries his best to understand it. The Tibetan

reading which he interprets as *samati* opens his eyes and gives him clear sense which however he leaves to the reader to imagine. This *samati*, however, does not give any sense to the average readers like us. The word *samata* we may point out stands for the word *samatā* and the absence of *ā* is due to the exigencies of the metre. The word *samatā* evidently means 'observance of equality.'

In the opinion of the learned critic the Tibetan *asamūna* is undoubtedly better than Sanskrit *asamanta* and it is indeed apparently so, because he missed the meaning of the Sanskrit word. The word *asamanta* here as well as elsewhere means *ananta* which we hope will remove all his difficulties. He need not strain his imagination by explaining Tibetan *asamāna* by *amūrta*, because in verse 3 instead of Sanskrit *parūsamantīnī* his Tibetan reads *parāpyanantīnī*, which leaves no room for doubting the meaning of *asamanta* as *ananta*. In view of the facts mentioned above the critic may reconsider his position.

In *d* the concluding word is only a repetition of the last word in *a* and as such the word *sama* stands for *samata* or *samatā*. The critic need not create an additional difficulty by putting this *sama* as *asama* thus setting up a meaningless compound.

verse 2.

Here first of all we want to impress one most important point on the critic that it is not the business of the editor to change the readings offered by the Mss. whimsically even when they are defective. Whenever the readings can be justified they should be allowed to remain and when the reading is obviously defective he should suggest improvements either in the footnotes or enclosed within brackets to show that they are no part of the original text but the editor's emendations. Now, if this elementary principle is not followed, and the editor's pen is allowed to run riot then the resultant edition will not be an edition of the original work but either a new composition or an improved or degenerated edition of the original work.

The critic finds in Tibetan *gaganasamūs tadupamū na vidyate* instead of Sanskrit *gaganasamopamakātū na vidyate*, but as both Tibetan and Sanskrit spoil the metre he suggests *gaganopamūs tadupamū na vidyate* which in his opinion should be accepted as the correct reading. In his zest for correct metre, for which the Buddhists care very little, the critic performs the funeral rite of rhetoric. He means to

say first that the 'Lords are comparable with the sky' (*gaganopamāḥ*) and in the same breath wants further to establish that the 'Lords have no comparison' (*tadnūṣamū na vidyate*). Whether the Lords, who are *vigatopamāḥ*, can be compared with the sky or not, is indeed a controversial question. The Sanskrit reading however unlike Tibetan clearly shows the meaning (*gaganasamū iti upamakātū na vidyate*).

Strangely enough, the critic is not in favour of the reading *asīmike* and therefore changes it to *asīmake* and goes so far as to dub the Sanskrit reading as ungrammatical. T. *asīmake* and S. *asīmike* both mean 'unlimited' equally, the only difference being that while the former is in *Bahuvrīhi* the latter is in *Tatpuruṣa*. *Sīmika* means 'one who has limit' while *asīmika* means 'limitless one' (*sīmū asya asti iti = sīmī*. *Sīmī sa eva = sīmikaḥ*. *Na sīmikaḥ = asīmikaḥ*).

In *c* the critic maintains that S. *sahasattvadhātu* does not give any sense ; it should be changed to *sadū sattva*^o though T. has *sada* as we have in S. but he adheres to *saḥ* by saying that the 'ākāra in *sadā* is dropped in Buddhist Sanskrit. We have seen in many instances in Buddhist Sanskrit the omission of *ākāra* in compounds but never have we come across a single example where the *ā* of short *avyayas* has been dropped. The S. *sadasattva* evidently means both *sattva* and *asattva* and gives quite a good sense, though it does not appear to be a whit inferior even to the critic's emended meaning which is hardly justifiable even from his T. material.

Verse 4.

In *ḍ* the critic quite contrary to his habit of justifying the metre breaks it mercilessly by suggesting *Triloki vrajate* instead of S. *vrajate triloki*.

In *ḍ* he asserts that the Tibetan translator could not understand the meaning of the line, as he gives his sense only in prose, while the Sanskrit text should always be treated with suspicion. He asks us to accept the prose line *aho tatra dharmatā sugatī avagatā* in the absence of any other, instead of S. *gatiṃ gateṣvapi aho sudharmatā*. Further, he says *su* cannot be joined to *dharma* but we fail to understand why the critic rejects *sudharma* ; we will ask the readers whether we will be justified in putting in three lines in verse and the fourth *pāda* in prose in one and the same śloka.

Verse 5.

He says that *agrasiddhi* should be compounded with *varaḍa* and

should not be kept separately as has been done in Sanskrit. That Sanskrit is quite right can be understood even by a schoolboy when the line is explained as *varadūḥ* (Bodhisattvāḥ or Nāthāḥ) *Trisamaye agrasiddhi(m) me dadantu*. If T. is followed here as recommended by the critic what then will be the object of the verb *dadantu* ?

In *b* the critic recommends a change for the S. line *varadūna-tāgragatitūṃ gatūḥ sadū* into T. *varadūna te sadū suvṛtūḥ* or *suvṛtatūṃ gatūḥ*. But later on he again suggests *sugatūṃ gatūḥ*. His T. seems to be very fertile so that one Ms. can produce many readings for one and the same passage. The T. reading besides spoiling the metre spoils the meaning and grammatical construction.

p. 16.

Relying on some worthless T. reading the critic wants to disturb here a beautiful grammatical passage in *c* by suggesting *triloki sakalaḥ* or *sakala triloki* (e) for S. *Sakalūstrilokivaradūgrasādhakūḥ*. What good will come of it ?

Lines 3 and 4

Here the critic suggests by recommending us to cut short a colophon in accordance with T. to suit a verse completing it with the next line. As per his suggestions we compose the following beautiful stanza for examination by the impartial readers :

Trisamayarūjakalpoktā Vajradharagītā stutiḥ kṛtā |
Idaṃ tat sarvabuddhūnāṃ adbhutaguṇavistaram ||

p. 17, verse 15.

For *mudrādiṣu gauravaṃ* the critic recommends *mudrādiṣva-gauravaṃ*. His contention may be correct but then he loses sight of the famous and well-known stanza in the Vajrayāna literature, viz :

Mudrāmaṇḍalamantrādyair jāpabhāvanatatparaiḥ

Naiva siddhiṃ parāṃ yānti kalpāsaṃkhyeyakoṭibhiḥ.

Now the readers should judge for themselves whether *gaurava* or *agaurava* should be shown to the Mudrās, and to the opinion of the critic.

verse 18.

In criticising this verse the critic gives us a most interesting piece of information by explaining the meaning of the word *alam* as 'nega-

tion.' While thanking him for this courtesy we venture to point out that if the word is accepted in this sense the line *antarāyakarū dharmāḥ* in the following verse will be redundant. The word *alam* will therefore have to be taken in the sense as *adhikaṃ*. Further, the word *kaukṛtyaṃ* in perfect accordance with grammar can be taken as an adjective of *ājīvaṃ*.

With proper decency we cannot enter into the discussion whether T. *raṭiṃ gaṇakathāsu* (love for gossip) or S. *raṭiṃ saṃgaṇikāsu* (love for courtezans) would be better. Let the readers judge.

We do not quite understand why the word *bhūrīḥ* which means 'much' is beyond the comprehension of the critic. His T. gives °*bhūvaḥ* compounded with the previous word *vicikitsakatū°*. In view of the particle *ā* which stands already for *bhūvaḥ* his new emendation seems uncalled for.

Verse 21.

For S. *vidhinū* T. gives *sādhanena*, and because it spoils the metre the critic without any authority recommends us to adopt *sādhanep-sitūṃ* instead of *sādhanenepsitūṃ* which gives quite a different meaning. So far we knew that the sentient beings like men, animals, etc. have a desire, but now, according to the critic's new emendation we have to understand that the inanimate things such as the *sādhanas*, books, literature, etc. also have a desire. But this belongs to the domain of science.

p. 20, II 5-6

Here the critic makes a little digression and utilizes his knowledge of iconography. Let us examine very carefully the arguments advanced by the critic. In the original Mss. of *Sādhanamālā* the word *avasavya* occurs nearly a thousand times. Nowhere it is spelt as *apasavya* which the Hindu Pandits are likely to do. How would it be justifiable for a conscientious editor to change the spelling simply because the Hindus spell it in a different way? Further, the critic objects to the reading *utsaṅgasthitāṃ* because its T. equivalent means in his opinion *uttānasthitāṃ*. In all Mss. the word is *utsaṅga*. In the *sādhana* No. 4 also the corresponding word is *vāmotsaṅgasthitavāma-karaṃ*, and in the next, No. 5 it is *utsaṅgasthitūpasavyahastaṃ*. Thus none of the Sanskrit versions supports T. which is expected to be only a translation of S. We wonder why in discussing this point the critic is silent about the other *sādhanas* of the same deity.

Another thing which should be pointed out in this connection and which gives rise to serious misunderstanding is the meaning of *savya* and *avasavya*. Without ascertaining the meanings of these two words *savya* and *apasavya* which are taken by the critic correctly to mean 'left' and 'right' respectively, he proceeds to the ridiculous length to give a lecture on iconography by saying that the Bhūmisparśa Mudrā is always shown in the right hand and never in the left. In case the readers may disbelieve in this precious discovery of his he at once cites his authorities such as V. A. Smith, Cohn, etc. That the fact is already well-known to the editor of the *Sāadhanamīlā* will be borne out by the fact that he, in the very first pages of his *Buddhist Iconography* (p. 11) while giving a description of Vajrāsana mentions the fact that the Bumisparśa Mudrā is displayed by the deity in his right hand. The fundamental mistake the critic seems to have committed is by holding that the word *savya* always means 'left' and nothing else. It will not be out of place to mention here that the word *savya* is very loosely used throughout Sanskrit literature, especially in the composition of the Buddhists and Jainas. The *Sāadhanamīlā* is also no exception where the word *savya* has been used very indiscriminately to mean both 'left' and 'right'. In the *Vajrāsanasādhana* the phrase *savyakaram bhūsparśamudrāṇvitaṃ* means nothing but that the earth-touching attitude is shown in the right hand only. The next *sādhana* of Vajrāsana (No. 4) leaves no room for doubting this fact because in the corresponding passage it uses the word *dakṣiṇa* (which means 'right' undoubtedly) in the place of *savya*. That the word *savya* means 'right' also will be evident if the critic proceeds a little further with the text of the *Sāadhanamīlā* and comes to p. 210 where the following line occurs—

Khaḍgakartrikarūṃ savye vāmoṭpalakapālādham.

Here the word *savya* is used in relation with the word *vāma* which always means 'left' and nothing else. It therefore stands to reason that the word *savya* at least here means 'right' and 'right' only. Otherwise, the deity with four arms will have no right hands, and all the four arms will come to the left side according to the critic's interpretation of the word. Now while the Hindus describing this four-armed deity *Mahācīnatūrū* by name, borrowed the identical wordings and sense with certain modifications, and changed the word *savya* and *vāma* as *savyetara* and *savya* to mean 'right' and 'left' respectively. In the *Tantrasāra*, p. 415 we read :—

Khaḍḍgakartrīsamāyuktasavyetarabhujadvayām |
Kapālotpalasamāyuktasavyapāṇīyugānvitām ||

If we are to accept the critic's interpretation as gospel truth then we have to relegate the two most deadly weapons like the *Khaḍḍga* and *Kartrī* to the mercy of the left hands. But this will be rather difficult to imagine in view of the fact that we know of one *Savyasūcin* only in the person of Arjuna. Moreover, in the whole of the *Sādhana-mālā* a careful reader will not fail to perceive that the weapons like the sword or the knife are never given to any deity in his left hand. If the critic is not satisfied with this explanation a few authorities on Indian lexicography may conveniently be quoted to convince him that the word *savya* is used in Sanskrit literature to mean both left and right :—

- (1) Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* with his own commentary p. 586.

प्रतिकूलानु विलोममपसव्यमवपुः ।

वामं प्रसव्यं प्रतीपं प्रतिलोममपुः ॥ १०१ ॥

अपगतं सव्यदपसव्यं वाममित्यर्थः । सव्यशब्दो हि दूरान्तिकार्थराच्छब्दवत् वामदक्षिणार्थः ।

- (2) *Vaiṣṇyanī*, p. 229.

सव्यस्त्रामाजिके साधौ सव्यो दक्षिणवामयोः ॥ २६ ॥

- (3) Siddhasenācārya's *Viśvalocanaśa*, p. 263 :—

वामदक्षिणयोः सव्यं सव्यं शस्त्रकले गुणे ॥ ६१ ॥

When *savya* means right of course *ava*° or *apasavya* means left and *vice versa*. In the *Sādhana-mālā* in order therefore to ascertain the correct meaning of *savya* a reference should always be made to all the different *sādhana*s ascribed to one deity and if possible to the images of that particular deity either in stone or in metal. In view of the above it can be rightly said that the critic's lecture on iconography in this connection is but a cry in the wilderness.

I. 9

As the same sort of interpretation has been given by the critic to the word *savya* it is needless to discuss it again here. But what we object to is his sweeping remark that the *cāmara* cannot be taken in the left hand. If the critic would care to turn plate XIII in Dr. B. Bhattacharyya's *Buddhist Iconography* where a picture of a stone image of Vajrāsana (Indian Museum) with his two attendant deities, Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara is reproduced, it will be seen that Maitreya

carries the *Cāmara* in the left hand while Avalokiteśvara holds it in the right. This seems to be a logical arrangement inasmuch as the hands carrying the *Cāmara* should be nearer to the deity. Otherwise, the purpose for which the *Cāmaras* are given will be frustrated in case the attendant to the right holds the same in the right hand.

K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI

Bhāravi and Daṇḍin

In his paper on Bhāravi and Daṇḍin (I. H. Q., vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 31f.), Dr. S. K. De doubts with becoming restraint the correctness of the theory of Mr. Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi on the relationship of Bhāravi and Daṇḍin which is based on the following solitary verse of uncertain import:—

*Sa medhāvī kavir vidvān bhāravīḥ prabhavo girām,
Anurudhyākaron maitrīm narendre viṣṇuvardhane*

found in the *Avantisundarikāthā-sūtra* (I. 22). This work appears to be a metrical summary by a later hand of the ancient prose work called *Avantisundarī-kathā* by Ācārya Daṇḍin; and, as such, a statement based merely on the metrical version but not supported by a corresponding prose passage of Daṇḍin cannot be accepted as authoritative. Daṇḍin's prose passage corresponding to the above verse found in the text of the *Kathā* published¹ by Mr. Kavi being defective it was not possible to gather any definite information regarding the relationship of the two authors. The present writer has since had occasion to come across an exceedingly worn out palm-leaf manuscript of the *Kathā* among the manuscripts acquired by him on behalf of the Department for the Publication of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Trivandrum, during the year 1924-25, and to decipher the following prose passage bearing on the subject:

tatrodapādi bhagavato vidhivad āhrta-saptatantu-rūpiṇo nārāyaṇa-
svāmīno nābhī-padma iva brahmaika-dhāmā dāmodara-svāmi-nāmā
(tremātaḥ?) yamaḥ kumārah. sa yauvanārambha evāti-subhagākṛtir
akṛtaka-vākya-darśita-puṇya-sadbhāṇayā, sarvāṅga-mano-harayā, sarva-
kalā-vidagdhayā, sarva-bhāṣā-pravīṇayā, pramāṇa-yuktayā, lalita-pada-
vinyāsayā, catura-hṛdyālaṅkārayā viśuddha-jāti-vṛttayā sarasvatyā

svayaṇvara iva kanyakayā svayam upetya sasneham asvajyata. ko hi nāma bhagavatīm bhavitavyatām atikramya yathā-samihitena sādhayati pathā. yataḥ kauśika-kumāro mahāśaivaṃ mahāprabhavaṃ gavāṃ prabhavam pradipta-bhāsam bhāravim ravim ivendur anu(rūpya ? rudhya) darśa iva puṇya-karmaṇi viṣṇu-vardhanākhye rāja-sūnau praṇayam anvabadhnāt.¹

The following is a summary of the passage :—

From Nārāyaṇasvāmin, the embodiment of holy sacrifice, was born Dāmodara. The divine Muse marked Dāmodara for her own, even in his youth. Who could however do away with the all-powerful Fate and tread the path chalked out by his own wish ? Dāmodara, associating himself with Bhāravi, the great Śaivite and the fountain of the Muse, allied himself by ties of friendship with the prince Viṣṇuvardhana.

The narrative of the *Kathū* then goes on to say that Dāmodara touring on a pilgrimage happened to meet with the favour of the Gaṅga king Durvinīta, that Siṃhaviṣṇu the Pallava king of Kāñci, having been attracted by his poetic talents, honoured him with his favour and that Daṇḍin, the author of the work, was the fourth descendant in the direct line from Dāmodara.

In the prose passage quoted above, the words *Bhāravim* and *prabhavam* occur as objects of *anurudhya*, while in the verse quoted from the metrical version the word *anurudhya* stands without an object. It is evident therefore that the words *Bhāravīḥ* and *prabhavaḥ* ending in visarga which, in the verse being construed as referring to *saḥ* (Dāmodara), has led Mr. Kavi to infer that Bhāravi and Dāmodara were identical, should be read as *Bhāravim* and *prabhavam*. What we learn from the prose and metrical quotations is that Bhāravi was a Śaivite (Mahāśaiva) and a great poet (*girām prabhava*) attached to the prince Viṣṇuvardhana and that Dāmodara who was also endowed with poetic gifts of a high order secured the friendship of the king through the medium of Bhāravi.

The further narrative of Daṇḍin mentions Siṃhaviṣṇu, the Pallava king of Kāñci and Durvinīta, the Gaṅga king, as contemporaries of Viṣṇuvardhana and inscriptions also reveal three kings of these same

1 I am enabled to give the extract by the kind permission of Pandit R. Harihara Śāstrī, Head Pandit in charge of the Department for the Publication of Sanskrit Mss., Trivandrum.

names as rulers of various provinces in Deccan in the beginning of the 7th century A. C. It is certain therefore that the individuals known from inscriptions were the same as those referred to by Daṇḍin. The fame of Bhāravi as a poet had grown second to none but Kālidāsa so early as 634 A.C. as proved by the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II, the elder brother of the Viṣṇuvardhana referred to, and, judging from his *Kirātārjunīya*, he should have been a Śaivite poet. Bhāravi, mentioned in the *Kathā* is therefore none else than the author of the *Kirātārjunīya*. As Viṣṇuvardhana seems to have been Bhāravi's patron, while he was still a prince, *i.e.*, before he became the Eastern Cālukya king in 615 A. C., and after the accession of Pulakesin II in 608 A. C., Bhāravi may be assigned to the beginning of the 7th century A. C.; while the date of Daṇḍin, the fourth descendant of Dāmodara roughly falls about the close of the 7th century A.C.

G. HARIHARA ŚĀSTRĪ

The Bhagavadajjukīyam

In the June issue (1926) of the Indian Historical Quarterly Mr. Asokanath Bhattacharya of Calcutta has contributed a short paper on "*Rūpakas—how many are they?*" in which he has made certain comments on a passage in the prologue of the Bhagavadajjukīyam—a Sanskrit Prahāsana—recently edited by me and published from the Pāliyam Mss. Library of Chennamaṅgalam, Cochin State. Subsequently, the same paper with a few more lines added to it has been published in the *Summaries of Papers submitted to the Fourth Oriental Conference*, Allahabad (1926, November)—this time the title being changed to "*Bhagavadajjukīyam—some new problems.*" In writing this note my intention is only to point out certain irrelevant points the author has raised in his paper submitted to the Oriental Conference, without minding much for the many original ideas he has extracted, without acknowledgment, from the Preface and Introduction to the book.

On page 50 of the *Summaries of Papers* he writes that "just as Bhāṇikā, the Uparūpaka, is different from Bhāṇa, the Rūpaka, so also Saṃlāpaka, the Uparūpaka, may be quite different from Sallāpa, the Rūpaka," and adds that since Vāra and Sallāpa are "by way of association" to be considered as Rūpakas, "it would not be wrong to say that

the-prologue gives us a list of no less than 12 Rūpakas." Now, we know that according to *Daśarūpaka* (I.8), *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (vi. 3) and *Bharata-nāṭyaśāstra* (xviii. 2, 3) there are only ten Rūpakas.¹ But the author of our Prahāsana has, along with these ten, mentioned Vāra and Sallāpa, besides a few others whose names were unknown. That simply because these have been mentioned along with the Rūpakas, they should be also said to be belonging to that class is quite untenable. Vāra, on the other hand, had probably been one of the minor types of dramas known at the time of the author ; but it became subsequently unknown. Sallāpa or Saṃlāpa, which is only another word for Saṃlāpaka (meaning 'discourse'), is clearly one of the 18 Uparūpakas mentioned in the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (vi. 4,5). It is, therefore, of no use trying to maintain that the author had meant by the words Vāra and Sallāpa to be Rūpakas. To make the point more clear let me quote the text below :

अथ तु नाटकप्रकरणोद्भवास्तु वारिहास्यगडिमसमवकारव्यायोगमात्रसङ्गापवीथ्युल्लटिकाङ्गप्रदसनादिषु दशजातिषु नाट्यरसेषु ह्यस्मिन् प्रधानमिति पश्यामि ।

Could any one ascertain that the types of dramas which the author has meant by the word *ādīṣu* in the above passage, and which, like all the rest, are said to have been sprung from Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa, are to be included among the Rūpakas ? One might in that case say that there are not only ten, not twelve, but more than that number of Rūpakas ; but this will be absurd.

Here I may be allowed to point out that the commentator has explained the compound *nāṭaka-prakaraṇa* as *Bharataśāstra*, taking *prakaraṇa* to mean *lakṣaṇa-grantha*. But he does not tell us why in that case the two principal types of dramas, viz., the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa have to be omitted from the list. It will, therefore, be more correct, I think, to take the whole compound, as Prof. Winternitz has done to mean "sprung from Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa. In the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* we have a passage conveying a similar idea, where, after enumerating all the different types of dramas, we are told : "Verily, they (the 9 Rūpakas and the 18 Uparūpakas) are all like the Nāṭaka in quality, although they differ in their special characteristics."² The author

1 In all the lists given in the above works, it may be noted that Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa are given the prominent place.

2 विना विशेषं सर्वेषां लक्ष्यं नाटकवच्चतम् ।—VI. 6. The Commentary says : सर्वेषां प्रकारणादिरूपकार्णां नाटिकाद्युपरूपकार्णाच्च ।

of the Prahāsana has, on the other hand, taken Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa in the same category. It may now be evident from this that the author must have meant both the Rūpakas and the Uparūpakas in the list when he said that they were all *sprung from* Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa.

Mr. Asokanath Bhattacharya, I think, misrepresents Prof. Winternitz when he attributes to him the suggestion that Bodhāyana Kavi (the author of the Prahāsana) might be identified with the *Vṛttikāra* of the Brahmasūtra. On the other hand, what has been suggested by the Professor was that, though there was a Bodhāyana often quoted by Rāmānuja as *Vṛttikāra*, who wrote a commentary on Bādarāyaṇa, the Bodhāyana Kavi of our Prahāsana could not be identified with him.

But for these, all the 'new problems' the writer has ushered before the public are quite the same as I have mentioned in my Introduction to the book, and have, therefore, no occasion to differ from them.

P. ANUJAN ACHAN

Bālpur Copper-coins of Pratāpamalla Deva

A new discovery

Bālpur is a little village on the north bank of the Mahānadī in the Chandarpur tract of the Bilaspur Dist., C. P. It is about 8 miles from Pujārīpālī (Sarangarh State) where there are the remains of three small old brick-temples of the type of Lakṣmaṇa temple at *Sirpur* (Dist. Raipur), the old Śrīpur, the capital of the Mahākośala country and where an inscription of Gopāladeva (Cedī era 840 = A. D. 1088) was found; and about 16 miles from Kirārī village where an inscribed wooden pillar (now in the Nagpur Museum) was unearthed in 1921, the writing on which is in Brāhmī characters and is pronounced to be of about the 2nd century A. D.

Bālpur has no tradition of its own except that in very olden days it was a rival town of Ratanpur and was rather superior to it. This is expressed in the following words of the gold-dust-washers who periodically visit this place every year;—

बालपुर बालपुर

रत्नपुर रत्नपुर

The second tradition is that Bālpur contains such a vast treasure

that it can feed the whole world for $2\frac{1}{2}$ days :—बालपुर में संसार के अर्द्ध दिन के खर्चा है। No importance can, however, be attached to this tradition as such sayings are very common.

Very small gold rings called बालमुनिया are found here by the gold-dust-washers in the bed of the *Mahānadi* and about its banks. Nothing definite is known about the use of these small rings. The name and shape of the rings suggest that they were probably used as hair decorations of women.

Bālpur has yielded a number of coins the most important of which are those of *Pratāpamalla Deva*, whose coins have not yet been found anywhere. These form the subject of the present note.

In 1919 some two or three very worn out pieces of copper were brought to me with one copper coin of Ratnadeva, the Hailhaya prince of Ratanpur. These worn out pieces contained nothing on one side being very much corroded while the other side contained one indistinct letter. These were sent to the Coin-expert, Central Museum, Nagpur but they could not be identified owing to their bad condition on account of tear and wear of time. On 6-7-24 the village watchman of Bālpur got one small copper coin on the footpath leading to the Mahānadi. On examination I found that it contained in three lines on the obverse the following inscriptions :—

श्रीमत्प (Śrīmatpra)

तापस (tāpama)

ल देव (lla deva)

and on the reverse a distinct figure of a rude lion and of a dagger or sword (no. I). Three days later one bigger coin of Pratāpadeva was handed over to me by a boy. This has a picture of a lion. The boy had got it on the border of the village site where his father was digging earth (coin no. II).

On 2-10-24 a fresh coin of Pratāpa (middle size) was found. A fisher boy was grazing cattle in a meadow on the bank of the Mahānadi and he came across it after a heavy shower of rain, which had exposed it out of the sandy soil (coin No. III.)

On 24-10-24 a coin of Pratāpamalladeva (middle size) was secured by me from a gold-dust washer. He had got it while washing for gold dust and Bālmuniyās (small gold rings) (coin no. IV).

One coin of Pratāpamalladeva was found near the village of Pujāri-pāli referred to above (coin no. V).

On 8-9-25 a middle sized copper coin of Pratāpamalladeva was found at Bālpur. From this coin it was confirmed that the name of



Middle size coin of Prithvideva (Hanumān type)
5 māṣas, 3 rattis



A bigger coin of Ratnadeva (lion type—7 māṣas)



Coin of Pratāpamalladeva No. I



Coin of Pratāpamalladeva No. II



Coin of Pratāpamalladeva No. VI

the prince was *Pratāpamalladeva*, because the letters ऋ and ॠ are quite distinct on this coin while on other coins of that king those two letters were not so clear. (coin no. VI).

Besides these 6 coins, I have got 6 more coins belonging to this king. So I have altogether 12 coins. Out of which one is of small size, five are of middle size and six of bigger size.

All of these excepting one were found at Bālpur and I therefore call these coins by the name of *Bālpur Coins of Pratāpamalladeva*.

I sent some of these coins to Mr. M. A. Suboor, Coin-expert, Central Museum, Nagpur. He kindly examined them and wrote to me that he agreed with me in my views that the coins belong to Pratāpasīṃhadeva, the Haihaya prince of Ratanpur, as the figure of a lion was very much in favour of their being assigned to the Ratanpur Haihaya dynasty.

According to the Raipur District Gazetteer (1909) Pratāpasīṃhadeva reigned about 1276 A. D. and according to Babu Rewā Rām Pandit's "Ratanpur Itihās" his rule extended from Vikrama Samvat 1307 to 1350 (1250 A. D. to 1293 A. D.). I am of opinion that the word "sīṃha" in place of "malla" was a mistake made by the later writers. The proper name of the king was Pratāpamalladeva as is found on the coins.

Pratāpadeva is stated to have conquered a portion of Allahabad division and to have founded 'Pratāpapura,' a town after his name in commemoration of his victory.

The characters of the legend on these coins appear to be of the 12th century A. D.

The coins of Pratāpamalladeva in question weigh as follows :—

Small coin (no. 1)	1 māṣa 4 ratis (1½ māṣa)
Bigger coin	3 māṣas
Middle size	2 māṣas 2 ratis

The weight of coin no. 1 is just the same as that of the copper-coin (small) of Ratnadeva (Haihaya) found here ; both weigh 1½ māṣa.

I give below the weight of some more copper-coins of the Haihaya princes of Ratanpur found at Bālpur :—

- 1 Small copper coin of Ratnadeva
(Type rude lion) 1 māṣa 4 ratis
- 2 Haihaya piece (worn out) 1 „ 1 rati
- 3 „ „ („) 1 „ 1 rati
- 4 Bigger copper coin of Pṛthvi-
deva 1st. (Hanumān type) 7 māṣas.

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 5 | Bigger copper coin of Ratnadeva
(Lion type) | 7 māṣas |
| 6 | Middle size copper coin of Pṛthvideva
(Hanumān type) | 5 māṣas 3 ratis |
| 7 | Middle size copper coin of Pṛthvideva
(Hanumān type) (worn out) | 4 „ 2 ratis |

The variation in weight is due to the good or bad condition of the coins.

Two very old square coins of copper (un-assigned—probably of the Buddhist period) have also been found here. Each weighs 2 māṣas 4 ratis.

L. P. PANDEYA

Kautalya and Machiavelli

That comparisons sometimes prove odious is sufficiently manifest. It is too well known that there has been a great crossing of swords, as it were, among the various orientalisists of distinction as to the fact whether Kauṭalya, the immortal author of the undying Arthaśāstra, is an Indian prototype of the Italian Machiavelli. Put briefly the question resolves itself thus : whether Kauṭaliyan recommendations and principles agree in the main with those of that remarkable statesman of Italy. This point of view has had the careful consideration and authoritative approval of scholars like Drs. Winternitz, Botazzi, B. K. Sarkar, K. D. Nag, U. N. Ghoshal and Shamasastri to mention only a few. Among these all scholars except Nag and to some extent Ghoshal seem to support the view that Kauṭalya is only an Indian Machiavelli. Dr. Ghoshal too admits that some of the theories of the Arthaśāstra correspond with those of Machiavelli.

This note is the result of the long contribution entitled 'Hindu Politics in Italian' made by Prof. B. K. Sarkar to the March and June issues of the *Indian Historical Quarterly*. His writings bear out the unmistakable mark of his well assimilated and digested notions and ideas of western polity. In his outlook he is perhaps more an occident than an orient. He seems to judge things Indian by the test of western standards of polity. This line of research has often landed many students of Indology in untenable positions. For the conclusions thus arrived at will not stand often the test of verifica-

tion with the originals. But one is happy to note the present tendency in Indian historical research to develop healthy lines of finding out the Indian view-point and examining the texts from that point of view.

In the light of the above remarks we would proceed to examine some statements of Professor Sarkar as regards Kauṭalyaism and Machiavellism. According to Prof. Sarkar Kauṭalya like Machiavelli is the first of the new series of politicians in India and is an advocate of the secularisation of the state, Kauṭalya is a treatise of political philosophy and not the document of an actual constitution, and last but not least Kauṭalyaism is Machiavellism. Let us take these statements one by one and see whether they are warranted by evidence.

First Machiavelli was undoubtedly a remarkable author and a rare politician. He has to his credit a number of political treatises such as the Prince, the Dialogues, etc., where he has propounded new theories of state and administration, some of them strikingly original. It is hence in the fitness of things that he has been called the first of modern political philosophers. And what about Kauṭalya? He was one of our distinguished paṇḍit-politicians who have played from time to time not an insignificant role in the make up of Hindu India. He has propounded certain theories and principles which, as he himself declares, are not his own but the choice fruits of his ceaseless endeavours in recovering the science (शास्त्र) from oblivion. It would appear that he has collated and collected the opinions of his predecessors from very remote times and generously acknowledges his indebtedness to their views and writings. At any rate he makes no pretension to originality. He speaks naked truth when he says

सर्वशास्त्राण्यनुक्रम्य प्रयोगानुवर्तय च ।

कौटिल्येन नरेन्द्रार्थशासनस्य विधिः स्मृतः ॥ Arth. Ś., II, 10,

Kauṭalya is thus a faithful transmitter विधि of ancient Hindu tradition. To him tradition is something sacred and inviolable, as to us even today. He bows to it with all humility of a serious student. To our knowledge he does not seem to break new ground. On the other hand, every one of his so-called secular recommendations meets with the approval of the Dharmaśūtras and the Dharmaśāstras wherein similar rulings are found (vide my paper 'Is Arthaśāstra Secular?' in the Proceedings of the Madras Oriental Conference). Hence it is strange that Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar remarks that Kauṭalya like Machiavelli is the *first* of a *new series* of politicians in India.

Secondly in Prof. Sarkar's opinion Machiavelli was an advocate of the 'secularisation of the state,' (*I.H.Q.*, vol II, p. 150) like Kauṭalya. He effected this by being the 'inspirer of political movements against the papacy' and by attacking 'the vested interests of the theological *status quo*.' This kind of secularisation is foreign to the Kauṭalyan treatise. In his book the author has given an exalted position to the Purohita, certainly not inferior to that occupied by him in the epoch of the Brāhmaṇas. Even Dr. Winternitz, the great advocate of the theory of Kauṭalyaism = Machiavellism has agreed as regards the position accorded to the Purohita in the Arthaśāstra (vide *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*, vol. III, pp. 523f.). Here the great scholar shows how Kauṭalya has not strayed beyond the sphere of Brahmanical religion and the Brahmanical view of life, and how he accepts the floating tradition of his religion entirely and on that lays the foundation of the State.

To add to this Kauṭalya has recommended a number of Vedic ceremonials, rites and sacrifices towards the welfare of the State, and these bear the weight of the inference that the remarkable statesman has not in any way minimised the value and importance of the established theological interests or religious practices. In the face of these facts could we still continue to maintain that the Arthaśāstra elevates Artha at the expense of Dharma? To hold such a view is to misunderstand the Hindu view-point wherein Artha is inseparably bound with Dharma.

Again Prof. Sarkar's theory that the Arthaśāstra is merely 'a treatise of political philosophy, and not the document of an actual constitution' is one that has no legs to stand on. For there are outstanding facts which falsify this argument. There is strong evidence which demonstrates the fact that at least to one monarch the treatise proved a practical guidance in the carrying on of his administration. This monarch was the great Candragupta Maurya. In support of this view we have the more reliable evidence of the Greek ambassador Megasthenes' records, fragments of which have been translated by McCrindle from the original Greek. He was a foreign traveller who happened to visit the great emperor's court. His record is one of inestimable value. What all he has noted as regards the civil and military administration of Candragupta, well nigh agrees with the recommendations of the Arthaśāstra. There is another piece of evidence that corroborates this view. The aim and purpose of the treatise are explicitly set forth by the author himself. He did not

write this work for the mere sake of a work. But he did this for the use of नरेन्द्र, the king-emperor Candragupta, so that he might reign and rule according to the letter and spirit of the established law (शासनस्य विधिः). If this position were granted, undoubtedly Kauṭalya himself regarded his work as a practical manual.

The assumption that Kauṭalyaism is Machiavellism, though ingenious, is not a tenable one. We agree with Dr. K. D. Nag who remarks rightly, "In ethical concepts Kauṭalya is far removed from Machiavelli with whom he has been compared in a superficial manner" (*Diplomatic Theories of Ancient India and the Arthaśāstra*, p. 112). Here is an estimate of the great literary historian, Lord Macaulay, on our Italian author. "We doubt whether it would be possible to find in all the many volumes of his compositions, a single expression indicating that dissimulation and treachery had ever struck him as discreditable. Two characters altogether dissimilar are united in him. It is therefore in the state of moral feeling among the Italians of those times that we must have seen for the real explanation of what seems most mysterious in the life and writings of this remarkable man."

From this it is obvious that contemporary events and incidents left an indelible stamp on the writings of Machiavelli. There is reason to believe that these facts had influenced his writings to a large measure. Do Kauṭalya's writings betray any such influence? The answer is in the negative. Further there is no comparison between the age of Machiavelli and that of Kauṭalya so far the political and social conditions which prevailed in Italy and India in their respective periods were concerned. Indian history and culture, it needs no stretch of imagination to understand, are peculiar to themselves, and in comparing them with any other civilisation and culture of the world, ancient or modern, due allowance must be made for the peculiarities of position and environment. Kauṭalya's theories of administration and laws of war are not certainly influenced by contemporary facts. These India knew long before the author of the *Arthaśāstra* was born. Not only has India known them but there is evidence of their having been in practice in Vedic India. Under these circumstances no true purpose is served by propounding 'white-washing' theories and arguments.

It would not be out of place to refer to one other assumption of Dr. Nag with which we cannot agree. He says, "But the fact is that India has rejected the way pointed out by Kauṭalya-Cāṇakya to enter that of Dharmakesu." This is only misreading Indian historical literature and tradition. No emperor, be he Buddhist, Jain or Hindu,

has rejected Kauṭalya's theories of the State. Even Asoka who is supposed to have chalked out a new line could not be said with any definiteness to have abandoned Kauṭalyan doctrine in his civil administration. And if only he had embarked on an active military policy, it is quite probable and even possible that he would have pursued the laws of war as recommended by Kauṭalya himself. That Kauṭalya has been accorded a celebrated place with no less distinguished teachers of Hindu polity than Bṛhaspati, and Śukra by a writer of the eighteenth century (Śivatatvatratnākara, a recently published work in Madras), is eloquent of the fact that his canons and principles have never been rejected by the Hindu politicians following the Indian tradition. Says the author

गुरुश्रुतमतेऽप्येते चाणक्यादिसते तथा । kallaola 5, taraṅga 7, śl. 17.

Prof. Sarkar is certainly right when he remarks "Kauṭalyaism first, Kauṭalyaism second, Kauṭalyaism always has remained the motto of the Hindus as of other pillars of the state." Undoubtedly Kauṭalya is 'an inveterate trait of the Hindu genius' but he or his work has nothing to do with Machiavelli or Machiavellism.

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR

The Malla Era of Viṣṇupur

There is an era current in Viṣṇupur in the district of Bankura in Bengal and its neighbourhood. It is one hundred and one year behind the Bengali era called the *San*. But the *San* is not an independent era. It is an era dependent on the *Hijri*. Akbar at his coronation in 1560 changed the *Hijri* into this new era by adding solar calculation to the existing year of the *Hijri* and the subsequent years. In the three hundred and sixty-six years intervening between Akbar's accession in 1560 A.D. and the present year 1926 there is a difference of 12 years between the *Hijri* and the *San*, the *Hijri* being now 1345 and the *San* 1333. So by saying that the *Mallābda* is one hundred and one year behind, we do not say much to clear the ground. It does not give us the initial year of the era for certain.

There is a manuscript in the Library of the ASB. (No. 10,816) of Goyicandra's commentary on Jumarānandin's work, the copyist of which gives the following synchronism of the Śaka and Malla eras,

औरसु मयि लिखके ।

अङ्गास्वरयुते मेवे शके शक्ताष्टमीतिथौ (१७०८) ।

अद्वैतेन प्रलिखिता दीपिकेर्यं (कायां) प्रयत्नः ॥

नेत्रयद्भ्युते खाजे मन्नान्दे नासि आचणे (१०८३) ।

ऋतन्दीपिकालिखि स्वपाठाय विज्ञप्सना ॥

This shows that the 1709th year of the Śaka era was the 1093rd of the Malla era, i.e., the initial year of the Malla era is 1709—1093 = 616 Śaka, i.e. 616 + 78 = 694 A.D.

Mr. L. S. O'Malley in his Gazetteer of the District of Bankura (p. 23) says that a prince of northern India made a pilgrimage in the year 695 (?) A.D. to the shrine of Jagannātha at Puri. His wife was with him and in the deep jungle of Bankura his wife gave birth to a child. The prince however left her and the child in charge of a Brāhmaṇa named Pañcānana and a Kāyastha named Bhagīratha Guha. The child grew up and was the founder of the Malla dynasty. He reigned for 33 years and greatly extended his dominion in the neighbourhood. His son Jayamalla continued the victorious career of the Malla family and made Viṣṇupur his capital.

The history of this family is compiled from an account prepared at the request of the District Officer from papers kept by the royal family. Forty princes of the Malla family reigned at Viṣṇupur. They extended their dominion on all sides and consecrated a large number of temples and images. The forty-ninth prince Dhara Hāmbīra acknowledged the suzerainty of the emperor of Delhi. His son Vīra Hāmbīra was well-known in the Vaiṣṇava literature as the decoit chief who plundered the manuscript treasures of Śrīnivāsa, Narottama and Śyāmadāsa and at last became a disciple of Śrīnivāsa Ācārya.

The era is still locally current in Viṣṇupur but its currency is being daily circumscribed.

HARAPRASAD SASTRI

Patañjali and his Knowledge of Science

It is very natural for a scholar who has made a special study of an author to find in him all knowledge. Dr. Prabhat Chandra Chakravarti's interesting paper on Patañjali that has been published serially in the Indian Historical Quarterly shows this weakness. In the section on "Scientific Theories in the Mahābhāṣya" (I.H.Q., vol. II, no. 4, pp. 738-742), Dr. Chakravarti has cited as instances of Patañjali's scientific knowledge several views, most of which belong to the

region of everyday experience or are far from scientific. It is difficult to see what knowledge of Zoology is involved in the statement "gomayād vṛściko jāyate" ("scorpions grow from cowdung"). [Śaṅkarācārya makes the same unscientific statement in his comments on Vedānta Sūtras, 11-1-6, and here he probably follows the traditional interpretation]. The other instances of Dr. Chakravarti are mostly of this type.

But one statement of Dr. Chakravarti deserves special comment. As the seventh instance of "scientific theories in the Mahābhāṣya," the writer tells us, "Patañjali has more than once referred to the movement of the Sun. The Sun has its motion, though it is not perceptible to our naked eyes. There might be some bigger luminous bodies around which the Sun would be moving, just in the same way as the earth moves round it." Here again one fails to understand the science that is involved. Patañjali seems most obviously to hold the unscientific and incorrect popular view that the Sun goes round the earth, a view which though ably controverted by Āryabhaṭa some eight centuries after Patañjali, has not lost adherents among even astronomers of India. Dr. Chakravarti's assumption that Patañjali believes the Sun to be going round, not the earth but, a luminary bigger than itself is altogether gratuitous. The actual movement of an animal or a bird is visible to the naked eye. Not so is the case with the apparent or real movement of the Sun or the Moon. We see these luminaries in different parts of the heaven in different times from which we infer that they have changed places by movement. The early Naiyāyikas call this sort of inference a *sāmānyatodrṣṭa anumāna*. Vātsyāyana in his Nyāya-bhāṣya on Gautama Sūtra 1-1-5 gives just this illustration:

"Sāmānyato drṣṭaṃ vrajyāpūrvakam anyatra dṛṣṭasya anyatra darśanam, yathā ādityasya, tasmād asty apratyakṣā py ādityasya vrajyā iti."

Compare also Gauḍapāda's Bhāṣya on Sāṃkhyakārikā, under v. 5 :

"Sāmānyato drṣṭaṃ deśād deśāntaram prāptaṃ drṣṭaṃ gatimac-candratārakaṃ Caitravat, yathā Caitranāmānam deśād deśāntaram prāptaṃ avalokya gatimān ayam iti, tadvac candratārakaṃ iti," also Śabara on Mīmāṃsā Sūtra, 1, 15. *"Sāmānyatodrṣṭasambandhaṃ yathā Devadattasya gatipūrvikūṃ deśāntaraprāptim upalabhya ādityagatismaranam"* (Chowkhamba edition, 1910, vol. I, p. 8). Is it therefore right to maintain that Patañjali supposed the Sun to go round another invisible luminary?

Did Madhvācārya tour in Bengal ?

Of the Vaiṣṇava apostles of mediæval India, Śrī Madhvācārya holds a unique place. The life he lived and the age in which he lived were both momentous. Those were the dark days of early Pāthān rule when invasions and depredations were the order of the day. Hindu Vedāntism and Buddhistic Tāntrikism were at work to sap the life-energy of the people, so that national existence, not to speak of national expansion, was at stake. "Hindu India appeared to be crumbling down, but he had fought the theory of illusion, raised the value of the individual, given the motive force of the ideals of faith and hope and progress." The foundation of neo-Vaiṣṇavism was laid by him. His last message to his disciples was in the word of the *Aitareya Upaniṣad* that "it was not sufficient to understand Him and sit still. It was necessary to advance, to go forth, preach." It was this progressive view that in later years gained ground in the great Hindu empire of Vijaynagar and the Bengal of that period, while Madhvācārya himself was honoured by the ruler of the Kakatiyas of Warangal, who perhaps was Rudrambā, one of the great women rulers of India.

A word as to the date in which Madhvācārya lived is here necessary. He has generally been placed at the end of the 12th century A.D. But according to the work on his life and teachings by Mr. C. M. Padmanābhācārya, who has adduced some additional reasons, not given before, his time has been fixed as 1238-1317 A.D. We are here not concerned with all his other activities. His probable Bengal tour may be based on the works of Muslim historians, such as Zīāuddin Bārni's *Tarīkh-i-Fīroz-shāhi*, and on a Sanskrit work called *Madhvavijaya* which describes his life and activities.

Now, on two different occasions did Madhvācārya go on tour to Northern India. According to the *Madhvavijaya* and the *Jayāvīrtha-vijaya*, he returned from his first tour to Badri in about 1262 A.D. We have nothing to do with this first tour of the Vaiṣṇava apostle.

The second tour of Madhvācārya is believed to have begun before 1266 A.D. After leaving the territory of Mahādeva, the king of Devagiri who ruled from 1262 to 1271 A.D. he reached the shores of the Ganges. It is recorded in the *Madhvavijaya* that in 1266 A.D. there was warfare at those quarters. It is stated in the *History of Hindusthan* by Alexander Dow (vol. I) that in 1266 A.D. the Emperor Ghiyāsuddin Balban of Delhi "sent an army down between

the Ganges and the Jumna, to suppress some insurrections in those parts." So, according to Mr. Venkoba Rao, in his *Life of Śrī Vyāsarāja*, Madhvācārya met Sultan Ghiyāsuddin Balban after he left Mahārāṣṭra in 1266 A.D., and that the Emperor treated the Ācārya very well." He crossed the Ganges and went to his destination.

On his return journey when he had to recross the Ganges, there took place an incident which was important on both political as well as religious account. It was about 1280-81 A.D. At that time Sultan Ghiyāsuddin Balban went on an expedition against Mughī-suddin Toghrāl Khan, who had been the Governor of Bengal, but who at that time declared himself independent. When the Sultan reached Bengal he made an alliance with Danuj Rai, the king of Suvarṇagrām in East Bengal so that the rebel Toghrāl may not escape by that way (R. D. Bannerjee's *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, vol. II). Danuj Rai seems to be a powerful king and possessed a strong flotilla, so his help was assured by the Sultan to guard the escape of Toghrāl by water.

We now come to our main point of discussion. It has been suggested that this Danuj Rai was the king who is said to have shown honour to the Vaiṣṇava saint from Southern India. Mr. B. Venkoba Rao, in his work already mentioned, says that "there is reason to believe that it is this Danuj Rai that received Śrī Madhvācārya, and sent boats for his party to cross the Ganges. The following śloka in the tenth *sarga* of *Madhvavijaya* clearly applies to an Indian prince, and not a Mussalman sovereign.

पदं पथोर्वा विनवातनूज
 सीत्वा नदीं तावददीनसत्त्वः ।
 अनाद्र वासाब्जकुतूहलाद्र
 वृंदिव मृदेवमुखैर्वन्दे ॥

If it was Danuj Rai that met Śrī Madhvācārya, it shows that the latter was then touring in Bengal."

Considering the fact that the neo-Vaiṣṇavism of Bengal took its cue from the school founded by Śrī Madhvācārya, and that many well-known personages of his time were connected with Bengal, e.g., Viṣṇu Purī, who compiled the *Bhaktiratnāvalī*, Mādhavendra Purī, the mystic, and Vyāsarāya, the guru of the kings of Vijayanagar and of writer *Viṣṇu Samhitā* (according to the *Gaurāṅgoddēśadīpikā* of Kavi Karṇapūra), this tour of the founder of the sect in Bengal in the 13th century is of considerable importance. If this fact can be established beyond any doubt by means of other evidences we shall be in a position to trace the original influence which shaped the Vaiṣṇavism of Bengal.

RAMES BASU

Jātaka Representations in Siam

The article of Dr. Barua on the *Multiplicity of Jātakas* and his reference to the Barhut Jātaka-scenes tempt me to write a brief note on the Jātaka representations in Siam. Not only are the Jātaka-scenes sculptured on the gates of Barhut, but also in Siam. Just as the Barhut Jātaka-scenes bear the names of the Jātakas in the Asokan character, so these Siamese representations also contain the names of the Jātakas in Thai character. So we have 51 Thai inscriptions with an equal number of Jātaka representations in Siamese sculpture. Thanks to the industry of M. Fournereau, these 51 Thai inscriptions have been deciphered and the Jātaka-scenes identified. These sculptures are placed to the year 1357 A.D. during the reign of Śrī Sūrya Varṇa Rāma Mahādharmarājādhīrāja, the last of the famous kings of the royal dynasty of Sukhodaya in Siam. We get the following Jātaka stories represented in the Siamese sculpture:—

1	Servānija	Jātaka No.	3	24	Sakuṇa	Jātaka No.	36
2	Cullakaseṭṭhi	"	"	4	25	Tittira	" " 37
3	Taṇḍulanāli	"	"	5	26	Baka	" " 38
4	Devadhamma	"	"	6	27	Nacca	" " 32
5	Kaṭṭahāri	"	"	7	28	Kapota	" " 42
6	Makhādeva	"	"	9	29	Veḷuka	" " 43
7	Nigrodhamiga	"	"	12	30	Makasa	" " 44
8	Kaṇḍina	"	"	13	31	Rohiṇī	" " 45
9	Sukhavihāri	"	"	10	32	Ārāmadūsaka	" " 46
10	Tittha	"	"	25	33	Vāruṇi	" " 47
11	Lakkhaṇa	"	"	11	34	Vedabbha	" " 48
12	Vātamiga	"	"	14	35	Nakkhatta	" " 49
13	Kharādiya	"	"	15	36	Dummedha	" " 50
14	Tipaloka	"	"	16	37	Mahāsīlava	" " 51
15	Mālulā	"	"	17	38	Cūḷajanaka	" " 52
16	Matakabhatta	"	"	18	39	Puṇṇapāti	" " 53
17	Āyācitabhatta	"	"	19	40	Phala	" " 54
18	Naḷapāna	"	"	20	41	Pañcāvudha	" " 55
19	Kuruṅgamiga	"	"	21	42	Kaṭṭicanakkhan-	" " 56
20	Kukkura	"	"	22		dhā	
21	Bhojājānīya	"	"	23	43	Tayodhamma	" " 58
22	Gajājānīya	"	"	24	44	Bherivāda	" " 59
23	Vaṭṭaka	"	"	35	45	Samkhadhamana	" " 60

46	Asālāmanta	Jātaka No. 61	49	Kālakaṇṇi	Jātaka No. 83
47	Nanda	„ „ 39	50	Atthassadvāra	„ „ 84
48	Khadiraṅgāra	„ „ 40	51	?	Jātaka

These Jātaka scenes offer an interesting study to the students of Buddhism. Not only do we find these Jātaka representations on the Barhut pillars in India, but also in Siam as well as in Java and Burma. With the spread of Buddhism in Siam, Java and Burma, the Jātaka stories became popular in those countries and were represented also in sculpture.

PIIANINDRA NATH BOSE

Date of Accession of King Lakṣmaṇasena

The date when king Lakṣmaṇasena of the Bengal Sena dynasty ascended the throne has not as yet been determined with any amount of certainty. Various theories have from time to time been propounded with regard to the question of which the two most important and most generally accepted are (1) that he succeeded his father Ballālasena in the year 1119-20 A.D. and celebrated his coronation by the introduction of a new era in his name known in later times as *La-sam*, *Lakṣmaṇābda* or *Lakṣmaṇa Samvat*,¹ (2) that he was made king by his father sometime after 1168-69, the date given by *Adbhutasūgara* and *Dānasūgara* of Ballālasena².

The correctness and accuracy of both these views have been questioned. There was for long a controversy as to the identity of the founder of the era known as *La-sam*. According to the upholders of the first theory given above the first year of the reign of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal would synchronise with the initial year (1119-20 A.D.) of *La-sam* though this would go against the statements of the *Adbhutasūgara* and *Dānasūgara* according to which king Ballālasena was ruling as far as 1168-69 A.D.³ Dr. H. C. Raychaudhury however has disproved

1 *JASB.*, vol. XLVII, p. 398; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 306; *JASB.*, vol. LXV, p. 31; *Bāṅgālār Itihās* (R. D. Banerji), 2nd ed., pp. 323-328.

2 *JASB.*, 1905, p. 47; *Gauḍa Rājamātā* (R. Chanda), p. 65; *Sir Asutosh Mukherjee Jubilee Commemoration Volumes*—Orientalia, pt. II, p. 2.

3 *Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, 1887-91, R. G. Bhandarkar, pp. xxxv-xxxvi.

with good reasons any possible association of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal with the era called *Lakṣmaṇa Samvat*, the originator of which in his opinion has to be identified with Lakṣmaṇasena, founder of the Sena dynasty of Piṭhīl Behar.¹

Thus the first theory is of very little help now for the correct determination of the actual date when Lakṣmaṇasena came to the throne.

The second theory is based on some verses to be found in some manuscripts of the *Adhutaśāgara* and *Dānaśāgara* of Ballālasena. From two verses found in some manuscripts of the former we learn that the book was begun (by Ballālasena) in 1090 Śaka (i.e. 1168 A.D.) but the king raised his son to the throne and died before he could complete it.² And one verse in the latter work points to the year 1091 Śaka i.e. 1169 A.D., when the book was composed by king Ballālasena.³ It is argued from these that Lakṣmaṇasena must have come to the throne some time after 1168—69 A.D. though the exact date of his coronation is not known. The objection raised by some scholars against this view is based on the supposition that the verses in question did not originally form part of the works of Ballālasena as they are not found in all manuscripts.⁴ Neither is it possible, even on the assumption of the genuineness of the verses in question, to arrive at the real date of accession of king Lakṣmaṇasena as they merely say that Ballālasena put his son on the throne before he died but they do not tell us anything about the exact date when he was made king.

But we have now some definite evidence with regard to this date from the colophon of the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* of Śrīdhara-dāsa, a contemporary of Lakṣmaṇasena, being the son of Vaṭudāsa, a *Mahāsūmantacūdāmaṇi* and friend of the king. It can thus claim to be regarded as contemporary evidence and be taken as reliable in the

1 *Sir Asutosh Mukherjee Jubilee Commemoration Volumes* (Orientalia), pt. II, pp. 1-5.

2 *Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (1887-91), R. G. Bhandarkar, p. lxxxv.

3 *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the India Office Library*, Eggeling, p. 545.

4 *Bāṅgālār Itihās* (R. D. Banerji), 2nd ed., p. 321; *Ind. Ant.*, 1913, p. 185; *Ibid.*, 1919, p. 171-7.

absence of anything found contrary to it. It has this further advantage that far from clashing with any known data it is in full agreement with the disputed dates found in the *Adbhutasāgara* and *Dūnasāgara* which in their turn are confirmed by it.

Now the colophon¹ on a collation of the different manuscripts can be put thus:—

Śāke² sapta-viṃśaty-adhika-śat-opeta-daśa-śate³ śaradām
 Śrīmal-Lakṣmaṇasena-kṣitipasya ras⁴-aikaviṃśe-bde⁵/
 Savitur-gatyā Phālguna-viṃśeṣu parārtha-hetave kutukāt
 Śrīdharadāsenedaṃ Saduktikarṇāṃṛtaṃ cakre//

It can be translated thus:—"In Śāka 1127, in the year 27 of king Lakṣmaṇasena, on the 20th of Phālguna (calculated in terms of) the movements of the Sun, was composed this Saduktikarṇāṃṛta by Śrīdharadāsa for the benefit of others."

The year of Lakṣmaṇasena referred to in the above colophon must needs be taken as having reference to his reign. For, if we refer it to *Lakṣmaṇa Samvat*, the initial year of which, as is now admitted on all hands, was 1119-20 A.D., this 27th year would point to 1146-47 A.D. (1068-69 Śāka) as its equivalent and not Śāka as we find it

1 I am indebted to Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar for having kindly procured for me the text of the colophon from Pandit Rāmāvatāra Śarmā who is editing the book in the *Bibliotheca Indica Series*. As a matter of fact, this paper is the result of a discussion which I had with Prof. Bhandarkar on this particular colophon.

The text of Pandit Śarmā is based on two manuscripts *R.* (belonging to one Pandit Rāmānātha Tarkaratna) and *S.* (manuscript of the Serampore College Library, Bengal). I had occasion to collate two other manuscripts of the work for this purpose:—(1) *Sa.* (manuscript of the Government Sanskrit College Library of Calcutta), (2) *A* (manuscript of the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal). I further consulted the colophon as read by R.L. Mitra in his *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, vol. III, no. 1180.

2 -tra (Śarmā), ca (R), simply *Sāke* (Sa, A, Mitra). *Sūketra* or *Sāke ca* would spoil the metre.

3 *śate* not found in Śarmā's text. It is found in *Sa*, *A* and Mitra.

4 *rabdaik* (Mitra, *Sa*, *A*).

5 -bde omitted in *Sa*, *A*, Mitra.

specified in the colophon in question. Now, as the 27th regnal year of king Lakṣmaṇasena is found to correspond to 1127 Śaka, the first year of his reign must necessarily have been 1100 Śaka, or 1178 A.D. This date of his accession is not in opposition to, but on the contrary, entirely agrees with, the information supplied by the much disputed verses of the *Dūnasūgara* and *Adbhutasūgara* from which we know this much that Lakṣmaṇasena came to the throne after 1168-69 A.D. On the other hand its indirect support of the dates contained in the above-mentioned works may reasonably be supposed to be sufficient to dispel all doubts as regards their authenticity.¹

CHINTAILARAN CHAKRAVARTI

On some Methods and Conclusions in Hindu Politics

II

Dr. Ghoshal admits my charges

We have noticed above that the author wanted to consider "at a later place, the scope of an historical investigation of political theories." He seems at last to come to this point and devotes two paragraphs.

Speaking about my remarks on his rather one-sided treatment of the problems of the state in post-Vedic times he says:—"The critic's charges on this point indicate nothing so much as his tendency to mis-state facts and to shut his eyes to the positive evidence of texts." Let us see how his facts have been mis-stated by me. My remarks may be given as follows: Dr. G. fails for the Vedic ages to take cognizance of anything but the king and the priest. "The same

1 If the above interpretation of the date given in the colophon be accepted there will be no room for ambiguity in it as was suspected by Manomohan Chakravarti (*JASB.*, 1906, p. 175). His suggested emendations (*loc. cit.*) *rasāśītātame* and *rasaikatrinīṣe* (thirty-one) for *rasaikaviṃṣe* with a view to refer the year to *Lakṣmaṇa Samvat* and the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena respectively are not satisfactory on grounds of metre. The latter of the two again does not appear to be a Sanskrit word at all and is based on the gratuitous supposition that Lakṣmaṇasena came to the throne in 1168 A. D.

absence of balance in regard to the problems of political theory vitiates G's treatment of the subject during subsequent periods."

What topics has he ignored? "Neither public finance nor international law (understood of course in pre-Grotian sense) nor jurisprudence nor the theory of war has been touched upon by the author. And he is oblivious, as a matter of course, of the *rāṣṭra* (the territory and people) with its economic factors."

But what has Dr. Ghoshal really discussed in his book? "Instead the author has furnished his readers with a series of theories of kingship and a bundle of ideas on the relations between the king and the priest. An absolutely wrong view has thus been bequeathed on the thoughts of the ancient and mediæval philosophers. The publication is likely to propagate among the readers an one-sided and erroneous judgment on the philosophical worth of the Hindu political theorists."

The author has charged me with the "tendency to mis-state facts etc." But he has failed to challenge my charges. On the other hand he accepts my charges on his limitations in their entirety. For he has to confess unequivocally as follows:—"It is true that none of the component factors save the king has been subjected in the H. P. T. to a detailed treatment." And what else has my poor self said? "It is reasonable to take the book, so runs my judgment, not as a 'history of Hindu political theories,' as it claims to be but as a 'History of Hindu political literature with special reference to kingship.'"

My friend 'despairs' of me and I am grateful to him for his solicitations. But it should appear even from his self-criticism that I have not mis-stated the facts. And in this connection one is naturally reminded of Dr. Ghoshal's another remark about his work, namely, "to say in the face of this evidence that the H. P. T. is virtually an examination of the theory of kingship is to mis-state facts." In the course of two pages and a half of the rejoinder the author finds himself in an inconsistency regarding the very scope of his own book.

The situation, then, may be summed up as follows : (1) Dr. Ghoshal admits in one place that his book deals chiefly with none of the component factors save the king." (2) In another place he denies this fact. (3) My mis-statement of facts is nil. (4) On the other hand I sized him up thoroughly well just where the author thinks that I was fancying the "limited scope of the work" and "imagining" the "tremendous misconception from beginning to end"—under which the book labours.

The proper jurisdiction of Political Philosophy

Dr. Ghoshal admits my charges about the limited scope of his work. But he says: "This was done deliberately with the object of confining the work to its proper jurisdiction."

He has furnished a reason, and one ought to be satisfied. Because when an author says that he wants to study such and such subjects and exclude such and such other subjects, no reader has any right to demand what he himself wants. But even then Dr. Ghoshal cannot escape so lightly. For he should have made it clear either in the title or in the sub-title or in the preface or in the footnotes or even parenthetically in the body of the text that he is going to exclude almost everything save the king." But he has not done this. Rather he is furious at an honest reader who while reading his book has happened to discover the real worth of its contents.

The question about the limitations of his scope might have been closed here. But Dr. Ghoshal has raised another trouble in the rejoinder. He is talking of the "proper jurisdiction" of a history of Hindu political theories. And he asks: "Will the critic who makes the omission of 'public finance, international law, jurisprudence and the theory of war' from the scope of the H.P.T. the basis of his charge kindly explain why the boundaries of the sciences laid down by a well-established convention should be transgressed in the case of political philosophy?"

Here it is well to point out that I have no complaint against the omissions in his book as such. Omissions there must be perhaps in every publication. I have only stated what it is and what it is not.

Now, as regards the "proper jurisdiction" of political philosophy or rather of a history of political theories.

Political philosophy to begin with, has absolutely no well-established convention. Of course it deals with the "state", it discusses "politics". But the categories of thought in Aristotle's *Politics* are not identical with the categories of thought in Thomas Aquinas's *Government of a Prince*. Nor do Leroy-Beaulieu and Treitschke concern themselves with the self-same political categories.

The differences in the categories do not constitute the sole difference in the realm of political speculation between thinker and thinker. Even where the categories are identical the "contents" of those categories, i.e. the "substances of thought" as indicated by the categories may have absolutely nothing in common. Categories

like democracy, republic, law, justice, liberty, intervention, social control and so forth have differed in content or substance from epoch to epoch and of course from philosopher to philosopher.

No philosopher is compelled to think of political problems in the technique, terminology or "form" of another philosopher. Nor is his "matter," substance or content of philosophy bound to follow any well-established convention.

The moral is clear. If you are discussing the political philosophy of Plato you are expected to discuss his category of the "philosopher-king" to mention but one item. But when you are studying Hobbes you have to devote attention, say, to the "state of nature." The subjects that arrested Plato's attention are varied. So are the subjects that arrested Hobbes's attention. Should anybody, therefore, venture on writing a history of political theories, it will not be enough for him to write on the philosopher-king alone in the chapter on Plato. If Hobbes has talked on law, the historian of political philosophy will have to deal with jurisprudence too. If Hobbes has something to say on the relations between nations, well, the historian cannot fight shy of the theory of international law, whatever its worth be.

If, then, there be any "well-established convention" for a historian of political philosophy it consists just in summarizing, reviewing and interpreting all the different phases and items of political thought in which these philosophers were interested. But a historian of political philosophy finds it inconvenient for one reason or another to deal with public finance, international law, etc. He has only to say so and the trouble ceases to exist. But otherwise a reader will expect in the historian's treatment of Montesquieu an analysis of the ideas on climate and its relations with manners. In the treatment of Bodin one can legitimately expect an examination of the revenues, the "nerves of the republic." The law of nature must be examined in the discussion of Stoic politics, war in Machiavelli, and so on.

And in the treatment of Herbert Spencer an examination of the doctrine of the state, viz., individual cannot be avoided.

The "proper jurisdiction" of a history of political philosophy is not what you define it to be according to your convenience but how those political philosophers whom you are studying conceived their own problems. You may be a philosopher, and as such you are at liberty no doubt to write your own political philosophy but then you are not a historian. You are at liberty, also, as historian to single out for

your own investigation in which the philosophers were interested. But you have no right to say that the proper jurisdiction of political philosophy or of the history of political theories is what appears to be convenient to you.

Defects in Dr. Ghoshal's treatment of the Saptāṅga

The defects of Dr. G.'s book will now be apparent to those who, as has been pointed out once before, are conversant with the tables of contents in any of the Hindu political texts. "Political science as *vidyā* was not described by them," as I have said in that footnote to *Hindu Politics in Italian* "as a royal science or a priestly science. They used terms which have nothing to do with the king or the priest." But in Dr. G.'s "proper jurisdiction", the *History of Hindu Political Theories* deals in detail with "none of the component factors save the king," as admitted by himself.

My criticism of the H. P. T. is as follows:—Dr. Ghoshal has not cared to do justice either to *saptāṅga* or to the science of the *saptāṅga* as understood by the Hindu philosophers.

The author believes that since he has somewhere defined the term *saptāṅga* and mentioned all the seven elements of a polity including the king, he has done justice to the doctrine of *saptāṅga*. Similarly he thinks that it is enough to say somewhere that the king is but one of the seven limbs of the body politic.

No. All this is too elementary. When somebody complains that Dr. Ghoshal's book is vitiated by the "absence of balance in regard to the problems of political theory" the defects are deeper than can be whitewashed by such self-defence. As long as the theorists whose thoughts he is studying have made it a point to discuss the theories (whatever be their worth) of public finance, international law, etc.,—integral part of the doctrine of *saptāṅga*, and devote as a matter of course more space to those topics which have been avoided by Dr. Ghoshal than to those which he considers to be the "proper jurisdiction," no excuse on his part can be satisfying to the reader except a clear statement to the effect that he is interested only in certain aspects of Hindu political thought to the exclusion of others.

The author pleads again, that somewhere in his book he has used a word which cannot but "include the people." Further, in one footnote he has pointed out that "at a later stage Hindu political science was identified with the institution of monarchy." All this is good but irrelevant to the point in discussion. The sole subject that is being considered here is whether the chapters in the H. P. T. deal with the

different members of the *saptāṅga* as one should expect of a faithful student of the Hindu texts, in the manner, for instance, that Hillebrandt's *Altindische Politik* does. My verdict has been in the negative.

"No justice, no king" in Mediæval European theory

After having done with "the king's divine nature" Dr. G. discusses "the king's duty of protection and the rule of justice." In this connection he quotes Utathya's lecture in the *Mahābhārata* on "Justice or righteousness being the bounden duty of the king" as well as being the "foundation of the ordered existence of the people" (pp. 57, 98-100). Then he comes down to the "right of tyrannicide."

In the course of these pages the author remarks that this concept is "peculiar to Hindu political thought." In the rejoinder he has modified his statement and says "*perhaps* peculiar to Hindu political thoughts." So be it. My reaction to this proposition, extreme or moderate, was worded thus:—"It is a very commonplace item of thought in Stoic and Patristic speculations. It occurs even in the French epic of the thirteenth century *Le Couronnement de Louis*."

The author has challenged me to cite the "precise counterpart." Here it is. In my *Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (Leipzig, 1922), a book which is mentioned in Dr. G.'s Select Bibliography (p. 283) there is a chapter entitled "The Theory of the Constitution in Hindu Political Philosophy." Section 4 of this chapter deals with "kingship, a public office", and section 6 with "right to revolt." These two sections correspond, roughly speaking, with the subjects discussed by Dr. G. in the pages in question. It may be mentioned *en passant* that the substantial portion of these sections appeared in my article in the *Political Science Quarterly* (New York) for December, 1918.

Among the ancient and mediæval European teachers of justice or righteousness as the *sine qua non* of kingship one will find mentioned in my book Seneca the Stoic philosopher of the first century A. C. who exhorts the ruler to remember his responsibility as "one out of all mankind who has been chosen to act in the place of the gods." The book mentions likewise Alcuin and Jonas. The *Couronnement* teaches that the purpose of God in making the king is not to enable him to satisfy his appetite but that he should tread down all wrongs under his feet. One should notice incidentally that even in Europe—among Stoics as well as the Fathers—the divine element is not unknown in

speculations on kingship. Then there is Bishop Hincmar who lectures like Utathya to a king on his duty of governing "according to laws." It is similarly on the bed-rock of justice that John of Salisbury establishes the *differentium* between the legitimate ruler and his opposite, the tyrant, who deserves to be killed.

Indeed the identification of justice and the office of the king is one of the almost inevitable platitudes or pious wishes of entire European political thought in the Middle Ages. The authority of the king is held to be divine because it is his function to secure the establishment and maintenance of justice. Something like "no law, no king" "no justice, no king" etc. has been, so to say, the A. B. C. of political theory since Cicero the Stoic of the first century B. C. lectured on "laws and duties." Nay it goes back to Plato's analysis of "virtue." The English jurist Bracton also is but a traditional justicite of the thirteenth century.

These conventional teachings on justice, righteousness, law, tyranny etc. have all been translated and summarized by the Carlyles in their 3 vols. of *Mediæval Political Theory in the West* (1903-15). Those students of the *nītiśāstras*, *arthaśāstras*, *daṇḍa-nīti*, etc. who believe that justice is a monopoly will not be losers if they care to open these books at the following pages: vol. I, pp. 9, 48, 70, 75, 76, 86, 114, 116, 199, 234, 264; vol. II, pp. 63-66, 118, 119, 120, 129. vol; III, pp. 32, 67, 89, 108, 111, 113, 137-140, 145, 181.

And if it is allowable to make any suggestions on allied subjects, it may not be disgraceful on the part of learned scholars to cultivate a little intimacy with the Carlyles before embarking again on claiming certain peculiar features for Hindu theory. Besides for those scholars who have to use the expression "comparative politics" with special reference to the Middle Ages, books like Poole's *Illustrations of the History of Mediæval Thought* (London, 1884), Littlejohn's *Political Theory of Schoolmen and Grotius* (1896), Gierke's *Political Theories of the Middle Ages* (1900), Figgis's *From Gerson to Grotius* (1907) as well as *Divine Right of Kings* (1914) and Woolf's *Bartolus* (1913) may not fail to be eminently illuminating in regard to the proper scientific perspective.

The Theory of Contract—Dr. Ghoshal's stumbling-block

Dr. G. draws the conclusion that my criticism "deserves no notice." I wish Dr. G. had followed his conclusion up by leaving me alone. Because, then, I would have at least been saved the trouble of inflicting

on readers a lengthy reply consisting in extracts from his book, my review as well as his rejoinder in order to show (1) that none of my statements are mis-statements and (2) that if there be inconsistencies and errors in his book somebody other than myself is responsible.

The present occasion of Dr. Ghoshal's impatience is my remark that "the contract theory has proved a veritable stumbling block to the author. Again and again he forces himself into unnecessary self-contradictions over the problem." Dr. G. says that this charge is "un-supported by a single argument."

My position was indicated as follows: 'It is not clear why the author should consider the *Dīghanikāya* theory of contract an isolated phenomenon in the history of Hindu political thought (pp. 121, 135-136)."

My fundamental argument is the following: - "From his own references it is evident that the consequences of the theory are embodied in the older *Dharmasūtra* as well as in the later *Nīti* literature in the shape of the notion that taxation is the price of protection."

Further, *Dīgha* postulates the existence of a "state of nature" subsequent to the Saturnian age of no family and no property. The traditional *mātsya nyāya* of Indian speculation after which the election of the first king is said to have taken place is identical in import with this *Dīgha* "state of nature." *Dīgha* does not thus appear to exist in splendid isolation.

Besides, Dr. G. himself says (pp. 120-121): "The contract (*Dīgha*) in other words gives an historical basis in the past to that view of the relation of taxation to protection which we have found to occur in one of the *Dharmasūtras* and which, we think, is one of the root ideas of Hindu political philosophy."

It is clear, then, that what the Buddhist (*Dīgha*) theory of contract gives is a "*basis*" of the "root ideas" of Hindu politics. In that case the Buddhist theory cannot "virtually exist as an isolated phenomenon" in the history of Hindu political thought, as the author alleges.

The above passages indicate that the Buddhist and the other theories were allied to each other and that there is no question of isolation. Dr. Ghoshal contradicts himself, again, in connection with the Kauṭīliya passage on contract in his criticism of Bottazzi's ideas.

Bottazzi has said that Kauṭīliya's conception is "peculiar to himself" just as Dr. G. says for the time being that the *Dīgha* is an isolated phenomenon. But Dr. G. criticizes B. almost in the same manner

as I criticize Dr. G. Thus according to Dr. G. "this represents what may be called the current theory of the times rather than an original contribution of Kauṭilya's genius (p. 133)." Again, "this virtually involves a Brahmanized adaptation of the Buddhist theory of contract" (p. 135).

It is not necessary to discuss the worth of Bottazzi's ideas here. But the conclusion is clear: (1) My arguments are supported by evidences put together by himself. (2) My arguments i. e. his own evidences prove that he is inconsistent. (3) His book shows that he has not taken note of the theory of contract in the form or forms in which it appears in ancient and mediæval Indian political literature.

Fresh complications arise because of his inability to manage the "doctrine of divine origin" along with the "democratic theory of contract", both of which are to be found in Indian thought. But that aspect of the question need not be entered into here.

Unjust treatment of Śākya the Buddha's teachings

On p. 123 Dr. G. writes some twenty lines discussing the "seven conditions of welfare" enunciated by Śākya the Buddha. My reaction to these lines has evoked from the author the following rebuke: "In doing this the critic lays himself open to the charge of a positive misstatement of facts. ... The critic's further statement that the author of the H. P. T. cuts short his examination of Śākya's moralizings on the plea that they do not embody any political theory is pure fiction."

In the first place, "pure fiction it is not, because everybody can see that he has not devoted more than twenty lines, or, at the highest two pages to the Śākyan teachings. In the second place, he has himself said that "these conditions of welfare" involve "a moralist's analysis of republican conditions, not that of a political philosopher strictly so called? In that case he need not get exasperated if I have only said that he considers Śākya the Buddha to be a mere 'moralist' and not a political philosopher strictly so called. He considers this to be "a dangerous and wholly unwarranted generalisation." It appears that I mis-state "a fact simply when I reproduce it verbatim from his own writing and of course indulge in facile generalizations when even his own evidences expose his weaknesses.

Then he asks me if I am "so simple as to think that whatever is attributed in the Buddhist canon to the Buddha must necessarily be the word of the Master." I was not pedantic enough to begin discuss-

ing the "authorship" of Śākya's lectures in a footnote review, not at all archaeological or philological as it is, of a book on political theories. And yet my scepticism has found expression in the words, "Śākya or rather the men who collected his sayings," "Śākya and the Śākyan stalwarts." These phrases indicate that at the back of my brain there lurks a shrewd suspicion that not all that is alleged to be the saying of Śākya the Buddha is perhaps genuinely his saying.

My verdict on this portion of Dr. G.'s book remains therefore uncharged. "It is", as I said, "perfunctory and extremely unjust. He considers Śākya to be a mere moralist. Yes, but Socrates was nothing else. And yet historians of the precursors of Plato know how to deal with Socrates and the sophists as philosophers as well as political theorists."

The injustice done to Śākyan teachings would be apparent to readers who notice that the author devotes almost a third of his entire book to the moralizings in the Vedic, Dharmasūtra, Mahābhārata and later literature. For "nearly every pretension of the Brāhmaṇas and the rival claim of the Kṣatriyas on which the author bestows plenty of attention should to a critical and impartial student appear to be nothing but moral sermons administered by each group to its victims."

Relations between Institutions and Theories : another stumbling-block

Dr. G's treatment of Śākya the Buddha is extremely unjust. And he has neglected certain Buddhist sources which, I believe, might be exploited in the interest of political theory. Hence I made the following comment,—"These omissions in the realm of what may with certain reservations be described as the so-called Buddhist political philosophy are undesirable features in a general history of Hindu political ideas."

This remark of mine leads Dr. G. once more to make a disparaging reference to my "curious ideas about the scope of a political theory." And he says : "As the critic seems to stand alone in his conception of the range of an historical account of political ideas, no serious notice of his criticism need be taken." Pray, who wants him to take any notice of my humble self ?

What my conception of the scope of history of political theory is Dr. G. has tried to surmise. He believes that I expect him to "take cognizance of the concrete institutions of ecclesiastical as well as civil bodies and the principles of their working." "How otherwise," asks he, "to account for the critic's insistence upon the treatment of

the statutes of Buddhist ecclesiastical polity and the Aśokan policy of administrative uniformity and paternal rule?"

The worth of these contentions need not detain us here. But the learned author has rushed so hastily to print that he cannot coolly realize the lines along which an expansion of the horizon of ancient political speculation may be expected. It is not my intention to add to his confusion by asking him (or anybody else who is prone to confusion) to begin studying the institutions along with the theories. Indeed we have once tried to save the learned author from such a confusion while examining his analysis of the "standard Indian polity."

Institutions are indeed distinct from the theories. But institutions can be exploited in order to find out the theories which lie behind, around and within them. For speculative thought plays no inconsiderable part in the making of institutions which may indeed to a certain extent be described as theories embodied. Especially when certain institutions happen to be the nucleus of a rich literature, descriptive or idealistic, the possibilities of finding a theory in them are enlarged.

One wonders what leads Dr. G. to believe that I "stand alone" in a certain conception. Standing alone is of course not necessarily a disgrace. But if he had cared to mention also some of the authorities on political science, Indian or foreign, who would like to excommunicate me and compel me to "stand alone," I might have learnt as to what to guard against.

My ideas in regard to the place of institutions in a history of political theories may or may not be identical with what Dr. G. surmises them to be. But it is strange that in the rejoinder he should suspect certain ideas as my own and condemn me as a "curious" creature fit to "stand alone" on account of them while in the preface to his book he claims the same ideas for himself. Thus, says he (p. ix) about his work: "Hence all that can be attempted is to bring out, as the author has sought to do, the general bearing of institutions upon the growth of ideas." It is evident that he does not intend to boycott institutions from the study of theories.

We need not be hypercritical and wait to examine to what extent his book betrays evidences of a "general" study of institutions as influencing theories. But it is patent that he disparages me for certain things which I am alleged to like but which he himself has "sought" to or at any rate would be glad to do,—another instance of Dr. G.'s rejoinder contradicting his book.

The politics of Vinaya and Edict literature

Now the *Mahāvagga* and the *Cullavagga* are certainly not institutions but constitute a literature about them. In my estimation these treatises deserve therefore a critical analysis from the angle of political speculation. And "although mainly institutional in contents," as I said, this *Vinaya* literature "might be made to yield some of the theories of the Śākyan monks in regard to the problems of authority, justice, liberty, individuality, democracy and so forth."

Evidently in these suggestions regarding certain possibly fresh data for political theory there is no hint, as suspects Dr. G., to the effect that "a history of political theory should take cognizance of the concrete institutions, etc." My own views on this question need not however be discussed here.

Dr. G. considers it "amusing to note" that I am "discretely silent" about the theories that the investigation of institutions might yield. He expects perhaps that a footnote review should not only suggest the lines of advance in scientific research but also establish the system in its entirety.

And yet it appears that my review is not altogether silent as he suspects. "Aśoka's edicts likewise," as has been pointed out by myself, "should demand the attention of the student of political theory. For Aśoka has undoubtedly a great place in political philosophy."

It need be observed that the Edicts like the copper-plate inscriptions are, first and foremost, specimens of literature. And although institutional in origin, this literature can be made to yield theories. My judgment on the Aśokan literature is as follows: "In the midst of the ethical propaganda one can discover certain ideas that are no mean contributions to the world of political thought. The 'problem of the empire,' i.e., imperial nationalism is manifest in Aśoka's solicitation for administrative uniformity. A second contribution of Aśoka to political philosophy consists in the formulation of the doctrine of enlightened despotism in the manifesto which compares the subjects to the children and son."

It will be noticed that I am not talking here of Aśoka as statesman but of Aśoka as political thinker.

Kauṭilya's scope and province misunderstood by Dr. Ghoshal

"A large measure of attention" is alleged by Dr. Ghoshal to have been bestowed by me upon his chapter on Kauṭilya. The statement is inaccurate. No, some twenty lines only have been devoted to it.

My object in this rather very short reference was chiefly twofold. First, it was my intention to tell the readers that Dr. Ghoshal's chapter on K. (pp. 124-158) has degenerated into a summary of the translation of certain selected topics, which, again does not rise above the conventional. My second object consisted in pointing out in a general manner Dr. Ghoshal's shortcomings in regard to the Kauṭilya question. The province of political philosophy i. e. field of topics as conceived by K. has been misunderstood by the author, for he has sedulously avoided just those contributions which constitute the greatness of the *Arthaśāstra* in the history of politics, namely, the superb Kauṭilyan thoughts on finance, *maṇḍala*, strategy and tactics. His treatment is one-sided and leaves the major portion of Kauṭilyaism untouched.

We shall now take the word "scope" and define it in a manner different from the one in which the word "province" is used. The scope, i.e., the scientific nature, character or object of the Kauṭilyan treatise is as a rule mis-understood by indologists because of its institutional references and practical associations. Dr. Ghoshal also does not properly handle the scope of the *Arthaśāstra*, or at any rate fails to make a legitimate use of its correct scope in his dissertation.

It is the tendency to ignore the fact that the *Arthaśāstra* is *Kauṭilya-darśanam* (Kauṭilyan philosophy). It is in other words a theoretical, speculative treatise and not a historical work designed to portray the actual constitution of a particular state or states.

Dr. Ghoshal is not clear on the question of "scope" as he is not comprehensive in regard to the "province." "The *Arthaśāstra* deals not with the theory of the state," says he (H. P. T., p. 126) "but with the art of government." In reality the *Arthaśāstra* deals with both but with each in a "philosophical" manner.

It need be observed that the 'art of government' itself has a theoretical, speculative, philosophical, i. e., *darśanam* aspect. And it is this philosophical treatment of the "art of government" together with the discussions on the "theory of the state" that constitutes the totality of the Kauṭilyan complex as it is. Dr. Ghoshal's dissertation deals with certain topics of only one part in the vast system of *Kauṭilya darśanam*.

Art of Government vs. Theory of State

This is why my review had to say that Dr. Ghoshal has been shunted off the right track by an unwarrantable, wrong attitude in

regard to K. *Arthaśāstra* is not chiefly a book of practical guidance for statesmen, not more at any rate than any philosophical work on the theory of the state or on the art of government can be. A correct judgment, as conceived by myself, should be as follows: Kauṭilya's book is political philosophy, science or theory *par excellence*. One of its sources of strength consists undoubtedly in the wealth of concrete illustrations drawn from statecraft such as are unknown even in the *Mahābhārata*. The author or authors of the Kauṭilyan cycle have endowed their philosophical investigations with plenty of realistic data. It is while presenting this my view of the Kauṭilyan treatise that a statement had to be made to the effect that the book must not be described as a mere handbook on the art of government meant for the ministers, the bureaucracy, etc.

It has been indicated above that a philosophical treatise on politics may comprise theories on the art of government as well as theories on the state. Theories on the constitutions, administration, etc., belong as much to political philosophy as theories on sovereignty, law, justice and so forth.

But it is apparent from Dr. Ghoshal's analysis that as far as the scope of political philosophy is concerned, one group of items excludes the other. In his estimation, it should appear, there is no political philosophy on "the art of government."

And here it is perhaps that one finds the explanation of the author's difficulties with Kauṭilya. We have just noticed that according to him the *Arthaśāstra* "deals not with the theory of the state but with the art of government." We are to understand thereby that the book is not theoretical or philosophical. In that case the book might as well be almost left out of consideration in a history of political theories.

In the passage in question Dr. Ghoshal has made a categorical negative proposition in regard to the "theoretical" character of the *Arthaśāstra*. But perhaps he does not mean it. For in that case he would have to contradict his position as indicated on pages 76-77 (H. P. T.). There he makes it clear that the book embraces a "mass of abstract speculation within its orbit," "inquires into the essential nature of the state institutions" and deals with "abstract questions."

Let us concede that he does not intend to appear inconsistent. We are therefore forced to conclude from his treatment of the subject that Kauṭilya's "abstract speculations" and "inquiries into the essential nature of the state institutions" touch only certain political problems

to the exclusion of others. But this is not a correct view of the Kauṭilyan treatise. Dr. Ghoshal's chapter on Kauṭilya has therefore appeared to me to be "poor in quality and disappointing."

*Secular and democratic strands in the Mahābhārata and Manu*¹

We have noticed on a previous occasion that the alleged divinity of the king in any significant sense cannot be substantiated by the Vedic passages on which Dr. Ghoshal defends. The author finds himself in difficulties as well as inconsistencies on the same question while discussing (pp. 180-181, 184-186, 277) the passages in the *Mahābhārata* (*Śānti*, LXVIII) and *Manu* (VII, 5).

a. The metaphorical sacredness of sovereignty

The texts are well known. They indicate, as suggested in my review, "a metaphorical assimilation of the king's functions with those of the specified deities." The king is said to burn like the Sun and do something else like the Moon and so on. These analogies bring out, if anything, the supreme importance of "majesty" as an abstract attribute of the king. In other words, the "secular" character of kingship is not inconsistent with these parallelisms with the functions of the powers of Nature. And Dr. Ghoshal is prepared at one point to accept the materialistic interpretation of the metaphorical sacredness of sovereignty (p. 180).

But if at another point (p. 277) he does not set much store by the same interpretation, ordinary logic can only explain the phenomenon by the author's inconsistency. In the rejoinder, however, he wants the readers to believe that I have coolly suppressed the conceit about Viṣṇu's entering the person of the king. Nothing of the kind. I have conceded in so many words that the myth may have been deliberately created in order to strengthen the principle of authority. But all the same, the secular strands of thought, wherever and in whatever form they occur in Hindu political theorizing, cannot be neutralized by

1 See the references in the section on "the doctrine of resistance in Hindu thought" in my *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, vol. II, part I, Allahabad (1920) as well as the sections on "kingship—a public office," "right to revolt" and "taxes as wages and prices" in the chapter on the "theory of the constitution" in my *Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (Leipzig, 1922).

such stuff. Secularism must get its due wherever it is to be found and we are not reluctant to render unto theocracy the things are legitimately its own in Indian speculation.

b. Viṣṇu enters the king but makes him the people's servant

This conceit regarding Viṣṇu must therefore have to be explained and judged on its own merits. Let us admit that there is a theocratic touch in this passage. But these and other non-secular ideas have almost invariably another quite a powerful "divine" sanction attached to them. And here we confront the democratic elements in Hindu thinking which militate against the monarchizing tendencies of the philosophers.

Dr. Ghoshal is not unaware of these "popular" strands of thought (H.P.T., pp. 184-186) in Hindu politics which teach that the "duty of protection is imposed on the king by God Himself." Both *Mahābhārata* and *Manu* enunciate a doctrine of reciprocity. The duty of the people towards the king is not an isolated item in all these postulates. It is balanced on the strength of divine injunctions themselves, by the duty of the king towards the people. Naturally, therefore, in the scheme of social philosophy the status of the *prakṛti*, people, is no less "divine" or God-ordained (whatever it may mean) than that of the king.

c. Hindu reciprocity = Buddhist contract (with in limitation)

These passages have been cited by Dr. Ghoshal as illustrations of "counteracting principles," i.e., as militating against the authoritarian doctrines. And yet if he is willing to ignore, belittle or misinterpret their significance in an analysis of the theocratic elements in Hindu thinking, it is his judgment that is responsible and not the person who tries to understand the writing on the strength of its data.

It is clear on Dr. Ghoshal's own evidence that the *Mahābhārata* atmosphere is not entirely undemocratic. The author should therefore have no reason to believe, that the Buddhist theory of contract is "incongruous" with the Hindu (*Mahābhārata* or *Manu*) doctrine of reciprocity. But if he chooses to do so (p. 135), it cannot be helped.

That there is no incongruity has however been categorically admitted by himself. "The Buddhist theory of contract, as we have observed in another place," says he (H.P.T., p. 172), "tended to strength-

en a notion already familiar to Hindu political theory, namely, that the king was an official paid by his subjects for the service of protection." The Buddhist thus echoes the Hindu, to say the least.

A reader can but feel that the alleged divinity of the king and the democratic contract theory have proved veritable stumbling blocks to the author. Those who care to stick to the literary evidences epoch by epoch will have to conclude as follows:—Pragmatically speaking, the older Buddhist, *Brāhmaṇa*, *Dharmasūtra*, as well as the Kauṭilyan and the later *Manu* and *Mahābhārata* theories, in so far as they have popular and democratic leanings, should appear to be identical. It need be pointed out, however, that nothing more than fractions of the contract idea are perhaps to be discovered in each text for the time being. Call it reciprocity, call it contract, the democratic tradition in Indian theorizing is a solid fact of political philosophy.

Pluralities in Hindu political philosophy

The position, then, is not monistic. We find ourselves in the midst of a multiplicity of tendencies in Hindu political thinking. And these tendencies, whatever be their strength or mode of expression, have been more or less existent in the diverse periods of Indian literary history. To accept or pounce upon any one bunch of ideas and describe it as the characteristic product of India is but to ignore the diversity and pluralism in the philosophical universe of India.

It is from this standpoint that phrases like "Hindu mind," "Hindu view, etc." used by Dr. Ghoshal (H. P. T., pp. 266-270) are objectionable. One cannot plead as excuse my own slips of language in this respect, should there be any. And yet the phrases "Vedic thought," "Vedic politics", etc. used by me are nowhere descriptive of phenomena in the singular number. Besides, Dr. Ghoshal is not also at liberty to believe, as he does, that the titles of the books by Taylor, Merz and Leslie Stephen are intended to ignore or overlook the diversities in the thought world with which each deals. One has likewise to be fully conscious that there were minds and minds in Hindu India and that it would not be quite philosophical except for an unrealistic mystical thinker to postulate or adumbrate a Hindu mind in the monistic manner.

Western and Hindu parallels

In the rejoinder Dr. Ghoshal asks me one or two questions in regard to the parallels between western and Hindu political philosophy.

He wants to know if there is any agreement between Hobbesian absolutism and Hindu absolutism. The answer is to be found in the data furnished in the author's own book. Only one has to know to what length one is entitled to go in the analysis of agreements and differences between two thinkers.

a. The problem of limitations

For the present, my answer may be indicated once more in terms of what has already been recorded in the review, as also on other occasions. The Hindu theories of contract cannot be demonstrated on the strength of evidences unearthed up till now, to have attained to the development they acquired in Hobbes and others. Dr. Ghoshal is not unaware of this fact (H. P. T., pp. 274-275). And he admits also that as in Europe in India too certain thinkers conceived the state of nature to be a state of war and certain others something else (p. 135).

Within these limitations one should not be at a loss to find an agreement between the Hobbesian absolutism and those strands in Hindu theories which promulgate obedience to the king on the basis of the contract. Besides, my review has distinctly laid it down also that a "verbal identity is the least to be expected in philosophical speculation." My ideas on this subject have been detailed in regard to the Italian researches on Hindu political theory.

The conclusion in that connection may also be cited here. The Italian authors have tried to indicate not only the parallels and resemblances of a general character but very often the verbal identities. The attempts must be regarded as in the main quite successful. But it may be noted that for purposes of comparison such literal analogies or identities are not always necessary and as a matter of fact not feasible. It is enough if the conspicuous trends of thought can be proved to be the same or similar. All that is wanted is the discovery of the 'nearest approaches or closest neighbours'.

One special difficulty in the present instance has also been noted in my review. The ideological material from the Indian side is fragmentary and scrappy. And whenever the differences between the Hindu and the Western strands of thought are detected the "diversity is very often due to the fact that some of the items (on the Western side) are but more developed forms, representing the later stages in the growth of the specimens under observation." But so far as the genus, type or tendency group is concerned the Hindu and the Western are alike, if not identical.

b. Resistance based on contract¹

Now contract→authority→obedience do not constitute the sole form of ideological complex in philosophical morphology. Quite the contrary, namely revolution←contract, is also another form well established in the tradition of political thought. And specimens of this form of philosophical complex happen to be well distributed throughout Hindu political literature and are invariably associated with the "reciprocity" doctrine. The formula may be thus indicated :

Negligence in protection=breach of contract→resistance.

This equation with its logical consequence is known in one form or another in Dr. Ghoshal's book at various points (H. P. T., pp. 64-65, 184-186, 258, etc). The traditional Hindu theory of taxation would indeed be meaningless without this postulate. The author is not unaware of all this. And yet he is not prepared, as a rule, to admit the rights of the people against the king (H. P. T., pp. 188, 276). That is why my review considers his attitude to be arbitrary, for he refuses to identify the cult of tyrannicide, resistance to the king, the desertion of a ruler by his subjects, etc. with these strands of social contract theory in Europe which inculcate revolution and expulsion of the ruler. Dr. Ghoshal will perhaps plead excuse on the ground that he has not been able to discover a "well-developed system." But, as has already been pointed out, well-developed systems are the farthest to seek for quite a long time yet in Indian political speculation. For the present we are interested mainly in strands, tendencies, and trends of thought. If he were out to present a "system" he should have refrained from writing a thesis on the history of Hindu political theories.

c. A unilinear evolution

The situation then is this. The data collected by Dr. Ghoshal point invariably to substantial identities or analogies between the East and West. Phrases like "probably in no other system" (H. P. T., p. 27) or "peculiar to Hindu political thought" (H. P. T., p. 99) can be used only by those persons who are not adequately oriented to "other systems" and who do not care to investigate whether the alleged peculiarities of one system may not with justice be claimed as important characteristics of other systems as well.

Dr. Ghoshal's evidences work, therefore, directly against his "conclusion" and "appendix" (H. P. T., pp. 264-278) in so far as they have bearings on the questions of comparative politics. In the "preface" (p. x) he has a word about the "multilinear evolution of social organizations." But his entire book should appear to persons well up in the subject of "other systems," for instances as discussed in Poole's *Illustrations of the History of Mediæval Thought*, that the Hindu items so far as they go, i. e., in their undeveloped and semi-developed forms, indicate that the historic processes in Europe together with the historic processes in India constitute broadly speaking, but a unilinear and not a multilinear system of evolution. (But see section d.)

If therefor a reader should have felt that Dr. Ghoshal's conclusion may have been, like a part of the preface and the appendix, an "after thought" possessing hardly any organic connection with the ideas exhibited in the book itself, the reader's judgement should deserve perhaps a little notice. The author's rejoinder has of course condemned it as not deserving the slightest notice.

d. *Question of differences*

While speaking of the unilinear evolution of mankind in the East and West during certain historic periods of philosophical speculation, the present writer must not be misunderstood as unconscious of the divergences in some of the forms of the development. In the first place, the question of Hindu thought as representing undeveloped or rudimentary categories and contests of political philosophy has already been indicated. In the second place, the differences in the West itself must not be ignored.

My review has left no vagueness on this aspect of the question. Even between two European thinkers, who in general features may be regarded as belonging to the same type of theory, one must be prepared for differences in methodology and conclusions. Not all the "divine righters" of Europe have philosophized alike, nor have all the Western "social contractists" thought out their problems along the same grooves. It is not possible to think of the entire West under a single category.

Here are important differences between three Englishmen, Hooker, Hobbes, and Locke, say, on the subject of contract. Thus considered, English political philosophy will have to be regarded as pluralistic or multilinear. There are so many Englands, so to say, so far as this item is concerned. Then, take Suarez the Spaniard, Grotius the Dutchman and Rousseau the Frenchman. These three "Europeans" differ from

one another as well as from the three Englishmen. Naturally, therefore, there is no Europe but so many Europes. Here, again, we have to confront a pluralistic or multilinear evolution.

Those philosophers or sociologists who are used first to thinking of the West as one homogeneous lump and secondly to placing side by side in contrast to it another lump known as the East will here find their function gone. It is against such dogmatists that my review or for that matter the general trend of my investigations poses the doctrine of "unilinear evolution," i. e., of identity or similarity between the East and the West.

One does not know as yet if Dr. Ghoshal's postulate of "multilinear evolution" implies this pluralistic development not only in Europe as a continent but in single countries like England, and France. But his book uses the words West, Western political theory, etc., in the singular number and does not make it clear whether in spite of this language he is a pluralist in substance. My review has therefore found it necessary to condemn his sociology or comparative culture-history, conventional as it seems to be in the attempts to emphasize the contrast between the Eastern and the Western theories.

The correct attitude should consist in visualizing and appreciating the contrasts according to the individual personalities in the same region or race itself. Once this atomistic psychology of pluralism and philosophical individualism be admitted in regard to the Western theories and theorists, it will not be difficult, as my review concludes, to detect hundreds of points of contact between the diverse tendencies in Asia and as many diverse trends of thought in Eur-America with special reference to the ancient and mediæval, generally speaking, "pre-industrial" epochs.

Machiavellism in Hindu thought

Up till now Dr. Ghoshal's rejoinder had been fighting me in my footnote which is a review of his book. Now he comes to my text which discusses his examination of Machiavellism in Hindu politics.

Machiavelli's precursors and Kautilya's successors

Dr. Ghoshal has discovered a contrast between Machiavelli and Kautilya on the ground that K. was "preceded by a long line of teachers of the *Arthaśāstra*" (H. P. T., p. 155). To this thesis an objection has been taken by myself in the following queries: "Is not

M. also the last of an old series like K. ? Or again, is not K. also like M. the first of a new series ?" In the rejoinder the author asks me "How, pray ?"

The answer is very simple.

Machiavelli as a lecturer on *rājadharmā* or duties of princes had a "long line of teachers." To mention only a few among the Italians, there was Aquinas in the thirteenth century and there was Patrizi in the fifteenth. And so far as European tradition in this sort of lectures to rulers is concerned the names are legion. There are John of Salisbury for the twelfth century and Occleve for the fourteenth.¹

As for Kauṭilya, Dr. Ghoshal himself is aware of the "long line of teachers of the *Arthaśāstra*." Besides, K. is also the "first of a new series," because, as the author admits, the true nature of K's achievement consisted in effecting "a virtual reconstruction of the science of *Arthaśāstra*." Dr. G. has cared also to indicate several directions along which Kauṭilyaism influenced subsequent thought (H. P. T., p. 156).

b. *The extent of Machiavelli's studies and writings*

Another contrast between M. and K. consists according to Dr. Ghoshal in the fact, we are told, that K's work embraces the "branches of civil law and military science as well as that of public administration." (H. P. T., p. 155). My reaction to this judgment was as follows: "But was M. less encyclopædic? In the rejoinder Dr. Ghoshal answers: "Perhaps no."

But my explanation has already been given in *Hindu Politics in Italian*. M. is the author not only of the *Prince* but of *Discourses in the First Ten Books of Livy's History of Rome* and *History of Florence*. He is, besides, the writer of a socio-political report on French affairs (*Ritratti delle cose della Francia*) which he prepared while he was a political agent at the court of Louis XII, something like Megasthenes's *Indika*. A treatise on war *L'arte della Guerra* also comes from M's pen.

¹ My estimate of Machiavelli in the historical perspective has been indicated, among other places, in *The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, vol. II, part I (1921), pp. 25-26, etc. It would appear that Machiavelli was as much the last of the mediævals as the first of the moderns.

But indologists are likely to be misled when they have to deal with European books. Simply because the old Sanskrit treatises happen to be libraries in nutshell, one must not, while instituting comparisons with the works of European authors, ignore the multiplicity of treatises written by a single literary man. For instance, taking a case from ancient Greece it would not be right to mention only the *Laws* of Plato and exclude his *Statesman* and *Republic* while forming an estimate of his contributions to political thought.

In regard to Machiavelli also he has a right to be heard in his entirety. Dr. Ghoshal's rejoinder claims, however, that in M's time there was an "enormous progress in the specialization of studies." But in view of the actual fact that M., versatile as he was, cared to exhibit his literary or philosophical talent in diverse fields, the author's rejoinder should be regarded as irrelevant; M. must get his due as no less encyclopædic than Kauṭilya in political learning.

c. Territorial aggrandisement

According to Dr. Ghoshal, Machiavelli is the philosopher of "territorial aggrandisement" and thus differs from Kauṭilya whose goal is alleged to be first, "security of the state" and secondly, "the achievement of political influence over the circle of states" (H. P. T., p. 156).

Here, again, the contrast is non-existent, as has been pointed out in my paper. Besides, it is possible to demonstrate the exact opposite of what Dr. Ghoshal wants us to believe.

For, the "security of the state" is the fundamental thought in Machiavelli. His *Prince* discusses the ways and means of saving his fatherland from the *imminente pericolo delle usurpazioni straniere* (imminent danger of foreign usurpation). The last chapter of this book tells its own tale in the very tale viz. *Esortazione a liberare l'Italia da Barbari* (Exhortation to liberate Italy from the Barbarians). M. was thus quite a mild teacher of self-defence, if one would like to plead for him from this angle. And as for Kauṭilya, the gospel of territorial aggrandisement constitutes his very life-blood. The doctrines of *maṇḍala*, extirpation of thorns, etc. are not unknown to Dr. Ghoshal.

Dr. Ghoshal wants us to believe that K. "reserves his immoral state-craft in general for extreme cases." My review says "as if M. does something else!" Some of the references cited from the *Prince* in the following discussion will indicate under what conditions Machiavelli would recommend cruelty. For the present, chaps. XVII-XIX may be singled out. Further, Kauṭilya's analysis of "six expedients" and

discussion of treaties in which the alleged Machiavellian wickedness is embodied belong to his "general" political philosophy and cannot be explained away as exceptional. This furnishes the very foundation of the Kauṭilyan structure.

d. The Morals of Machiavelli

Dr. Ghoshal cites in the rejoinder one or two fine phrases from Kauṭilya as evidence of the "milk of human kindness" with which the *Arthaśāstra* is overflowed. The H. P. T. contains also certain similar passages with more or less humane sentiments (pp. 145-146, 149-150). Kauṭilya teaches us, we are told, that "unscrupulous methods" may be adopted in order to replenish the treasury but this "only once." (*Artha.*, v, 2). We are also taught that if a fort can be captured by other means, inflammable materials should not be used because fire cannot be trusted and it destroys life and property.

Fortified with these bits of humanitarianism from the *Arthaśāstra* Dr. Ghoshal asks me the following question: "Will the critic kindly quote similar instructions from the works of Machiavelli?"

The challenge is very acceptable. Even the *Prince*, the alleged Bible of Satanic wickedness and devilish immorality of the blackest dye, can be quoted, chapter by chapter, in evidence of Machiavelli's regard for almost all the leading moral or humane principles of life. And those passages strung together might make a striking array of respectable dimensions. In Machiavelli Dr. Ghoshal will encounter once in a while even the literal paraphrases of Kauṭilyan sentiments. But the students of logic as well as mental and moral philosophy compel me to unearth Italian phrases or sentences that might be the exact translations (in positive or negative form, and in active or passive voice) of the Sanskrit sayings.

Let us begin psycho-analyzing the mental complex of Machiavelli with a passage from Ch. VIII of the *Prince*. It runs thus: "To slaughter fellow-citizens, to betray friends, to be devoid of honour, pity and religion cannot be counted as merits, for these are merits that may lead to power but confer no glory". Ch. IX contains the following passage: "It is essential for a prince to be on a friendly footing with his people. Since otherwise he will have no resource in adversity". In Machiavelli's *Discourses* (III, v) the princes have been taught to "learn that from the hour they violate those laws, customs, and usages under which men have lived for a great while, they begin to weaken the foundations of their authority."

This is the Kauṭilyan recipe in regard to the respect for established customs and the considerate treatment of subjects (H. P. T., pp. 146-147). In Kauṭilya's political psychology if a crime be committed only once it is pardonable, as Dr. Ghoshal has made it clear. Machiavelli also curiously enough can be quoted for an identical moral formula. In ch. VIII cited above, he is discussing *scelleratezze*, the villainous and heinous means, by which Agathocles became sovereign, and trying to explain how it is that inspite of infinite treacheries and cruelties, rulers like him can maintain their position undisturbed. The explanation is to be found in the fact, says M., that the *crudelta* was perpetrated *ad un tratto* (but once) for one's self-defence but not persisted in or repeated afterwards (*di poi non vi s'insiste dentro*).

Ch. XVII of the *Prince* is devoted exclusively to cruelty and mercy. M. discusses whether it is better to be more loved than feared or more feared than loved. The essay begins with the "Machiavellian ideal" as follows :—"Every prince should desire to be regarded as kind and not cruel. But one must see to it that the kindness be not abused." Another principle of morality inculcated by M. can be cited from the same chapter. The prince has been advised to behave in such a manner that if he does not win the love of the people he may at least avoid their hatred. And in order to realize this situation he has but to abstain from robbing the subjects and committing violence on their women, killing people unnecessarily and confiscating their property. The prince has been taught to remember that the "occasion for expropriation or committing violence on other people's properties can come very often, and that if one commences by rapine one will always find pretexts for plunder."

The *Leit motif* of ch. XIX is identical. We are told that nothing renders a prince so contemptible as violence on the property and women of the subjects. The morals of Machiavelli seem to be humane, after all.

In ch. XVIII, M's morality teaches that there are two methods of combat, the one by law, and the other by force. The first is proper to men, the second to beasts. Even a little statement like this should shock the prejudices of those who are used to the equation, Machiavelli = Avatāra of beastliness, force, fraud, rapine and violence.

In ch. XXI, the ruler is taught to assure his subjects that they may live in peace and pursue their occupations without let of any sort or fear of increased and arbitrary taxes. The people are also to be enter-

tained by feasts and sports. Nay, the ruler should respect even the different *arti* and *tribu*, groups, wards or gilds (?) into which a city is divided and sometimes appear before them in a friendly social capacity. We are reminded once more of Kauṭilya's sentiments as discussed in H. P. T. (pp. 146-147).

One need not be cynical enough to believe that all these sentiments are but mostly "pious wishes" or diplomatic dodges. But it would appear that Kauṭilya's morality is neither different in kind from nor superior in quality to that of Machiavelli. Generically speaking, Kauṭilyaism and Machiavellism are on a par in the realm of morals, manners and sentiments.

One word more

Dr. Ghoshal has made it a point, unprovoked, to use abusive language at almost every sentence in the eleven pages of his rejoinder. He has concentrated his venom in the concluding paragraph. Let me apologize to the readers for my incapacity to treat the learned author in his own coin, as I am not used to dipping my pen in dirt. Indeed it was not necessary for me to undertake writing a reply to the questions with which Dr. Ghoshal has challenged me, for they have been met in my main essay. But as I felt that perhaps some fresh light might be thrown on certain interesting problems of political science with special reference to Hindu India I have considered it desirable to take part in the discussion.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

The Family-seats of the Candras of Bengal and of the (so-called) Tūṅgas of Orissa

Mr. N. G. Majumdar in his note on 'Rohitāgiri of the Rāmpāl copper-plate' summarily dismisses my rather long article with a few general remarks.

I had discussed at great length Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's so-called 'tentative' readings, interpretations and especially his far-reaching conclusions, and I had unfortunately to differ from him on many points, e.g., (a) the descent of Suvarṇa Candra from a low stock, (b) the identification of

Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna Atiśa with the 2nd son of Kalyāṇasrī, (c) the identification of रोहितगि[रि*] with Rohtāsgaḍh, (d) the synchronism of Kāntideva and Śrī Candradeva, (e) the later identification of the रोहितगि[रि*] with the Lālmāi (लालमाई) hills, (f) the interpretation of *Kakuda-cchatra*, etc. But I had agreed with Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin, e.g., in (a) taking Śrī Candra to be a Buddhist monk and (b) rejecting the identification of *Vardhamānapura* with Burdwan. But, I had differed or agreed only on good grounds. Imagination has practically little scope in all exact sciences. Mr. Majumdar notices my great pains to criticise the 'tentative' readings alone of Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin but does not seem to take note of my interpretations and conclusions, which are both so entirely different. Moreover, I was unable to differentiate much between the 'tentative' readings, etc. of Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin, which were mostly untenable, and his final ones. For I find some of them to appear in almost identical or similar forms, in both these versions [cf. *I.H.Q.*, vol. II, pp. 318 and 336 footnotes]. My original article was prepared and submitted much earlier than and independently of Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's English version [vide *I.H.Q.*, p. 314 footnote], but as my article had to appear finally subsequent to the *Ep. Ind.* version, I took due note of the latter. If there were some points of agreement, they resulted inevitably.

Among the many questions involved and the many issues raised in Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's paper, Mr. Majumdar actually confines himself to only a single one, viz., the identification of Rohitāgi[ri]. He now proposes to place this site at Rohtāsgaḍh on the one hand, and also identifies it with the family-seat of the (so-called) Tuṅgas of Orissa. It is useless to repeat the arguments *in full*, as they should have been reasonably done by Mr. Majumdar, against Rohtāsgaḍh. On the one hand, Rohitāgi[ri*] should be easy of access from Harikela and Candradvīpa where the chief possessions of the Candras lay. While if it be identical with the family-seat of the 'Tuṅgas,' Rohtāsgaḍh (= Rohitāgi [ri*]) must be accessible from Orissa also, and this is a most difficult proposition to prove. For communication by land between Rohtāsgaḍh and Orissa was always most difficult, if not impossible.

To the west of Rohtāsgaḍh within Baghelkhand, stretch the Kāimurs. Further south lies the Māikal range ending in the Amarkanṭak plateau and to the S.E. is the plateau of Chattisgaḍh. From Rohtāsgaḍh to the borders of Orissa stretched vast unexplored tract which was almost *terra incognita* to the Musalmans, among

whom it was known as Jharkhand,¹ i.e., the forest land. The Chota Nagpur plateau is a rugged region of inequalities, consisting of a succession of plateaus, hills and valleys, drained by several large rivers. The land is still largely covered by forest, and is thinly peopled, mainly by primitive tribes. 'There is no wilder or less known part of India than the interminable forests south-east of Nagpur towards the sea.'

Moving westwards from Rohtāsgaḍh, one had first to descend into the Narbada basin and thence reach the valley of the Mahānadī wherefrom Orissa was more easily accessible. But the first was always a most difficult task to accomplish. The eastern route, however, from Rohtās was more practicable but nevertheless any considerable body of people must have had to make wide detour in order to avoid the forest tracts of Jhāḍa-khaṇḍa. Except in the course of military campaigns by conquerors on rare occasions, this inhospitable hill tract of extensive area was hardly ever penetrated by the Aryans sufficiently. This is very conclusively proved by the paucity of ancient sites especially in the area bounded by the *Śavarī Nārāyaṇa*, on the Mahānadī, on the south; the *Caṣaṭyoginī*, at Bherūghāṭ, on the Narbada, to the west, with *Amarkaṇṭak* (containing the sources of the Narbada and the Son) and *Rūmgarh* hills in the middle, Rohtāsgaḍh and Sassaram to the north-east and on the east by the sites of *Vaidyanāth*, and *Pareśnāth* hill (on the common boundary of Manbhum, Hazaribagh District). Roughly speaking, the area between latitudes $21\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ — $24\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N. 81° — 85° E. is almost devoid of ancient Aryan sites. The natural obstacles of forests and inhospitable hill tracts, coupled with the ethnic barrier of wild primitive tribes, seem always to have made communication between Rohtāsgaḍh and Orissa as almost improbable.

Also, there are strong reasons against regarding the 'so-called' Tuṅgas, as the Orissan princes of the Rohitāgiri house are styled,

1 The copper-plate grant of Narasiṃhadeva II (*JASB.*, pl. III, 1896) mentions the donated land as situated in the (Southern) Dakṣiṇa Jhāḍakhaṇḍa, which means as is well known in Oriya, a 'forest region', corresponding to 'kāntāra' in Sanskrit. The Vizagapatam Agency (containing the land) is 'Dakṣiṇa-jhāḍa-khaṇḍa' while the Ganjam Agency tract must correspond to 'Uttara-jhāḍa-khaṇḍa'. Mr. G. Rāmdās considers this region to be the 'Mahā-kāntāra' of Samudra Gupta's Allahabad Pillar Inscr., *I.H.Q.*, vol. I, no. 4.

to be Northerners. Moreover, as the appellation 'Tuṅga' was not a distinctive one confined to the princes of this particular house alone, it would consequently be a misnomer to call them by such name. We meet with proper names (or *Birudas*) with the appellation 'Tuṅga' among such Southern kings as the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (cf. Subhatuṅga and Jagattuṅga) and the Cālukya-Coḷas (cf. Kulottuṅga I and II) or among the Kālācuris of Tripuri (cf. Mugdhatuṅga). All these kingly families belonged to Dakṣiṇā-patha. For roughly speaking most of their possessions lay to the south of the Vindhya. It is not impossible that these Rohitāgiri princes might turn out to be belonging to some minor branches of any of these families and that this Rohitāgiri should be probably sought for in or near Orissa itself.

Regarding the correct form of the place-name of the family-seat of the Candras of Bengal, it must be pointed out that the reading Rohitāgi^o[ri^o] is extremely uncertain and conjectural. First, the last *akṣara* of the name, *vis.*, 'रि' does not exist in the original plate of Śrī Candra, while Professor Rādhā Govinda Vasāk at first read the *akṣaras* as 'रोहिता[]त्रि (?) मुजाब्ज' and suggested the emendation 'रोहितावनि-मुजा' in the Bengali article published by him [in साहित्य १२४ वर्ष १५३ भाद्र १२२०-१]. Mr. Śivacandra Śil in a subsequent issue of the same periodical [चैत्र १२२०-१] first suggested the reading and the restoration 'रोहितानि [रि] मुजा' thus supplying the *akṣara* 'रि' on the assumption that the preceding *akṣara* was 'नि,' which was however read by Prof. Vasāk as त्रि and also regarded to be the last *akṣara* of a *śabda*. Mr. Majumdar does not seem to give due credit to fit persons for the proposed reading and restoration, when he writes, 'the last letter of the word ... is supplied by Prof. Basak (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII).' I had mentioned about the part Mr. Śil played but Mr. Majumdar seems to ignore it.

Having had occasions to handle almost every exhibit in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society during my sojourn there and also to refer to the original Rāmpāl plate in question a few dozen times, and being in possession of my own estampages of nearly all epigraphs in the aforesaid Museum, I was able to examine most closely the much controverted line in question. I must now pronounce my confident opinion that the reading त्रि or नि for the *akṣara*, in point, is most doubtful and consequently, it would be very hazardous to build a theory on such doubtful data, regarding the location of a place, the name of which is uncertain and which also seems to change positions from

Sāhābād District in the N.W. to Lālmāi hills in the S.E. The only part of the compound word, which can be read with certainty, is 'रोहित+': लोहित 'red' and as it certainly referred to some royal seat, it was not improbably fortified—it could easily be a mountain fastness and then, if the 'red' colour seem to be at all meant, the soil or the hill might have been 'ochrous.'

Considering that Rohitāgi^c [ri²] must be accessible from both, Candra-dvīpa and Harikela, and that it might have been of rocky or ochrous structure, it must be located in Eastern Bengal and is probably to be placed near about Rakta-mṛttikā, for reasons already stated. Certainly, Mr. Bhaṭṭasālin, on whose behalf Mr. Majumdar speaks was more logical in putting the site [रोहित+] in E. Bengal. Only that Mr. Bhaṭṭasālin narrowly missed the mark by placing it at the Lalmai hills, which lacks the necessary and sufficient conditions for such identification. I would regard the 'so-called, Tuṅgas', as belonging to an entirely different family and to be South Indians; consequently their connection with E. Bengal is also excluded, though communication especially between Orissa and Central Bengal, even Tripurā, is conclusively proved by inscriptions, e.g. Bhaṭṭa Bhavaradeva's Bhuvaneśvara Praśasti is well known and if the information be authentic, there is also an inscribed pillar pedestal mentioning a Tripurā prince, in the museum of Bāripada, the capital of the Mayūrbhaṇḍja state. The family-seat of the Candras of Bengal—'Rohitāgi'[ri²] or more correctly 'Rohita+?' or whatever it might have really been, was thus entirely different from the 'Rohita-giri' of the Orissan copper-plates of Gayāḍa-tuṅga and of Vinīta-tuṅga II respectively, as also different from Rohtāsgaḍh.

In his attempt to support Mr. Bhaṭṭasālin in an identification which he has since given up reasonably, Mr. Majumdar hopelessly mixes up the Candras with the 'so-called Tuṅgas. His theses are entirely untenable and his position is delicate.

REVIEWS

NALAVILĀSA-NĀṬAKA.—Gaekwad's Oriental Series. Central Library, Baroda, 1926, (40+91 pp.).

Nalavilāsa is a Sanskrit drama by Rāmacandra Sūri, a Jain poet of great ability. The work has been published for the first time in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series under the joint editorship of Messrs G. K. Srigondekar and Lalchandra B. Gandhi. In the prologue of the drama, we are told by the poet himself that he was a disciple of Ācārya Hemacandra, the celebrated Jain scholar of the 12th century A. C. Although a work of so late a date one is agreeably surprised to find in it a marked absence of the tedious and artificial style of the compositions of later periods. The source of the plot is the well-known Nala episode of the *Mahābhārata* which has been a favourite subject with the Sanskrit poets for all ages. The story has been treated by different authors variously in the shape of *kathā*, *campū*, *nāṭaka* and *mahākāvya* showing a great diversity of styles, but little originality of conception. As far as the action in the drama is concerned, our author too cannot be credited with much fertility of invention and the poet himself seems not to be unaware of this fact, because he anticipates public criticism, which, according to him, is bent upon accusing poets of plagiarism (p. 2). He protests against being called a follower of others' footsteps (*parādhvādhvanya*), as he believes, or strictly speaking wants his readers to believe that he is not indebted either for the theme (*padārtha*) or for the language (*pada*) of the *Nalavilāsa* to any other source than his own *prajñā*.

In spite of these statements the poet does not introduce any new incidents in the plot of the drama. But we must not fail to accord our sense of appreciation of the poet for his attempt to give the whole story a human interest and bring it, to a great extent, within the bounds of probability. In this respect the *Nalavilāsa* marks a departure from other works on the Nala episode. In the Mbh. story it is a swan that inspires Damayantī with a passion for Nala, but in the drama under review, Kalahaṃsa and Makarikā, two human figures, are introduced one in the role of Nala's companion and the other in that of his female attendant, who are finally instrumental to effect the marriage. Again in the original story, the gods even stand in the way of Nala's love-pursuits, while in the drama, the rivalry for the hand of Damayantī has

been kept confined to the mortal beings. Further in the original story Kali, a mythological personage with supernatural powers, has been made the root of all the misfortunes of Nala while in the *Nalavilāsa*, it is king Citrasena, a disappointed lover, who works, out of jealousy, for the ruin of his successful rival. In these points the play is certainly an improvement upon its predecessors.

The poet true to his declaration in the opening verse (*vaidarbhīm ritim ahaṃ labheya*) abides throughout the seven acts of the drama by an easy-flowing Vaidarbhī style highly commended in the works on poetics. The poet's great power of representation has been fully manifest in the description of Damayanti's svayaṃvara which has been so charmingly delineated in the drama that even an able writer like Somaprabha has been led to imitate it closely in his *Kumārāpāla-pratibodha*.

A considerable mass of information regarding the poet has been marshalled by Mr. L. B. Gandhi, one of the editors, in the Sanskrit introduction to the play. A complete list of works in Sanskrit as well as Prakrit, constituting a large literature on the Nala episode as also a short discussion of the merits of the present play have also been supplied in the Introduction.

D. BHATTACHARYYA

ĀSCARYA-CŪDĀMAṆI of Śaktibhadra, edited by Mr. C. Sankara Rama Sastri, M. A., B. L., with an Introduction by Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M. A. Sri Balamanorama Series, Mylapore, Madras.

Thirty-four years ago, a Malayalam rendering of this play by that gifted and versatile poet, the late Kunhi Kudtan Tampuran of Cranganore was published from Trichur. This is the first time that the original drama is printed in Devanāgarī characters. Mr. Sankara Rama Sastri is to be congratulated for selecting this work for publication, and for the intelligent and critical way in which he has edited it, while the Sri Balamanorama Press is responsible for its neat format. If anything enhances the value of the publication, it is the excellent, appreciative and informing introduction which that eminent Sanskrit scholar, Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri, has contributed to it.

"It may not be an extravagant claim in favour of the *Cūdāmaṇi*", says Professor Sastri, "to say that it is the best of the Rāma-plays,

perhaps barring Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāma-carita* in certain respects," and the commentary to it is "a scholarly and lucid" one, and "elucidates in an able manner several charming passages and situations in the text."

Śaktibhadra does not seem to be the real name of the author. Either it is a pseudonym, as in the case of Lakṣmīdāsa, the author of *Śuka-sandēśam*, who, it is now more or less known, was a member of the Kurtangampilli Nampūtiri illom in the Cochin State, or, it may be that it is the name he took when he became a *Sannyāsin*. The tradition is that his name was Śaṅkara, and that his *illom*, for he was a poṭṭi (a Nampūtiri), was in Vanamali, a village on the southern bank of the Pamba river in the Chengannūr taluk, in the Quilon division of the Travancore State. His house stood a mile away from the Chengannūr temple. No vestiges of the *illom* (house) are now seen there, and the compound is now in the possession of the Uralaṭṭu Poṭṭi of the adjacent Maṇṇaṭi deśam. Chengannūr (Śoṇācalagrāmam) and Tiruvalla (Vallabhagrāmam) were and still are strongholds of these poṭṭis. About Tiruvalla the following reference occurs in *Śuka-sandēśam* :

वन्धुन्दोरहसि विहरन् वल्लभयामवासी

केशिष्वंसी निजपदजुषां क्लेशहन्ता निषिव्यः ।

Śaktibhadra was, so the tradition goes, a disciple of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya. Śaktibhadra read out to his master his *Cūḍāmaṇi* when it was completed. But Śaṅkarācārya, with an effort,—for he soon realised that he was being treated to a wonderful work—did not evince any expression of his supreme satisfaction, as he thought that his *celū* prided over his poetical accomplishments and had to be taught the great virtue of humility. The conduct of the master had the desired effect ; for Śaktibhadra, soon after the departure of the great *Sannyāsin*, destroyed his manuscript and reduced it to ashes. When Śaṅkara, during one of his tours, again happened to meet his *śiṣya*, asked him अपि कुशलं भुवनभूयै ? Śaktibhadra at once knew that this question had reference to the following *śloka*m of his drama :

दिभुवनरिपुरस्या रावणः पूर्वजन्तुदमुल्लभ इति नूनं विग्रसः कारुणिकस्य ।

रजनिचरनिबद्धं प्रायशो रैरसेतल्लवतु भुवनभूयै सर्वरजोवधेन ॥

Then the pupil explained to the master the genesis of his conduct on the former occasion. Śaṅkarācārya, before he left Śaktibhadra, asked him to write out the drama to his dictation, and he recited the whole of it from his prodigious memory. Thus the drama

possesses the unique merit of having been purified by the mind of one of the greatest teachers of the world.

Kūttu and Kūṭiyāṭṭam are institutions peculiar to Kerala. By Kūttu (Kathāprasaṅga) is meant the narration by a certain class of people, called Cakkyars, of Paurāṇic stories in an impressive way to the large audience who assembled to hear them. "They amuse and entertain their hearers by their wit, or move them to laughter or to tears by their eloquence." They are permitted to make the defects and bad traits of the community the butt of their sarcasm and satire which often-times operated as a wholesome corrective. To help these Cakkyars, the great Meppattūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri, the author of the Nārāyaṇyam, composed a great number of *prabandhas*. In Kūṭiyāṭṭam certain Sanskrit dramas are staged. These are generally *Nāgānanda*, *Subhadrāharaṇājaya*, *Tapaśisaṅkṣaraṇa*, *Cūḍāmaṇi* and *Mattavilāsa*; and of these *Cūḍāmaṇi* is the most important "All the characters appear on the stage, the male parts being taken by Cakkyars and the female parts by the Nangyars. The characters, except Vidūṣaka, never speak but only use the gesture language, which is greatly helped by the expressiveness of the eyes and the face. The main function of the Vidūṣaka is to recite for the benefit of the masses a vernacular translation of every verse the hero utters." Near the place where according to tradition the palace of the Perumals stood in Tīruvāñcikulam in the Cochin State, there is a compound still called Kūṭṭuparamba from where Kūttu and Kūṭiyāṭṭam were performed.

The *Nāgānanda* is supposed to be the work of Śrī Harṣa, the next two were composed by Kulāśekhara Varman, one of the Perumal rulers of Kerala, and the last one by one Mahendra Varman. *Cūḍāmaṇi* is another and, perhaps, the most important play that used to be, and is still being staged by the Cakkyars, and its *aśokavanikūṭika* is considered as a crucial test to determine the ability of an acting Cakkyar. It may be that the so-called Bhāsa plays or, at any rate, some of them, might be the works of Śaktibhadra who, after trying his hand at these, might have produced this work of outstanding merit. I believe it is no heresy now to say that, in spite of the strenuous efforts of the late Gaṇapati Sāstrī, it has been made abundantly clear that these could not have been the works of the great Bhāsa himself.

I shall not here repeat what has been so ably said by Prof. Kuppaswami Sāstrī and Mr. A. Krishna Pisharoti about *Cūḍāmaṇi* and the Bhāsa plays. But, before I conclude this, I would like just to make a passing reference to the tone adopted by Śaktibhadra in

introducing his play to the audience, as that might throw a little light on the age of the author. When Sūtradhāra refers to *Cūḍāmaṇi* as a drama that has come from the south, the Naṭi, perhaps with a scornful smile, says, "if a drama will come from the south, the sky will flower and oil will begin to be extracted from sand." And her crest-fallen partner has to discover a way out of the difficult situation by suggesting that

"Provenance tells not ; nor does aught else ;

But sterling worth it is that tells."

Those who are conversant with the history of Kerala will readily find out from this dialogue that Śaktibhadra must have been an early poet. Otherwise, this apologetic tone would not have been necessary. For, from the days of Śaṅkarācārya, the output in that country in every department of knowledge, literary or scientific, theoretical, temporal or spiritual, began to grow in volume ; and Śaktibhadra, if he were modern, could very well have retorted the Naṭi with a smarting reply.

Uddanḍa Śāstrin, an erudite scholar and gifted poet, speaks very highly in his *Kokila-saṁśeṣam* of the cultural greatness of Kerala. The age of Śāstrī is easily ascertained : for he and Chennas Nampūṭiripad were great friends, and there is a *śloka* by Śāstrī in the *Tantrasamuccayam* written by Nampūṭiripad. The Kali year in which this work was completed is given in it, from which it is seen that it was in A. D. 1427. Long before this, as is obvious from the tenor of the above verses, Kerala must have built up a cultural tradition of which any country might well have been proud.

There is nothing improbable in Śaktibhadra composing a drama to be staged in the royal theatre at Tiruvañcikulam. For, it is recorded, that a Cheraman Perumal constructed a Śiva temple at Trikkandiyūr in his own Chengannūr taluk at about 823 A. D. I do not hold with those who think that the rule of the Perumals closed with the passing away of him the period of whose death is expressed by the chronogram *सर्ग सदेह प्राप* (September, 427 A. D.) For the evidence is overwhelming to show that, even after that, there were Perumal rulers in Kerala (*Travancore Arch. Series*, vol. v, pt. ii).

T. K. KRISHNA MENON

STUDIES IN HINDU POLITICAL THOUGHT By Ajit Kumar Sen, M. A. Calcutta, 1926. 179 pp.

The book comprises seven independent articles published in journals at different times. There is no thread of connection running through them except that they treat of the different aspects of ancient Hindu politics. The author commences his book opposing the general occidental opinion about Hindu politics viz. "that the Oriental Aryans never freed their politics from the theological and metaphysical environment in which it is embedded today". Since the publication of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra many writers of note have tried by their publication to remove this erroneous conception about Hindu politics. The present writer has utilised these writings, and through them, the necessary Sanskrit and Pāli passages to show clearly that Hindu politics was as secular as it was in any country of the West of the corresponding epoch. As one of the illustrations he refers to the doctrine of Puruṣakāra in the famous passage of the Kauṭilya deprecating too much reliance upon destiny (artho hy arthasya nakṣatraṃ kiṃ kariṣyanti tārakāḥ). In the second chapter the author has dealt with the nature and scope of Hindu political literature pointing out how the Rājadharmā sections in the Dharmasūtras and Dharmaśāstras gradually gave rise to the secular literature of the Arthaśāstric school. He also points out a defect of the ancient writers on politics, inherited by them from their predecessors, namely, that all of them have concerned themselves with problems of government from the standpoint of the king only and not from that of the people and their rights, which latter loom large in European works on politics. In the third chapter, the author gives an exposition of the Hindu view of the state of nature, and shows that the Hindu conception of Mātsya nyāya was more realistic and less theoretical than the conception of the state of nature of some of the renowned European political philosophers. In the fourth chapter on the origin of kingship, he has assimilated the various discussions of the theories of the present day Indian scholars and systematised them thus : Kingship had human origin, but gradually with the association of rituals on the occasion of coronation and with the attribution of temporary divinity during Rājasūya and Vājapeya sacrifices the kingship came to be divine, but the author asserts that the person of the king was never considered divine. In the fifth chapter on checks to tyranny on Hindu political thought, he shows that the Indian method of checking tyranny was quite different from the European or the American. The ideal of education imparted to an ancient Indian prince and the various forms

of religious and political checks prevented a king from becoming a tyrant. Then there were fines, deposition and even tyrannicide to serve as checks upon the power of a king. In the chapter on "The Concept of Law and the Early Hindu View" the author has first dealt with the definitions of law as offered by the various European jurists. He divides Law into two classes, viz., (1) Non-human origin— theological, metaphysical and custom (2) Human origin—custom, rules of non-sovereign societies and positive laws. From this viewpoint he proceeds to examine the various views re. concept of law propounded in the ancient literature of India commencing from the R̥g-veda. He concludes therefrom that the Hindus also classify their law into secular and sacred, and that the Hindu speculations were much influenced by "Varṇāśrama on the one hand and by the fact of *pluralism* (viz., economic, social and territorial corporations) coupled with the predominance of custom and ācāra on the other." The last chapter on the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya and the Nītiśāstra of Śukra is a detailed treatment of the scope of the two treatises. The author proceeds to define the scope of the Arthaśāstra and Nītiśāstra by discussing Kauṭilya's and Śukra's conception of the Rājaniṭi. He concludes that the categories of thought and topics dealt with by the two authors are more or less same, but Śukra's work is more comprehensive. In fact "it is social philosophy and sociology in its most comprehensive sense" while Kauṭilya's work is more "of a manual of statecraft and administration for the king" than a political, sociological or economic treatise. This comparative study of the two writers on Hindu polity is interesting. The author deserves praise for the way in which he has assimilated the large number of books that have recently been written upon ancient Hindu polity and for the just estimate he has made of each of them.

The spelling of Sanskrit words ought to have been in conformity with the rules of transliteration of Sanskrit words.

N.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, vol. viii, pt. iii

HUCHARAO GURURAO BENGRI.—*The Main Outlines of the History of Dāsakūṭa*.

M. E. SENART.—*Introduction to the French Translation of the Bhagavadgītā* (translated by S. K. Peivalkar). Differing from those who believe that the contradictory and incoherent ideas that have been recorded in the *Bhagavadgītā* could not have from the first belonged to one work, the author is of opinion that the work presents thought that is not yet settled and consistent. The process and history of the evolution of the doctrines of the *Gītā* have also been discussed in the paper.

Indian Antiquary, February, 1927

HELLEN M. JOHNSON.—*Śvetāmbara Jaina Iconography*.

M. H. GOPAL.—*The Date of Asoka's Rock Edicts*. The view that the Rock Edicts of Asoka are later in date than his Pillar Edicts has been opposed here.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, September, 1926

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.—*The Original Rāmāyaṇa*. From a study of the recently edited fasciculi of the North-Western recension of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the author of the paper contends that the view that an *ādi Rāmāyaṇa* referred to in some Mahratti works has been the original of the several recensions is wrong and that the texts have been handed down by word of mouth, the oral versions being, at a later period, reduced to writing according to local authorities.

Ibid., December, 1926

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.—*On Vedic Dhēnā, "Prayer," "Song."*

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, December, 1926

- H. HERAS.—*Relations between Guptas, Kādambas and Vākātakas*.
- A. BANERJEE-SASTRI.—*Asura Institutions*. The writer of this article suggests that some of the customs of the Asura tribes have played a great part in transforming the original Indo-European institutions in India, particularly the position of women in the Aryan families.
- MANMATHANATH RAY.—*Ostracism in Indian Society*. The paper refers to the nature of the offences that led to excommunication in ancient Indian society and describes the disabilities and restrictions imposed upon the guilty person and also the ceremonies connected with his excommunication as well as re-admission.
- H. R. RANGASWAMY IYENGAR.—*Vāḍavidhi*. It is argued here that as the *Vāḍavidhi* referred to by Uddyotakara is a work of Vasubandhu and cannot be identified with the *Vāḍanyāya* of Dharmakīrti, Uddyotakara is not necessarily a contemporary of Dharmakīrti and a late date should not be assigned to the former on that ground.

Rūpam, July-December, 1926

- P. MASSON-COURSEL.—*A connection between Indian Aesthetics and Philosophy* (translated by A. Coomaraswamy). From a comparison of the meanings of the word *pramāṇa* found both in the æsthetic as well as philosophical treatises, the writer comes to the conclusion that both the artists and the metaphysicians of India paid attention more to abstract types, whether types of being or types of knowledge, than to material objects.

**Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen
Gesellschaft, vol. vi, no. i.**

- A. HILLEBRANDT.—*Die Anschauungen über das Alter des Rgveda* (Observations on the age of the Rgveda). After considering the views of Max Müller, Jacobi, Tilak, Abinas Chandra Das as well as those of Halévy, Hüsing and Hertel, the opinion is expressed that the only reliable method of solving the problem is through the Buddhist and the grammatical literature which furnish us at least with the *terminus ad quem*. References in Pāli Buddhist works and the works of grammar especially those of Pāṇini who flourished in the 5th century B.C. and Yāska who flourished before his

time show that the Vedic period was completed in the fifth century B.C. The *terminus a quo* remains in darkness, but the astronomical data of the Jyotiṣa (a Vedāṅga work) lead to the period of 1000—1200 years as the approximate date of the Brāhmaṇa literature. For the age of the Ṛgveda, Thibaut's view extending it from 1200 to 1800 B.C. is too wide. Excavations and cuneiform characters can help us only to fix this period. The startling discoveries at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa would appear to lift the curtain from the oldest civilisation of India. This article is to be continued. (U. N. G.)

The German Orientalists' Day (28th September—2nd October, 1926). At the sitting of the section on the culture and languages of India and Iran (including Central Asia), the following among other important papers were read. H. Meyer, speaking on Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā and its sources held that the Śakuntalā legend rested on an old Indo-Germanic story-motif of the forgotten bride; its most original and complete form was presented in the drama of Kālidāsa. Sten Konow, speaking on the linguistic and literary affinities in the Kharosthi inscriptions, showed *inter alia* that (a) the dialect of the Kharosthi manuscript of the Dhammapada should probably be localised in Taxila, (b) a Buddhist canonical literature probably belonging to the Sarvāstivādins apparently existed at first in the language of the inscriptions and perhaps during the last years of Kaniska the corresponding Sanskrit canon came into existence. Otto Stein, in his paper on *India in the Oxyrrhynchos-Papyri*, showed that the so-called Mimis of Oxyrrhynchos does not settle any South Indian materials while another of the manuscripts contradicts the theory of an Isis cult in India. E. Leumann contributed a paper on the *Goddess Aditi and the Vedic Astronomy* proving that the term 'Aditi' should be understood with reference to the unfixed course of certain stars and the expression 'sons of Aditi' was metaphorical like the son of Craft and the like; this lent confirmation to Oldenberg's theory of a connection between the seven sons of Aditi and the Vedic astronomical notions. (U. N. G.)

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Obituary Notices

The late Mr. S. M. Edwardes

The loss to Indian historical scholarship from the recent deaths, coming in quick succession, of workers like Mr. Edwardes and Mr. Rajwade, Dr. Hultzsch and Mr. Pargiter, is great indeed. And it is a particular sense of sadness to us that Mr. Edwardes should have been cut off by death while still in the prime of life and at the comparatively early age of 54. The son of an English clergyman and an Oxford don, Mr. Edwardes studied at Eton and later at Oxford, successfully passing the examination for the Indian Civil Service in 1894. He entered service in the Bombay Presidency and became closely associated with the city, rising to be its Commissioner of Police and subsequently its Municipal Commissioner. He was thoroughly conversant with the manners and peculiarities of the heterogeneous elements of the city population and wrote a number of books and papers on them which enabled him to become in the words of Sir Richard Tempie "the greatest authority of his time on that famous city." He edited the *Bombay City Gazetteer* (1906-10) and the *Bombay Census Report of 1901* and wrote in 1924 an interesting historical sketch on the growth of the *Bombay City Police* wherein he clearly traced the great difficulty, always experienced, in maintaining order in that city. He was the President of the Bombay Anthropological Society for a time; and the excellence of his work in that connection is testified to by scholars like Dr. J. J. Modi. He wrote two good books on the city besides—*The Rise of Bombay* and *The Byways of Bombay*, which lifted the veil from many dark corners of the city's labyrinths and nightside and clearly illuminated the dark steps in its expansion. He was thus an acknowledged authority of the details of the evolution of the city's revenue and other administrative organisation. He received high encomiums on his work as an administrator from Lords Sydenham and Willingdon and fitting marks of recognition in a C. V. O., and a C. S. I., relatively early in his official career.

In 1918 after two years of office as Municipal Commissioner of the city, Mr. Edwardes retired from service, owing to ill health which continued to trouble him greatly till his death. But he heroically kept

up his active literary habits and intellectual vigour. For a time he assisted Lord Sydenham as Secretary to the Indo-British Association which was formed to oppose the grant of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms to India. And he served besides as one of India's representatives, in 1921, at the Geneva Conference on Traffic in Women and Children.

He was chosen by the veteran oriental scholar and worker, Sir Richard Temple, Bart., to assist him as Joint Editor of *The Indian Antiquary* from the beginning of 1923, and during the short period he was connected with that Journal, he showed himself indefatigable in his writings and contributions, taking up besides a large portion of the reviewing work. The Oxford University Press entrusted him with the onerous task of revising for a fourth edition, the Late Dr. V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*—a task which involved the sifting of materials accumulated since 1914, the date of the previous edition and the preparation of additional notes and amendments. Likewise he revised in 1923, Dr. Smith's *Oxford History of India*—correcting some errors and adding new information, particularly in the British period, with the aid of Dr. Crooke and Sir William Foster. For the same publishers Mr. Edwardes edited, in two volumes, with additions and a little fresh matter, J. G. Grant-Duff's standard work—*The History of the Mahrattas*. Even a little while before his death, he wrote a new book—*Babur, Diarist and Despot* (published by A. M. Philpot, 1926) which is an entertaining sketch of the founder of the Mughal Empire, primarily based on the English translation by Mrs. A. S. Beveridge of that monarch's famous Turki autobiography (published by the R. A. S.). Mr. Edwardes was well conversant with the folk-lore and the historical episodes of Western India and particularly of Mahārāṣṭra—on which he wrote a number of articles like an account of Umaji Naik, a Ramusi chief of Purandhar Fort. His was an active life till almost the day of his death; and particularly the last years of his life witnessed a rapid and continuous output of books, reviews, articles and monographs from his pen on subjects of Indian historical interest. While only a few months before his demise he took up the Secretaryship of the Royal Asiatic Society in which he would have done excellent work, had he been spared to us.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

The Late Mr. Nundolal Dey

It is with a heavy heart that I have to record the death of a silent but indefatigable worker in the field of oriental researches—Mr. Nundolal Dey. He passed away from our midst on the 1st of January, 1927, at his residence at Chinsurah. He was born in 1849. It was his unquenchable thirst for knowledge that prompted him to leave the trodden path of the members of his family and avail himself of the benefits of University education in a larger measure.

Some time after the completion of his college career he joined the Bengal Judicial Service in which he rose to the position of a Sub-Judge about the time of retirement. Amidst his arduous official duties, his great inclination for historical researches prompted him to snatch out time for studies relating to the history of this country. During this period he accumulated historical materials, portions of which were published as articles in the oriental journals. Some of these articles may be mentioned here :

- (i) The Vikramaśilā Monastery (*JASB.*, 1909).
- (ii) Notes on the History of the District of Hughly or the Ancient Rāḍha (*JASB.*, 1910).
- (iii) Notes on Ancient Aṅga or the District of Bhagalpur (*JASB.*, 1914).
- (iv) The Early Course of the Ganges (*Indian Antiquary*, 1921).
- (v) The Kaluha Hill in the District of Hazaribagh (*JASB.*, 1901).
- (vi) Notes on Chirand in the District of Saran (*JASB.*, 1903).
- (vii) Rāḍha or the Ancient Gaṅgā Rāṣṭra (to be shortly published in this Journal).

In 1899 was published his principal work the *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India*. The most favourite subject of his investigations lay in the identification of names of places mentioned in the Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina scriptures as well as secular works of ancient times with their modified or mutilated forms of the present day and also in the location of the sites bearing the ancient names. Many of his restorations of mutilated names and identifications of places have received the approval of oriental scholars. From the time of retirement from service up to the last, he continued with zeal his labours in this field of study which was so dear to him. As the result of his investigations much materials accumulated requiring incorporation in the *Geographical Dictionary*. The second edition of the work that has been published as a Supplement

to the Indian Antiquary and is shortly expected to be out in book-form has utilised these materials. In connection with the names of places he has tried to bring together all the available information and to weave into them the local traditions that have made the places important in the eye of the Hindus, Buddhists or Jains.

In his recently published, interesting work the *Rasātala or the Under-world*, he has tried to show that Rasātala, the Sapta Sāgaras, the Rākṣasas, Garuḍas, etc. are not the products of mere imagination but realities over which the lapse of time has thrown a thick coating of fanciful stories by which they have been defaced beyond recognition. It is indeed a great loss that he has not lived to see how his theories are received by the world of scholars.

One other book from his pen remains to be mentioned and that is his *Civilization in Ancient India* published so far back as the seventies of the last century as articles in the Bengal Magazine over the pseudonym 'Una.'

It was the editor of the Magazine Rev. Lal Behary De, who while at Chinsurah, used to meet Mr. N. Dey very often and on these occasions asked him to contribute articles to the Magazine. Though Mr. N. Dey brought out his first literary production under the inspiration of the veteran writer, it was Sir Roper Lethbridge who actually taught him the method of historical investigations while Mr. N. Dey was an M. A. student under him at the Hughly College.

Mr. Dey was of a very amiable and cheerful disposition. Though an old man past three scores years and ten, he was as buoyant as a child. Such a temperament stood him in good stead, as the many cares and sorrows of life through which he had to pass could not upset him on account of the natural strain of cheerfulness in his disposition.

N. DUTT

THE Indian Historical Quarterly

Vol. III

JUNE, 1927

No. 2

Maskarī as an Epithet of Gośāla

The chief figure and striking personality in the history of the Ājīvikas is Gosāla or Gośāla. He is described in Pāli as a Makkhali, and in ardha-Māgadhī as a Maṃkhaliputta. Buddhaghoṣa has fancifully traced the origin of the epithet Makkhali to a warning expressed in the words "Mā khali," "See that you do not stumble."¹ He has related also a story to give his etymological ingenuity a stamp of truth, and the story related by him about Gośāla is suggestive of a second etymological derivation of Makkhali from "Maṃkhalī," "One who stumbled upon a muddy ground." Gośāla was a slave, we are told, in the household of a rich man. He, while walking on a muddy ground with an oil-pot in his hands, stumbled through carelessness and began to run away in fear of his master. The latter, pursuing him, caught the edge of his garment, and he letting go his cloth, fled away naked (acelako hutvā). He walked carelessly in spite of his master's warning "Tāta, mā khali," "My dear man, take care lest you stumble."²

1 Manoratha-Pūraṇī, Siamese edition, part I, p. 523 : *Makkhali* "Mā khali" ti vacanam upādāya evaṃ laddhanāmo titthakaro.

2 Sumaṅgala-Vilāsīnī, P. T. S. ed., I, p. 144 ; Hoernle's transla-

The Jainas, notably the commentators of the Bhagavati-Sūtra, keep the ardha-Māgadhi Maṃkhali phonetically unchanged in Sanskrit, Maṃkhaliputta being in their opinion the same as Maṃkhali-putra. They agree to interpret Maṃkhali as a personal name of Gośāla's father, who is said to have been a Maṃkha by profession.¹

For in the Sūtra itself Gośāla is represented as the son of a Maṃkha, Maṃkhali by name.² Maṃkhali or Maṃkhali-Maṃkha was his father.³

Supposing Maṃkhali was truly a personal name of Gośāla's father, there must have been a good reason for keeping it phonetically unchanged in Sanskrit. The conceivable reason is either that to the knowledge of the Jainas Maṃkhali is the same word with the same meaning in both ardha-Māgadhi and Sanskrit, or that Maṃkhali being a meaningless name, should be kept as it is also in Sanskrit, or that Maṃkhali is a name of which the meaning is unknown to them, or that Maṃkhali and Maṃkha are etymologically the same word. Apparently verbal affinity between Maṃkhali and Maṃkha has been taken for granted and what is more, unconsciously the similarity of sounds in ardha-Māgadhi has been relied upon as a ground for the identity of two words, the upshot being: Gośāla's father came to be known by the name of Maṃkhali because he adopted the profession of a Maṃkha.

tion of the Uvāsaga-Dasāo, App. II, p. 29; Spence Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 301.

1 Maṃkhalyabhidhāna-Maṃkha-putraḥ. See Tīkā on the Bhagavati-Sūtra, XV, I.

2 Bhagavati-Sūtra, Benares ed., XV, I, leaf 1204: Gośālassa Maṃkhaliputtassa Maṃkhalināmaṃ Maṃkhe pitā hotthā.

3 Ibid., leaf 1204: Se Maṃkhali-Maṃkhaṇāmaṃ: tassa ṇaṃ Maṃkhali-Maṃkhassa.

The Bhagavatī-Sūtra, otherwise known as the Vyākhyā-Prajñapti, is no less a commentary in ardha-Māgadhī than its Ṭikā in Sanskrit and Bhāṣā in Hindi or Gujarati. It need not therefore make the reader fight shy of detecting many after-thoughts and later unfounded conjectures therein. One may boldly ask: Does the compound *Mamkhaliputta* contain at all a reference to Gośāla's father and father's name?

Whether it does or not depends entirely upon the context. As expounded in the Bhagavatī-sūtra and its commentaries, it does. But this is just one of the three ways of expounding such a compound. According to the other ways, the compound may be so expounded as to yield a reference to Gośāla's father's status and not to his father's name, or as to yield a reference to himself, his own status or career as a member of the male sex as distinguished from a female. Gośāla Mamkhaliputta is a full name similar to those of two contemporary teachers: Sañjaya Belatṭhiputta and Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta as mentioned in Pāli. Here two compounds used as epithets yield each the name of a clan determining father's, so one's own, family status as a Belatṭhi or a Nāta. See how Gośāla has been mentioned differently in Pāli, ardha-Māgadhī and Sanskrit Buddhist works:—

- (1) In Pāli literature, invariably as Makkhali Gośāla;
- (2) In ardha-Māgadhī texts, invariably as Mamkhaliputta Gośāla;
- (3) In the Divyāvadāna, as Maskarī Gośālīputra;¹
- (4) In the Mahāvastu, (a) as Maskarī Gośālī,² and (b) as Maskarī Gośālīputra.³

In the usage of the Mahāvastu there is no difference in meaning between Gośālī and Gośālīputra. If a particular deity is mentioned as a *devaputta* (lit. the son of a god), the

1 Divyāvadāna, pp. 143-144.

2 Mahāvastu, I, p. 256.

3 *Ibid.*, I, p. 253.

object is to signify that the deity concerned is a male god as distinguished from a *devadhītā* or a goddess (lit. the daughter of a god). Thus following this line of interpretation one may proceed to show that the compound Maṃkhaliputta implies no more than that Gośāla himself, as a member of the male sex, as belonging to the manly section of humanity, and apart from any reference to his father, was a Maṃkhali. In face of the evidence that Makkhali in Pāli is invariably the same epithet as Maṃkhaliputta or Maṃkhaliputra in Jaina literature, one cannot help thinking that Gośāla himself was a manly Makkhali or Maṃkhali apart from any consideration of his father's name, family status or professional career.

Coming back to Buddhaghōṣa's explanation of the origin of Gośāla's epithet Makkhali, one has to note that he had no earlier authority to rely upon. His explanation is born of fancy. Gośāla was called Makkhali because he stumbled upon a muddy ground in walking carelessly with an oil-pot in his hands in spite of his master's timely warning, "Tāta, mā khali," "My dear man, see that you do not stumble." Such is the curious lucubration when a commentator depending entirely on a fantastic etymology and without knowing the simple fact of history, tries his skill in devising a plausible or seemingly convincing account of the origin of an epithet. Buddhaghōṣa was not aware of the fact that Gośāla's epithet was known as Maskarī to the compilers of Sanskrit-Buddhist works. The Pāli equivalent of Maskarī would be either Makkhari or Makkari. Makkhali or Maṃkhali was evidently an earlier Prakrit equivalent retained or surviving in Pāli and ardha-Māgadhī. Ṛṣigiri appears in the Mahābhārata list of five hills surrounding the city of Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha. The Pāli equivalent of Ṛṣigiri would be Isigiri. The Isigili-sutta in the Majjhima-Nikāya gives the name of the hill as Isigili simply because the local people pronounced it so. The name Isigili as locally pronounced had to be retained in Pāli for a very special reason, which is clearly stated in the

Criticism of
Buddha-
ghōṣa's ex-
planation.

Buddhist Sutta. With the phonetic change the name acquired locally a new fanciful etymological derivation. "Isi gilatī ti Isigili", "We call the hill a Hermit-swallower because it swallows the hermits". In order to translate Isigili into Sanskrit or Pāli preserving in tact the implication of the local etymological derivation, a translator must coin a longer descriptive name Rṣigili-giri to substitute for quondam Rṣigiri or Isigiri. If without knowing the fact that Makkhali or Maṃkhali was a phonetic variation of Maskarī a commentator proceeds to divine an etymology, the result, as expected in the case will be "we call him a Makkhali because he fell down on a muddy ground heedless of his master's warning Mā khali", or "we call him a Maṃkhaliputta because his father was a Maṃkhali or professional Maṃkha"—a fancy-born etymology typified by the classical "Isi gilatī ti Isigili." The fact simply is that Gośāla was known to his contemporaries as a Maskarī.

Let us enquire why Gośāla was called a Maskarī. In the Harṣacarita,¹ the Maskaris are mentioned as representatives of a class of *religieux* identified in the commentary with the parivrājakas. The Amarakoṣa² counts the Maskaris among the five classes of Saṃnyāsins. Pāṇini's Sūtra, VI. 1. 154, contains the following description of the Maskaris :—

"Maskara-Maskariṇau Veṇu-Parivrājakayoḥ." "The Maskarī who carries the *maskara* is the Parivrājaka who carries the bamboo-staff."³

The import of Pāṇini's grammatical aphorism is clear. "The Maskarī is the parivrājaka or Indian wanderer who carries the *maskara* or bamboo-staff about him." Now comes the turn of the commentators, of Patañjali, Kaiyaṭa and Vāmana-Jayāditya to make comments and glosses bringing

1 Harṣacarita, Nirṇaya Sāgara Press ed., VIII, p. 265.

2 Amarakoṣa, VII, 5, 42.

3 The literal rendering of the Sūtra would be: "*Maskara* and Maskarī respectively denote *veṇu* and parivrājaka".

out a new fact, as is the usual way with the scholiast, under cover of an ingenious etymology or a verbal jugglery. First, Patañjali in his *Maḥābhāṣya*, says: "How does a *Parivrājaka* come to be known as a *Maskarī*? The epithet *Maskarī* cannot be grammatically derived by means of the affix *ini* in the sense of *matup* which conveys such meaning as 'having,' 'possessing.' What is then the explanation? A *Parivrājaka* is called a *Maskarī* not because he has as an external sign a *maskara* or bamboo-staff, but because he teaches the people, saying, 'you had better not perform actions, since quietness is deserving of greater consideration in your judgment.'"¹

Secondly, Kaiyaṭa in his *Pradīpa*, says: *Maskara* is a shortening from the saying 'Mā kṛta,' 'Don't get things done.' *Maskarī* is an instructor of the doctrine, teaching the people, saying, to begin with, 'Don't get this done,' 'Don't get this done', and to conclude with, ' 'tis better for you to undergo the loss in effects of a desired action than foregoing the bliss of peace.' *Maskarī* is to be derived by means of the suffix *ini* added to *maskara* which is a shortening from the negative imperative particle *mā* (don't) preceding *karoteḥ* (to be done), with the euphonic advent of *s*-sound before *k* and the consequent shortening of the long vowel *ā* in *mā*."²

Thirdly, Vāmanana and Jayāditya in their *Kāśikā*, say: "The words *maskara* and *maskarī* in Pāṇini's aphorism occur in the same order as *veṇu* and *parivrājaka* following them.

1 Kathaṃ *Maskarī parivrājaka* iti? Ininaitan matvarthīyena siddham: *Maskaro* 'syāstī ti *Maskarī*. Na vai *maskaro* yasyāstī ti, *Maskarī parivrājakaḥ*. Kim tarhi? "Mā kṛta karmāṇi, śāntir vaḥ śreyasī" ty āhāto *Maskarī parivrājakaḥ*. Pāṇini's *Sūtra* is quoted together with this and other comments, and discussed, though not sufficiently critically, by D. R. Bhandarkar in his interesting short paper on the *Ājivikas*, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XLI, 1912, p. 270.

2 *Maskara* 'Mā kṛte'ti. 'Ayaṃ mā kṛta, ayaṃ mā kṛte' ty upakramya śāntitaḥ kāmya-karma-parihāṇir yuṣmākaṃ śreyasī" ty upadeśā *Maskarī* ty ucyate, Mān-pūrvāt karoter inih. Suñ-āgamo. Māno hrasvaś ca nipātyete,

The word *maskara* is an underived substantive. With the euphonic advent of *s* sound combined with *ka* following it, the word comes to mean a bamboo-staff, and with the suffix *ini* added to *maskara*, into which it is changed, it means a parivrājaka or an ascetic of the Wanderer class. Thus *maskara* means a bamboo-staff, and *maskarī*, a parivrājaka. 'A maskarī is a wanderer who carries the bamboo-staff about him'—what is meant by this dictum? Makara denotes the swallower. Makarī denotes the sea. Some among the grammarians seek in this case to explain *maskara* as a shortening from the negative particle *mā* (not) preceding the verbal expression *karoteḥ* (to be done thereby), with the euphonic advent of *s* sound and the consequent shortening of the long vowel in *mā*. The upshot of it is that a bamboo staff is called a *maskara* because nothing is to be done thereby. It may be shown that elsewhere, too, *maskara* is used as a synonym of *daṇḍa* (rod or staff). In the same way one can explain the formation of *Maskarī* in the sense of parivrājaka, with suffix *ini* added to *maskara*. The upshot of it will be that an ascetic is called a *Maskarī* because he habitually teaches, 'Don't do,' and is called a parivrājaka because he cries down actions. He teaches indeed, saying, 'Do not perform actions, since quietness is better for you.'"¹

"Maskara is that by which nothing can be done."

"Maskarī is the Wanderer who dissuades men from actions,

1 Maskara-maskarin ity etau yathāsamkhyam veṇau parivrājake ca nipātyete. Makara-śabdo hy avyutpannam pratipādikam. Tasya veṇāv abhidheye *suḥ* nipātyate, parivrājake tv inir iti. Maskaro veṇuḥ, Maskarī parivrājakaḥ. Veṇu-parivrājakayor iti kim? Makaro grāhaḥ, Makarī samudraḥ. Kecit punar atra *maṇy* upapade karoteḥ karaṇe *ac*-pratyayam api nipātayanti *mānaś* ca hrasvatvam *suḥ* ca. Mā kriyate yena pratisidhyate sa maskaro veṇuḥ. Veṇugrahaṇam ca pradarsanārtham anyatrāpi bhavati 'maskaro daṇḍa' iti. Parivrājake 'pi *maṇy* upapade karotes tādchilya inir nipātyate, *māno* hrasvatvam, *suḥ* ca tathaiva. Mākarāṇa-śilo Maskarī, karmāpavāditvāt parivrājaka ucyate. Sa tv evam āha: "Mā kuruta karmāṇi, śāntir vaḥ śreyasī" ti.—Kāśikā on Pāṇini vi, 1, 154.

saying to them, 'Do not trouble yourselves, do not trouble yourselves, because peace is preferable to you.'" According to a famous dictum in the Manu-Saṃhitā, "Meat is that which being eaten by me here, will eat me hereafter."¹ Such are the sudden lapses of the sublime into the ludicrous. Pāṇini's commentators have, one and all, lost sight of the fact that *maskara* originally meant something producing a cracking sound, the onomatopoetic *mas*, and that this was the propriety of denoting by *maskara* the bamboo-pole, the bamboo-staff, or the bamboo-rod. The quoted Sūtra of Pāṇini enables us to ascertain that Gośāla was called a Maskarī because he was a wandering ascetic who carried the bamboo-staff about him.

How can it be maintained that Gośāla as an Ājīvika leader was a Maskarī in the sense of a parivrājaka or Indian wandering ascetic who carried the bamboo-staff, or simply the staff, about him? The quoted Sūtra of Pāṇini and its comments leave us wholly in the dark as to the historical connection of the Ājīvika with the Maskarī. What is evident therefrom is that Maskarī is a synonym of parivrājaka. The commentator of the Harṣacarita frankly identifies the Maskaris with the Parivrājakas.² In the Araṇyakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, Rāvaṇa is said to have concealed himself in the guise of a *raktāmbaradhara* Parivrājaka, or an Indian wandering ascetic putting on red garment.³ In the Bhaṭṭikāvya where we have a longer

1 Manu-Saṃhitā, V.55: "Māṃ sa bhakṣayitā'mutra, yasya māṃsam ihādmy ahaṃ."

2 Comments on the Harṣacarita list of representatives of Indian religion and thought.

3 Rāmāyaṇa, III. 49. 8-9:

Daśāsyō viṃsatibhujo babhūva kṣaṇadācaraḥ /
Sa Parivrājakacchadma mahākāyo vihāya tat //
Pratipede svakaṃ rūpaṃ Rāvaṇo rākṣasādhipaḥ /
Raktāmbaradharas tasthau strīratnam prekṣya Maithilīm //

description of his disguise, Rāvaṇa is represented to have approached Sītā in the garb of an ascetic with the vow of the Maskarī, the expression Maskarī-vrata being explained by Mallinātha as meaning Parivrājaka-niyama, the rule of the Parivrājaka. The personal characteristics of the ascetic mentioned in the Kāvya go to show that he appeared in the garb of a typical Parivrājaka of the Tridaṇḍī class. The description runs as follows :

“After Lakṣmaṇa had gone off, Rāvaṇa with his body purified by ablution, with cleansed teeth, with a *śikhā* or top-knot in which his hair-locks were fastened, muttering spells, having the garlands of *akṣa*, holding up an earthen gourd-shaped bowl, carrying an old water-jug, with a bright head, clad in a *lākṣika-vastra* or lac-dyed garment, with a load of requisites suspended on one side, provided with the *daṇḍa* or staff, reading the books of the knowledge of self, taking the vow of the Maskarī, making the gesticulation of many fingers while talking and casting glances at, showed himself as a figure roving in the dark night, and approaching in a crooked manner, addressed Sītā, saying, ‘Be happy.’”¹

In a similar description in the Jānakī-haraṇa of Kumāra-dāsa (A. D. 725), Sītā is said to have seen in the hermitage a Maskarī who was a vaunting Ājivika with his head adorned with high-bound matted hair.²

- 1 Bhaṭṭikāvya, V. 61-64 :

Gate tasmin jala-śuciḥ śuddhādan Rāvaṇaḥ śikhī /
 Jañjapūko' kṣamālāvān dhārayan mṛdalābunah //
 Kamaṇḍalu-kapālena śirasā ca mṛjāvatā /
 Saṃvāstrya lākṣike vāstre mātṛaṃ saṃbhāṇḍya daṇḍavān //
 Adhīyan nātma-vidyāṃ dhārayan Maskarī-vratam /
 Vadan bahvaṅguli-sphoṭaṃ bhrūkṣepaṃ ca vilokayan //
 Saṃdidarsāyīṣuḥ sāmā nijhñūṣuḥ kṣapāṭatām /
 Caṅkramāvān samāgatya Sītām ūce 'sukhā bhava' //

- 2 Jānakī-haraṇa, X. 76 :

Dambhājivikaṃ uttūṅga-jaṭā-maṇḍita-mastakam /
 Kañcin Maskariṇam Sītā dadarsāśramam āgatam //

Thus we see that the Parivrājaka who is described in the Rāmāyaṇa as a *raktāmbaradhara* or wearer of red garment is represented in the Bhaṭṭikāvya as an ascetic with the vow of the Maskarī, with hair-locks fastened in a top-knot (*śikhī*), clad in the lac-dyed garment (*lākṣika vastre*), provided with the staff (*daṇḍavān*), and reading the books of the knowledge of self (*adhiyan ātmavid-vidyām*) or studying, as explained by Mallinātha, the texts of the Upaniṣad, and in the Jānakī-haraṇa as a Maskarī who was a vaunting Ājīvika with high-bound matted hair (*uttuṅga-jatā*). In commenting upon verses of the Bhaṭṭikāvya containing the description of Rāvaṇa's disguise Mallinātha points out that the ascetic concerned was, and must have been, a Parivrājaka of the Tridaṇḍī or Triple-staff class, characterised by the *śikhā*, and could not have been one of the Ekadaṇḍī or One-staff class¹ as the latter had no *śikhā* for a characteristic external sign. Co-ordinating these descriptions with Mallinātha's comments we find that Ājīvika was a synonym of Maskarī in the same way that the latter was a synonym of Parivrājaka of the Tridaṇḍī, and not of the Ekadaṇḍī class.

The Rāmāyaṇic *raktāmbaradhara*, meaning the wearer of red (lac-dyed) garment, is verbally the same expression as *raktapaṭa*, meaning one of scarlet robe. In Kālakācārya's first list quoted by Utpala for explaining Varāhamihira's list in his Bṛhajjātaka, the Raktapaṭa as a class of ascetics is distinguished from the Tāpasika, the Kāpālika, the Ekadaṇḍī, the Yati, the Caraka and the Kṣapaṇaka.² In Varāhamihira's own list, the Ājīvika is distinguished from the Śākya (Buddhist), the Bhikṣu, the Vṛddhaśrāvaka, the Caraka, the Nirgrantha (Jaina) and the Vanyāśana.³ Utpala identifies the Ājīvika in Varāhamihira's list with the Ekadaṇḍī, the Śākya with the Raktapaṭa, the Bhikṣu with the Saṃnyāsī, (and according

1 *Daṇḍavān* tridaṇḍīty arthaḥ, athavā śikhīty uktam, ekadaṇḍīnaḥ śikhābhāvāt.

2 & 3 Bṛhajjātaka, XV. 1. See the extract quoted by D. R. Bhandarkar, together with Utpala's comments, in I.A., 1911, p. 287.

to another reading, with the Parivrājaka or Yati), the Vṛddhaśrāvaka with the Kāpālīka, the Caraka with the Cakradhara, the Nirgrantha with the Nagna Kṣapaṇaka and the Vanyāśana with the Tapasvī (Tāpasa).¹ Śīlāṅka, in his commentary on the Sūtrakṛtāṅga, represents the Ekadaṇḍī or Single-staff Indian ascetic as an opponent of the Jaina thinker and ascribes to him, as noticed by Prof. Jacobi, the views of the Śāṅkhya philosophy.²

It may be inferred from Patañjali's and others' comments on the quoted Sūtra of Pāṇini that a Maskarī was a Parivrājaka who carried about him a bamboo-staff, or simply a staff, as a symbol of non-action or rest, which is to say, that a Maskarī was a Parivrājaka of the Ekadaṇḍī or Single-staff class. The Parivrājaka of the Tridaṇḍī or Triple-staff class, according to his description in the Manu-Saṃhitā,³ was a Brahmanist ascetic who carried about him the *tridaṇḍa*, the first daṇḍa as a symbol of regulation of the body, the second one as a symbol of regulation of the speech, and the third one as a symbol of regulation of mind. The Ājīvika cannot be mistaken for the Parivrājaka of Ekadaṇḍī or Tridaṇḍī class, and that for the following reasons:—

(1) The Parivrājaka of Ekadaṇḍī or Tridaṇḍī class is the orthodox ascetic from the Brahmanist standpoint, while the Ājīvika is the heterodox. In the Kautīliya or Kauṭaliya Arthaśāstra, the Parivrājaka. Śākyas (Buddhists), the Ājīvikas and the like

1 Śākya raktapaṭaḥ.....Ājīvikaś caikadaṇḍī.....Bhikṣur bhavati Saṃnyāsī jñeyah.....Vṛddhaśrāvakaḥ Kāpālī.....Carako CakradharaḥNirgrantho Nagnaḥ Kṣapaṇakaḥ.....Vanyāśanaḥ Tapasvī.

2 Comments on the Sūtrakṛtāṅga, I. 1. 3. 14, II. 6. 46. Jacobi's Jaina-Sūtras, part II, pp. 245, 417, foot notes.

3 Manu-Saṃhitā, XII. 10-11 :

Vāgdaṇḍo' tha manodaṇḍaḥ kāyadaṇḍas tathaiva ca/
Yasyaite nihitā buddhau Tridaṇḍīti sa ucyate//
Tridaṇḍam etan nikṣīpya sarvabhūteṣu mānavah/
Kāmakrodhau tu saṃyamya tataḥ siddhim niyacchati//

are classed as *vṛṣala-pravrajitas*, untouchable runaways, contaminated by law-contact.¹

(2) In the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, Gośāla himself is represented as distinguishing, in his own words, the *Ājīvikas* from the *Parivrājakas*.²

(3) In the *Āṅguttara Nikāya* list the *Ājīvika* or *Ājīvaka* is mentioned apart from the *Paribbājaka* (*Parivrājaka*) and the *Tedaṇḍika* (*Tridaṇḍi*), as also from the *Nigaṇṭha* (Jaina), the *Muṇḍasāvaka*, the *Jaṭilaka*, the *Māgaṇḍika*, the *Aviruddhaka*, the *Gotamaka* and the *Devadhammika*.³

(4) In the *Culla-Niddesa* list, where just five names of the *Āṅguttara-Nikāya* list find mention, the *Ājīvika* is distinguished from the *Paribbājaka* (*Parivrājaka*), as also from the *Nirgrantha*, the *Jaṭila* and the *Aviruddhaka*.⁴

(5) In *Mādhavacandra's* commentary on the *Triloka-sāra*, a later Jaina work written in the Canarese country, the *Parivrājakas* are distinguished, according to their external characteristics, as *Ekadaṇḍi* and *Tridaṇḍi*,⁵ while in the text itself the *Carakas* and the *Parivrājakas* are distinguished from the *Ājīvikas* as persons striving for the *Brahma* state from those striving for the *Acyuta*.⁶ In *Vīranandi's Ācāra-sāra*, another later Jaina work written in the Canarese country, we read: "The *Parivrāt* (*Parivrājaka*) aspires to

1 *Arthaśāstra*, p. 199: *Śākya-jīvakādīn vṛṣala-pravrajitān*.

2 *Dīgha-Nikāya*, I, p. 54: *ekūṇa-paṇṇāsa Ājīva-sate (Ājīvaka-sate), ekūṇa-paṇṇāsa Paribbājaka-sate*.

3 *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, III, p. 276, quoted and discussed by T. W. Rhys Davids in his *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, pp. 220-222, as also in his *Buddhist India*; and with new identifications in Barua's *History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, part III.

4 *Culla-Niddesa*, pp. 173-174. The list really contains six names as will be shown *passim*.

5 Comments on the *Triloka-Sāra*, verse 545: *Ekadaṇḍi-Tridaṇḍi-lakṣaṇāḥ*, quoted by Pathak in I.A., 1912, p. 91.

6 *Triloka-Sāra*, verse 454, quoted by Pathak in I.A., 1912, p. 91: *Carayā ya Parimbajā Bambo' ti, Aṃcudā-padoṃti Ājīvā*.

go as far as Brahmakalpa, the Brahma-realm, in spite of his austerities, while the Ājīvika, who is repulsive to human sight, aspires to go up to Sahasrārakalpa, the Sahasrāra-realm (which is but another name of Acyutapada or Acyutakalpa").¹ Buddhaghoṣa in his commentary on the Culla-Sihanāda-Sutta, records this interesting information: "The ultimate of the Brahmins (Brahmanists) is Brahmaloaka, the Brahma-world; that of the Tāpasas (Hermits), Ābhāsvāraloka, the Radiant-world; that of the Paribbājakas (Parivrājakas), Śubhakṛtsnaloka, the dazzling-world; that of the Ājivakas (Ājīvikas), Anantamānasa, the Infinite world of Mind, an unconscious existence of soul while Arahatsip is the highest achievement to those who are in the Buddha's order, that is, to the followers of the Buddha."²

(6) In Sarojavajra's Dohakoṣa, which is a treatise on the Buddhist Sahajiyā doctrine written in about the 10th century A.D., the Ekadaṇḍis and the Tridaṇḍis are treated as two main divisions of the Bhagavats and the Hamsas, or, as the commentator Advayavajra puts it, of the Bhagavats and the Paramahamsas, or, more accurately, of the Hamsas and the Paramahamsas, the Hamsas being unable to obtain knowledge, the knowledge of the self, until they become the

1 Ācāra-sāra, VI. 127, quoted by Pathak in I.A., 1912, p. 89:

Parivrāṭ Brahmakalpāntaṃ yāty ugrācaravān api/

Ājivikaḥ Sahasrārakalpāntaṃ darśanojjhitah//

2 Papañca-Sūdanī, Siamese Edition, part II, p. 13: Brāhmaṇa-
naṃ hi Brahmalo ko niṭṭhā ekā nibbatti; Tāpasānaṃ Ābhassarā;
Paribbājakānaṃ Subhakiṇhā; Ājivakānaṃ Anantamānaso' ti evaṃ
asaññi-bhavo. Imasmiṃ sāsane pana Arahattaṃ niṭṭhā. We are
indebted to Mr. Charandas Chatterjee for drawing our attention to
this passage. Note that in the Pāli Ariya-Pariyesaṇa-Sutta and other
Pāli accounts of the chance-meeting of the Buddha with Upaka the
Ājīvika on the former's way to Benares from Bodh Gaya, the latter
is represented as a worshipper of Ananta-jīna. Here, perhaps, one
may trace the origin and antiquity of Ananta-vrata prevalent now-
a-days among the Hindus.

Paramahamsas by abnegating all that they have.¹ Here the Hamsas and the Paramahamsas are to be taken as representatives of two grades of the Parivrājakas.

(7) Buddhaghosa in his comments on the Aṅguttara Nikāya list of *religieux*, distinguishes the Ājīvaka from the Parivrājaka as the *naggapabbajita* or naked retiree from the *channa-paribbājaka* or clothed wanderer.² The Buddhist commentator elsewhere represents the Ājīvaka as the *nagga-samaṇaka* or naked recluse.³

(8) According to the description of Rāvaṇa's disguise in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Parivrājaka is *raktāmbaradhara* the wearer of red garment. The Bhaṭṭikāvya, as explained by Mallinātha, represents the Maskarī as the Tridaṇḍī Parivrājaka, clad in lac-dyed garment. The Bengali Prakṛtivād-Abhidhān quotes a Sanskrit śloka, in which both the Hamsa and the Paramahamsa are described as *raktavasana*, the wearer of red garment.⁴ The distinction between the Ekadaṇḍī and the tridaṇḍī with regard to their external characteristics lies, according to Mallinātha, in the fact that the latter has *śikhā*, while the former has not. From these we can infer that whether Ekadaṇḍī or Tridaṇḍī, whether in the Hamsa or the Paramahamsa stage, the Parivrājaka is the clothed orthodox Indian ascetic. On the other hand, in a passage of the Aṅguttara-Nikāya, the Ājīvika is represented as the Acelaka⁵. By Acelaka Buddhaghosa understands *niccela* or *nagga*, one without clothes, the naked one.⁶ In the Lomahamsa-Jātaka

1 Sarojavajra's Dohakoṣa: Ekadaṇḍī-Tridaṇḍī bhavavesesī viṇuā hosa Haṁsa uvesaṁ. Advayavajra says: Ekadaṇḍī-Tridaṇḍī Bhagava-vesaṁ bhavati.....yāvan na Paramahamsa-vesaṁ bhavati tāvaj jñānaṁ na labhyate sarvasannyāsāt.

2 Manoratha-Pūraṇī, Siamese Edition, part III, p. 103.

3 Papañca-Sūdanī, Siamese Edition, part I, p. 209: *Ājīvako' ti nagga-samaṇako*.

4 Prakṛtivād-Abhidhān, *sub voce* Hamsa.

5 Aṅguttara-Nikāya, III, pp. 383-4. Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, I, p. 162.

6 Papañca-Sūdanī, Siamese ed., II, p. 67: *Acelako' ti niccelo, naggo*.

we read that on being initiated into recluse life according to the Ājīvika mode of initiation, a man became an *Acelaka*.¹ That the Ājīvika or Ājīvaka was once known as the prototype of Indian naked ascetics is clearly hinted at in two Buddhist anecdotes. One of them as noted by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, records an instance, where a maid servant of Viśākhā's household, who was sent to the Jetavana monastery to inform the Buddha that meal was ready, concluded from the Buddhist Bhikṣus remaining naked, divesting themselves of their robes and exposing their bodies to rain, that they were Ājīvikas.² The other records another instance, where the Buddhist Bhikṣus themselves seeing the Bhikṣus of their own order coming naked to Śrāvastī, waylaid by robbers and deprived of their robes, mistook them for the Ājīvikas as they were unclothed.³ We have seen that in the story related by Buddhaghōṣa, Gośāla is said to have fled away naked, which may here be taken to mean that he came away from the bondage of household life to become a naked ascetic.⁴

(9) Kumāradāsa in his *Jānaki-haraṇa*, represents the Ājīvika as the Maskarī with high-bound matted hair (*uttuṅga-jatā*.) In the *Bhaṭṭi-Kāvya*, the Maskarī, in whose garb, Rāvaṇa approached Sītā, is described as *śikhī*, one with a śikhā whereby Mallinātha distinguishes the Tridaṇḍī Parivrajaka from the Ekadaṇḍī. According to Mallinātha, a Tridaṇḍī has *śikhā*, while an Ekadaṇḍī has not. On the other hand, the Ājīvika is characterised by Buddhaghōṣa as *nagga-pabbajita*, naked retiree, as *nagga-samaṇa*, naked recluse. The evidence of the *Vasala-Sutta* conclusively proves that in the eye of an orthodox Brahmanist, such as Aggika-Bhāradvāja, Bhāradvāja, the fire-worshipper, the

1 *Jātakatthavaṇṇanā*, edited by Fausböll, I, p. 390: Ājīvika-pabbajjam pabbajitvā Acelako ahoṣi.

2 *Vinaya*, Mahāvagga, VIII. 15.^f2-6; I.A., 1912, pp. 288-289.

3 *Sutta-Vibhaṅga*, Nissaggiya, VI. 2; I.A., 1912, p. 289.

4 *ante*, p. 235.

recluse was the shaveling and the heterodox.¹ In the Jaina Aupapātika-Sūtra, the Ājīvika is described as *muṇḍiya-muṇḍa*, one with shaven head, and as *ghara-samudāṇiya-samaṇa*, the recluse begging alms from house to house, from door to door.²

The fact that the Ājīvika has been classed with the Acelaka or Unclothed does not imply that he did not belong

Arguments as to why Ājīvika must be somehow classed with the Parivrājaka. to the category of the Parivrājaka. There is evidence to prove that, as a matter of fact, he belonged to this category. The distinction between the Acelaka (Ājīvika) and the Parivrājaka (Parivrājaka) is brought out thus in the Vinaya-Sutta-Vibhaṅga: "The Acelaka is the

naked ascetic belonging to the category of the Parivrājaka. The Paribbājaka is the (clothed) ascetic belonging to the category of the Parivrājaka and excluding the Buddhist monk and the Buddhist novice."³ The plain meaning of this passage is that the Acelaka Ājīvika is no less a Parivrājaka, than the Parivrājaka, strictly so called, the difference between them being that one is naked and the other is clothed.

Is their difference a difference in degree or in kind? The answer which can be given is—it is both. So far as they represent two different bodies, two separate organisations, two distinct communities, methods, ideals, aims and objects, their difference is a difference in kind. And so far as they represent to planes or levels of experience and two states of consciousness, their difference is a difference in degree. How is it so?

1 Sutta-Nipāta, Vasala-Sutta, Prose Introduction: Tatr'eva muṇḍaka, tatr'eva samapaka, tatr'eva vasalaka tiṭṭhāhi.

2 Aupapātika-Sūtra, edited by Leumann, sec. 120.

3 Sutta-Vibhaṅga, Pācittiya, 41. 1-2: Acelako nāma yo koci paribbājakasamāpanno naggo. Paribbājako nāmo bhikkhuṇi ca sāmāneraṇi ca ṭhapetvā yo koci paribbājaka-samāpanno. Paribbājikā nāma bhikkhuṇi ca sikkhamānaṇi ea ṭhapetvā yā kāci paribbājikā-samāpannā.

First, as to difference in kind, we read in the Culla-Niddesa: "The Ājivikas are deities (godly personalities) to Difference in kind Ājivika-attenders (supporters in society), the Nirgranthas are so to Nirgrantha-attenders, the why? Jaṭilas to Jaṭila, the Parivrājakas to Parivrājaka, the Aviruddhakas to Aviruddhaka. The Elephant is the diety to Elephant-devotees, the Horse to Horse, the Cow to Cow, the Dog to Dog, the Crow to Crow, Vāsudeva to Vāsudeva, Baladeva to Baladeva, Pūrṇabhadradeva to Pūrṇabhadradeva, Maṇibhadradeva to Maṇibhadradeva, Agni to Agni, Nāga to Nāga, Suparṇa to Suparṇa, (Garuḍa), Yakṣa to Yakṣa, Asura, to Asura, Gandharva to Gandharva, Mahārāja to Mahārāja, the Moon to Moon, the Sun to Sun, Indra to Indra, Brahmā to Brahma, Devas to Deva, the Quarter to Quarter. Those to Those are worthy of homage, are deities to them."¹ Regarding differences in fixing auspicious days for initiation, Varāhamihira in his Bṛhajjātaka says: A man turns a recluse when four or more planets are clustered together in one and the same zodiacal division at the time of his birth and

I Culla-Niddesa, pp. 173-174: Ājivika-sāvakaṇaṃ Ājivika-devatā, Nigaṇṭha-sāvakaṇaṃ Nigaṇṭha-devatā, Jaṭilasāvakaṇaṃ Jaṭila-devatā, Paribbājaka-sāvakaṇaṃ Paribbājaka-devatā, Aviruddhaka-sāvakaṇaṃ Aviruddhaka-devatā. Hatthivatikāṇaṃ Hatthi-devatā, Assavatikāṇaṃ Asso, Go-vatikāṇaṃ Go, Kukkura-vatikāṇaṃ Kukkuro, Vāsudeva-vatikāṇaṃ Vāsudevo, Baladeva-vatikāṇaṃ Baladevo, Puṇṇabhaddadeva-vatikāṇaṃ Puṇṇabhaddadevo, Maṇibhaddadeva-vatikāṇaṃ Maṇibhaddadevo, 'Aggi-vatikāṇaṃ Aggi, Nāga-vatikāṇaṃ Nāgo, Suvanna-vatikāṇaṃ Suvanno, Yakkha-vatikāṇaṃ Yakkho, Asura-vatikāṇaṃ Asuro, Gandhabba-vatikāṇaṃ Gandhabbo, Mahārāja-vatikāṇaṃ Mahārājo, Candavatikāṇaṃ Cando, Suriya-vatikāṇaṃ Suriyo, Inda-vatikāṇaṃ Indo, Brahmavatikāṇaṃ Brahmā, Deva-vatikāṇaṃ Devā, Disā-vatikāṇaṃ Disā. Ye yesaṃ dakkhiṇeyyā te tesaṃ devatā. Cf. the list of Vatikas in the Mahā-Niddesa, pp. 89-92, which is the same as that in the Culla-Niddesa. "Ye Ājivakavacanaṃ suṇanti sussusanti te Ājivaka-sāvaka." "Ye yesaṃ dakkhiṇeyyā ti ye ye Ājivakādayo disāpariyosānā yesaṃ khattiyādinaṃ deyyadhammānucchavikā" (Culla-Niddesa-Commentary).

at least one of them is powerful. And according as this powerful planet is Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, the Moon, Venus, Saturn, or the Sun, he becomes a Śākya, Ājīvika, Bhikṣu, Vṛddhaśrāvaka, Caraka, Nirgrantha or Vanyāśana.¹ As the Commentator Utpala points out, Varāhamihira made this enumeration on the authority of the Jaina writer Kālakācārya, in whose verse we are told that "a man becomes a Tāpasika, Kāpālīka, Raktapaṭa, Ekadaṇḍī, Yati, Caraka or Kṣapaṇaka when the predominant planet is Sūrya, Candra etc."² It is on the basis of this correspondence between two enumerations that Utpala identifies Vanyāśana with Tāpasika, Vṛddhaśrāvaka with Kāpālīka, Śākya with Raktapaṭa, Ājīvika with Ekadaṇḍī, Bhikṣu with Yati or Parivrajaka, Caraka with Caraka and Nirgrantha with Kṣapaṇaka.

Secondly, as to difference in degree, we must look into the passage in the Aṅguttara Nikāya and the corresponding passage in Buddhaghoṣa's Sumaṅgala-Vilāsini containing an exposition of Gośāla's doctrine of six *abhijātis* or prominent types of character³. In this exposition, we have an enumeration of the types which is undoubtedly Gośāla's, while the illustrations given in it reveal the Buddhist motive of representing the Ājīvika as a humbug, a man with boastful pretensions. The

1 Brhajjātaka, XV. 1. quoted together with Utpala's comments by D. R. Bhandarkar in I.A., 1912, p. 287. The gist given above is a quotation from *Ibid.*, p. 288. Varāhamihira's verses run as follows :

Ekasthaiś caturādibhir balayutair jātā prthagvīryagaiḥ/
ŚākyaĀjīvika-Bhikṣu-Vṛddha-Carakā Nirgrantha-Vanyāśanāḥ//
Māheya-Jñā-Guru-Kṣapākara-Sita-Prābhākariṇaiḥ kramāt/
Pravrajyā balibhiḥ samā parijitais tatsvāmibhiḥ pracyutiḥ//

2 Kālakācārya's verse quoted by Utpala reads :

Tāvasio Dīpaṇāhe, Caṇḍe Kāvāliam tahā bhāṇiam/
Rattavaḍo Bhūmisuve, Somasuve Eadaṇḍī a//
Devaguru-Sukka-Koṇā-kameṇa Jai-Caraa-Khavaṇāim//

3 Dīgha-Nikāya, I, p. 53.

enumeration itself is based upon a classification and gradation of the types distinguished as the Black, the Yellow, the Red, the Turmeric, the White and the Supremely white. The three Ājīvika Tīrthaṅkaras Nanda, Vatsa, Kṛṣa Sāṅkrṭya and Maskarī Gośāla are of the Supremely white or the purest type. The Ājīvikas and Ājīvikās are of the White or purer type, the best of the rest. The attenders of the Acelakas, that is, of the Ājīvikas themselves who are householders wearing decent dress are of the Turmeric type, standing higher in purity than the Red or Scarlet. The Nirgranthas who are *ekaśāṭakas* are of the Red type, standing higher in purity than the Yellow. The Bhikṣus (Buddhist mendicants) who are Kaṇṭakavṛttikas, or the Bhikṣus, the Kaṇṭakavṛttikas, and others who maintain the doctrine of action and admit the result of action are of the Yellow type, standing higher in purity than the Black. The slayers of rams, boar-hunters, fowlers, deer-stalkers, trappers, fish-catchers, thieves, thief-executioners, jail-keepers and such other persons doing acts of cruelty are of the Black type, standing lowest in purity.

In this method of illustration, the slayers of rams, boar-hunters, etc., as merely worldly men relegated to the Black type, and the Acelaka-supporters in society relegated to the Turmeric type are apparently out of place for the simple reason that the rest of the types are illustrated by the ascetics or recluses. In the illustrated gradation, those of the Red type, namely, the Nirgranthas who are *ekaśāṭakas* are represented as ranking lower in purity than the Ājīvikas themselves, as well as than their Tīrthaṅkaras or acknowledged leaders and Śrāvakas or supporters among the house-holders. According to Bnddhaghōṣa, the Bhikṣus relegated to the Yellow type are the Buddhist mendicants, monks or recluses¹ who are called *kaṇṭakavṛttikas* because their practice was to use the four requisites (clothing, food, bedding and medicine) throwing

1 Monoratha-Pūraṇī, Siamese Edition, III. p. 156 : Bhikkhū Kaṇhādhimuttā samaṇā nām'ete.

thorns into them, which is probably the same as to say, getting them distributed by the tickets of thorn (*kaṇṭaka-salākā*).¹ As an alternative interpretation, he suggests that, perhaps, here by the *Kaṇṭakavṛttikas* a distinct class of ascetics is intended. Here the members of the Buddhist order must be ruled out as they were out of consideration when their order had not come into existence. By the *Bhikṣus* must have been meant the members of the fourth Brahmanic order, that is, the Brahmanist ascetics in the fourth stage of efforts and fruitions who are designated *Bhikṣu*, *Yati* or *Parivrajaka* in the *Dharma-Sūtras* and *Dharma-Śāstras*. And by the *Kaṇṭakavṛttikas* (accepting the reading *Kaṇṭakavuttikā*) must have been meant those Brahmanist ascetics in the fourth stage who remained seated, moved about or slept on a bed of thorns, that is, were *kaṇṭakapassūyikā*.² But there is another reading giving the variant *Kaṇḍakavuttikā*. It is very likely that *kaṇḍaka* is a Prakrit form of the Pali or Skt. *kandaka* or *kanda*, and that these Brahmanist Bhiksus are called *kaṇḍakavuttikā*³ because they subsisted upon *kaṇḍas* or bulbous roots, implying both fruits and roots (*phalamūla*). It is indeed a bad bargain to illustrate the Red or Scarlet type by the *Nirgranthas*, identifying them with those followers of *Mahāvira* who are described in Jaina literature as *Jinakalpikas* and characterising them as *ekasāṭakas*, the recluses using just one garment, *śāṭaka* denoting an outer garment, an upper

1 See Childers' comments on *salākabhadda*, *salākavṛttikā* and *salākajanaṭṭhāna* *sub voce* *salāka*.

2 *Dīgha-Nikāya*, I. p. 165; *Majjhima-Nikāya*, I. p. 318; *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* etc.; *Manoratha-Pūraṇi*, Siamese Edition, II. p. 323; *kaṇṭakapassūyiko* ti ayakaṇṭake vā pakatikaṇṭake vā bhūmiyaṃ koṭṭetvā tattha cammaṃ attharivā ṭhāna-caṅkamādiṇi karoti, seyyanti sayanto pi tattheva seyyaṃ kappeti. This is a stock explanation occurring also in the *Sumaṅgala-Vilāsini*, *Papañca-Sūdanī*, etc.

3 Cf. *Kuṇḍikōpaniṣad*, verse 4; *Vāyu-bhakṣo* 'mbu-bhakṣo vā vihitaiḥ kandaṃulakaiḥ. *Kaṇḍaka* may also be *kuṇḍika*, cf. verse 9. *Kuṇḍikaṃ camasaṃ śikyam triviṣṭapam upānahau*.

robe, a tunic, mantle or cloak. Buddhaghosa's explanation is hardly convincing to justify the mention of the Nirgranthas who were the Jinakalpika followers of Mahāvīra, the Jainas who were forerunners of the Digambaras. By *ekaśāṭakā* Buddhaghosa understands the Nirgranthas or Jainas who used to cover their shame in front just by one piece of rag¹, or in the language of the Divyāvadāna to cover their shame by a small rag hanging in front.² A *śāṭaka* is not a small rag (daśā) or piece of cloth (pilotika-khaṇḍa). If the Nirgranthas are all to serve as representatives of the *ekaśāṭaka* recluses, they must be identified rather with the followers of Pārśva or Pārśvanātha than with the followers of Mahāvīra. Our idea is that by the *Ekaśāṭakas* were meant the Ekadaṇḍi Parivrajakas of the Paramahansa rank, as will be evident from the Saṃnyāsa-Upaniṣad in which we read : "The Paramahansa is devoid of the hair-lock and sacred thread, collects alms from five houses, puts on one robe, just one cloak, carries one bamboo-staff, either covers his body with one outer garment or rubs it with ashes,"³ Mallinātha rightly says that the absence of *śikhā* is a point of distinction between the Ekadaṇḍin and the Tridaṇḍin.

The next result of this line of enquiry is that the six *abhi-jātis* recognised in Gośāla's doctrine are clumsily illustrated in Buddhist literature. We maintain that of these *abhi-jātis*, the first can be well illustrated by the Ātura, and the remaining five by the six grades of *saṃnyāsa* and the six classes of Saṃnyāsins, Ātura and the six grades and six classes being enumerated and distinguished in such minor Upaniṣads as the Saṃnyāsa, the Turiyātīta and the Avadhūta. The six grades of *saṃnyāsa* and the six classes of Saṃnyāsins

1 Manoratha-Pūraṇī, Siamese Edition, III. p. 156. *Ekaśāṭakā* ti eken'eva pilotika-khaṇḍena purato paticchādanakā.

2 Divyāvadāna, p. 370 ; purastāl lambate daśā.

3 Saṃnyāsōpaniṣad, 13 : Paramahansaḥ śikhāyajñōpavītarahitaḥ pañcagṛheṣu karapātro ekakaupīnadhraḥ, śāṭim ekam ekam vaiṇavam daṇḍam, ekaśāṭidharo vā bhāsmo-ddhūlanaparaḥ.

enumerated in these Upaniṣads, particularly in the Saṃnyāsa are the Kuṭicaka, the Bahūdaka, the Hamsa, the Paramahamsa, the Turiyātīta and the Avadhūta.¹ The Saṃnyāsins of the first three grades or classes carry the Triple-staff, that is, are Tridaṇḍins; have *śikhā* or *jaṭā* (matted hair), that is, are *śikhins* or *jaṭādhārins*; and are all clothed, wearing as they do the ascetic garb,—*kaupīna*, *śāṭi* or *kanthā*.² The Paramahamsa Parivrājaka does away with *śikhā* and sacred thread, the external marks of the twice-born class, carries just one bamboo-staff, and either puts on just one outer garment, tunic, cloak or mantle, or rubs his body with ashes. The ascetic of the Turiyātīta or fifth grade or class becomes a *digambara*, dispensing with clothes altogether, and still observes the set rule of discipline. And the ascetic of the Avadhūta or sixth grade or class dispenses with clothes and does not feel the need of observing any disciplinary rule.

As for the gradation of their *niṣṭhās* or ultimates, we read in the Saṃnyāsa Upaniṣad: "Bhūrloka is the ultimate of the Ātura, the cripple-like worldly man. Bhuvārloka is the ultimate of the Kuṭicaka, Svargaloka is the ultimate of the Hamsa, Satyaloka is the ultimate of the Paramahamsa, and Kaivalya is the ultimate of the Turiyātīta and the Avadhūta."³ This Upaniṣad definitely teaches that an Ātura should, if he lives or wishes to live at all, practise

1 Saṃnūāsypaniṣad, 13 : saṃnyāsaḥ ṣaḍvidho bhavati: Kuṭicaka-Bahūdaka-Hamsa-Paramahamsa Turiyātīta-Avadhūtaś ceti.

2 Saṃnyāsopaniṣad, 13. To prove that the Bahūdaka, too, is a Tridaṇḍin, read the Bhikṣukōpaniṣad : Bahūdakā nāma Pridaḍa. Cf. Yājñavalkyōpaniṣad, Paramahamsā nāmatridaṇḍam kamaṇḍalum bhuktapātram jalapavitram śikhām yajñōpavitam bahir antaś cēt yetat sarvam "Bhuḥ svāhē" ti apsu parityajya ātmānam anvicchet.

3 Saṃnyāsa-Upaniṣad, 59 : Āturo jīvati cet krama-saṃnyāsaḥ kartavyaḥ.....Ātura. Kuṭicakayor Bhūrloka-Bhuvārlokau. Bahūdakasya Svargalokaḥ. Hamsasya Tapolokaḥ, Paramahamsasya Satyalokaḥ. Turiyātīta-vadhūtayoḥ svātmany eva Kaivalyaṃ svarūpasandhānena bhramara-kīṭa-nyāyavat.

abnegation, external and internal, by degrees. The subjoined table will indicate how the Ātura and the six grades and classes of *saṃnyāsa* and *Samnyāsins* can be brought into line with the six *abhijāti*s and the six *niṣṭhā*s :

<i>Abhijāti</i>	<i>Samnyāsa</i>	<i>Niṣṭhā</i>
Kṛṣṇa	Ātura	Bhūrloka
Nīla	Kuṭicaka	Bhuvārloka
Lohita	Bahūdaka	Svargaloka
Haridrā	Haṃsa	Tapoloka
Śukla	Paramahaṃsa	Satyaloka
Paramaśukla	{Turiyātita (Saniyama) } {Avadhūta (Aniyama) }	Kaivalya

The Bhikṣuka and Sātyāyanīya Upaniṣads recognise just four grades or classes of Bhikṣus or Parivrājakas, namely, the Kuṭicaka, the Bahūdaka, the Haṃsa and the Paramahaṃsa.¹ The Bhikṣus or Parivrājakas of the first three grades or classes have *śikhā* or *jaṭā*, wear *yajñōpavīta*, the sacrificial thread, and carry *tridaṇḍa*, the triple-staff ; they are, in short, the Tridaṇḍins. The Paramahaṃsas have no *śikhā*, appear as *muṇḍa* or shaven-headed,² dispense with the sacrificial thread, and carry just one bamboo staff, or simply one staff ; they are, in short, the Ekadaṇḍins. According to the Sātyāyanīya Upaniṣad, these four grades of the Parivrājakas are all Viṣṇuliṅgin, concerned as they are with the continuation, preservation or betterment of the existing system, order or institution, and in this respect they show an agreement, while they differ in their characteristics or behaviours, external and internal.³ We have seen that

1 Bhikṣuka-Upaniṣad : Atha Bhikṣūṇām mokṣārthinām Kuṭicaka-Bahūdaka-Haṃsa-Paramahaṃsāś ceti catvāraḥ. Sātyāyanīya Upaniṣad 11 : Kuṭicako Bahūdako Haṃsaḥ Paramahaṃsa ity ete Parivrājakāś caturvidhā bhavanti.

2 Yājñavalkya-Upaniṣad, 1 : Parivrāt vivarṇavāsā muṇḍaḥ.

3 Sātyāyanīya-Upaniṣad, 11 : Sarva ete Viṣṇuliṅginah..... Kuṭicako Bahūdakaś cāpi Haṃsaḥ Paramahaṃsa iti vṛtyā ca bhinnā.

the Paramahamṣas or Parivrājakas of the fourth grade are *sāmbara* or clothed, and are either *ekaśāṭidhara*, wearing one outer garment, or have their body rubbed with ashes. In the Yājñavalkya Upaniṣad, the Parivrāj of the fourth grade is honoured as a Saṁnyāsīn who is a Brahmaavid, having the knowledge of Brahman, and developing the Brahmanhood (Brahma bhūyāya bhavati).¹ The Paramahamṣa-Parivrājaka-Upaniṣad, too, enumerates only four grades, though with this difference that it clearly hints at the fifth and sixth being the natural culmination of the fourth. The four grades of ascetics may be shown to represent the four planes of experience or states of consciousness which are enumerated in some of the Upaniṣads as the Jāgrat (Waking), the Svapna (Dreaming), the Suṣupti (Sleeping) and the Turiya (Fourth, Sound-sleep), the Turiyātīta and Avadhūta being the natural culmination of the Turiya. We have seen that on reaching the Turiyātīta stage the Paramahamṣa Parivrājaka becomes *digambara* or nude, and *munda* or shaven. We maintain that the Ājīvika or Ājivaka is in line with the Paramahamṣa Parivrājaka of the Turiyātīta stage. The proposed identification can be established by the fact that in the Buddhist illustration of the six *abhiṣātis*, the Ājīvika is placed in the category of the Śukla (White), and the Paramahamṣa Parivrājaka, as may be inferred from his description in the Paramahamṣa-Parivrājaka-Upaniṣad, is *śukladhyānaparāyana*, given to meditation on the nature of pure soul, on reaching the Turiyātīta stage. The Avadhūta is the dying state of a Turiyātīta.² If so, the Ājīvika Tirthaṅkaras, Nanda, Vatsa, Kṛṣṇa, Sāṁkrṭya, and Maskarī Gośāla, placed in the category of the Supremely white type (Paramaśuklābhijāti), can be identified with the Paramahamṣa Parivrājakas in the Avadhūta stage. We also maintain that taking the Hamṣa to represent indis-

1 Yājñavalkya-Upaniṣad, 1 : Sa saṁnyāsī Brahmaavid iti.

2 Turiyātīta-Upaniṣad : sarvaṁ viśmṛtya Turiyātīta-vadhūta-veśenadvaitaniṣṭhāparaḥ praṇavātmakatvena dehatyāgaṁ karoti yaḥ so' vadhūtaḥ.

criminatingly two stages, the *Haṃsa* and the *sāmbhara*-Paramahamṣa, and the *digambara*-Paramahamṣa, to represent indiscriminatingly two stages, the *Turiyātīta* and the *Avadhūta*, the four grades of ascetics, into which the six grades are thus reduced, can be identified with the four mentioned and differentiated by Buddhaghoṣa, as will be evident from the subjoined table :—

Grade in the Upaniṣad list	Grade in Buddha- ghoṣa's list	Ultimate in Buddha- ghoṣa's list
Kuṭicaka	Brāhmaṇa	Brahmaloka
Bahūdaka	Tāpasa	Ābhāsvara
Haṃsa	Parivrājaka	Śubhakṛtsna
Paramahamṣa	Ājīvaka	Anantamānasa

As for the identification of the *Kuṭicaka* with the *Brāhmaṇa*, let us compare the personal representatives of both and see if there are any common names. The *Bhikṣuka-Upaniṣad* mentions *Gautama*, *Bhāradvāja*, *Yājñavalkya*, *Vasiṣṭha* and the like as representatives of the *Kuṭicakas*.¹ The *Paramatthajotikā*, the commentary on the *Sutta-Nipāta*, mentions *Caṅki*, *Tāruksya*, *Puṣkarasādi*, *Jānaśruti*, *Aśvalāyana*, *Vasiṣṭha*, *Ambaṣṭha*, *Uttara-Mānava* and the rest as representatives of the *Brāhmaṇas*.² Here *Vasiṣṭha* is a common name.

As for the identification of the *Paramahamṣa* *Parivrājaka*, the *Paramahamṣa* of the *Turiyātīta* grade, with the *Ājīvaka*, we may adopt a similar procedure. The *Bhikṣuka-Upaniṣad* mentions *Samvartaka*, *Āruṇi*, *Śvetaketu*, *JaḍaBharata*, *Dattātreyā*, *Śuka*, *Vāmadeva*, *Hārītaka* and the like and the *Yājñavalkya-Upaniṣad* mentions *Samvartaka*, *Āruṇi*, *Śvetaketu*, *Dūrvāsā*, *Rbhu*, *Nidāgha*, *Dattātreyā*, *Śuka*, *Vāmadeva*,

1 *Bhikṣuka Upaniṣad* : *Kuṭicakā nāma Gautama-Bhāradvāja-Yājñavalkya-Vasiṣṭhādayaḥ*.

2 *Paramatthajotikā*, II, pp. 372-373 : *Brāhmaṇū vādasilā vuddhū ti ettāvātā Caṅki-Tārukkha-Pokkharasāti-Jānussoṇi-ādayo dasseti..... evaṃ Assalāyana-Vasiṣṭha-Ambaṭṭha-Uttaramānavakādayo dasseti.*

Hārītaka and the like as representatives of the Paramahamsas.¹ In the Avadhūta and Śrī-Jābāla-Darśana-Upaniṣads, *munivara*-Sāṃkṛti is introduced as the disciple of *mahāyogi*-Avadhūta Dattātreyā.² In the Akṣi-Upaniṣad, Sāṃkṛti himself is represented as the teacher.³ Thus it can be proved that Sāṃkṛti, too, is a representative of the Paramahamsas of higher grades. It has been shown that in the Aṅguttara-Nikāya and Buddhaghoṣa's Sumaṅgala-Vilāsini, Saṃkicca, Sāṃkṛtya or Sāṃkṛti is one of the three Ājīvika Tīrthāṅkaras who deserved to be placed in the category of the Paramasūkla or Avadhūta. In the Paramatthajotikā, the six śramaṇa teachers, Pūraṇa Kāśyapa, Maskarī Gośāla, Kakuda Kātyāyana, Ajita Keśakambalin, Sañjaya Vairāṭiputra and Nirgrantha Jñāṭṛputra are all represented as Tīrthikas admitted into the order and brought up in the school of thought founded by the three Tīrthāṅkaras, of whom Sāṃkṛti was one. Of these six teachers, Jñāṭṛputra (Mahāvīra) is described as a Nirgrantha (Jaina) and the rest are described as Ājīvikas.⁴

Thus one can understand why the six grades or classes of ascetics are broadly distinguished in Aśoka's Pillar Edict and in the Paramatthajotikā as the Brāhmaṇa and the

1 Bhikṣuka-Upaniṣad : Paramahamsā nāma Saṃvartak-Āruṇi-Śvetaketu-JaḍaBharata-Dattātreyā-Śuka-Vāmadeva - Hārītaka - prabhṛtayaḥ. Yājñavalkya-Upaniṣad : Paramahamsā nāma Saṃvartak-Āruṇi-Śvetaketu-Dūrvāsa-Ṛbhu-Nidāgha-Dattātreyā-Śuka-Vāmadeva-Hārītaka-prabhṛtayo 'vyaktaliṅgā avyaktācārāḥ.

2 Avadhūta-Upaniṣad : Sāṃkṛtir Bhagavantam Dattātreyam parisametya papraccha. Śrī-Jābāla-Darśana-Upaniṣad, 1-2 : Dattātreyo mahāyogi Bhagavān bhūtabhāvanah Tasya śiṣyo munivaraḥ Sāṃkṛtir nāma bhaktimān.

3 Akṣi-Upaniṣad, 1 : Sāṃkṛtir Bhagavān.

4 Paramatthajotikā, II. pp. 372-373 : tattha *Titthiyā* ti Nanda-Vaccha-Saṃkiccehi ādipuggalehi tūhi titthakarehi kate diṭṭhititthe jātā, tesam sāsane pabbajitā Pūraṇa-Kassapādayo cha satthāro. Tattha Nāthaputto Nigāṇtho, avasesā Ājīvikā.

Ājīvika,¹ or in Gośāla's doctrine and in the Jaina works written in the Canarese country as the Ājīvaka and the Parivrājaka, the latter mentioning the Ekadaṇḍin and the Tridaṇḍin as two divisions, grades or classes of the Parivrājaka. It is truly remarked in these Jaina works that the Parivrājaka can aspire to go as far as Brahmakalpa in spite of his austerities, while the Ājīvika, though he is repulsive to human sight, can aspire to go as far as Sahasrārakalpa, Acyutakalpa or Acyutapada.

B. M. BARUA

Vijayanagara in Bengal Tradition

There was a great and widespread Hindu revival during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in India. It was marked by political supremacy, material prosperity, and spiritual regeneration. We now possess a few facts which conclusively show that over a great portion of Eastern and Southern India there came a pulsation of a new life which acquired fresh strength in course of time. Gaṇeśa, Danujemarddana and the Rājās of Tripurā and Vana-Viṣṇupura in Bengal achieved what the rulers of Mithilā, Assam, Orissa, Nepal, Rajputana and Vijayanagara almost simultaneously began.

Vijayanagara has been called a forgotten empire by the historians, and there has been a laudable attempt to reconstruct its glorious history. There are a few references to Vijayanagara history and culture in contemporary Bengali and Sanskrit works which have not been utilised by its historians. As these may be found useful, I record them in this article.

1 Pillar Edict VII : Bābhanesu Ājīvikesu. Paramatthajotikā, II, pp. 372-373. See Barua's Aśoka Edicts in New Light, pp. 5-11.

Let us first turn to political history. Vijayanagara is also known as Vidyānagara in later Bengali works. It is recorded in the Caitanya-caritāmṛta that Puruṣottamadeva, king of Orissa (1470-97 A.C.), once conquered Vijayanagara in battle, and took away its royal throne known as the *māṇikyā-siṃhāsana*.

উৎকলের রাজা পুরুষোত্তম দেব নাম ।
সেই বেশ জিনিলেন করিঙ্গা সংগ্রাম ॥

সেই রাজা জিনি লৈল তার সিংহাসন ।
'মাণিকা সিংহাসন' নাম অনেক রতন ॥—চৈ চ মধ্য—৫ম অঃ

It is also recorded in the same work that the image of Kṛṣṇa known as *Sākṣi-gopāla* and at first brought down to Vidyānagara from Vṛndāvana was now removed by Puruṣottamadeva to Cuttuck. কটকে গোপালসেবা করিল স্থাপন ॥—ই—ই—ই.

This claim may at least partially be substantiated. Prof. Krisnaswami Ayyangar speaks in his Little Known Chapter of Vijayanagara History of an invasion of the Telingana coast in 1475-76 by the king of Orissa."

It was during the reign of Pratāparudra of Orissa (1497-1540 A.C.) that we come across events not recorded elsewhere than in the Bengal Chronicles. On the whole these seem to be well-founded, because it is definitely stated that "he subjected to his dominion the whole country as far as Setubandha Rameswar" (A. Sterling—JRAS., 1831). On the authority of the Caitanya Ch. we know that Rāmānanda Ray was the ruler of Vidyānagara :—

রায় রামানন্দ আছে গোদাবরী তীরে । অধিকারী হয়েন তেঁহো বিজয়নগরে ॥—চৈ চ মধ্য—৭
This officer of the king testifies to his power and prowess in an eloquent language (which reminds us of the style of inscriptions) in his Sanskrit drama named *Śrī-Jagannātha-vallabha-nāṭaka*—

বরাধাপি নিশম্য সন্নিবিগতে সেকন্দরঃ কন্দরং মেনে গুর্জরভূপতির্জরদিবারণ্যং নিজং পত্তনং
স্বং বর্গং কলবর্গভূমিলিঙ্গঃ শাস্তং সমুদ্রীক্ষতে । বাতব্যগ্রপদোষিপোত্তগমিব স্বং বেদ গোড়ৈধরঃ ॥—১ম অঃ ১০.

So we may give some credit to the statement in the *Caitanya Bhāgavata*, and the *Caitanya-Māṅgala* (of Jayānanda) which are unanimous in recording that Pratāparudra attacked Vijayanagara about 1510 A.C. I here quote the texts—

যে নময়ে ঈশ্বর আইলা নীলাচলে ।

যুদ্ধরসে গিয়াছেন বিজয়নগরে ।

তপনে প্রতাপরুদ্র নাহিক উৎকলে ॥

অতএব প্রভু না দেখিলেন সেইবারে ॥—চৈ ভা.—অষ্ট—৩.

Either this attack or a fresh one is hinted at by Jayānanda who says that Pratāparudra once thought of attacking the Muslim king of Gour, but on the intimidation of Caitanyadeva he gave up the project, and proceeded to attack Vijayanagara instead :

গৌড়ে উৎকলে তবে পড়িল যে খাড়া ।	*	*	*
প্রতাপরুদ্র গৌড় জিনিতে করি আশ ।	কাঞ্চী দেশ জিনি কর নান। রাজ্য ।		
শুনিয়া গৌড়েন্দ্র তারে করে উগ্ৰহান ।	*	*	*
* * *	প্রভু নিবারিল সে শুনিয়া প্রতাপরুদ্র ।		
কাল যবন রাজ্য পক্ষ গোড়েশ্বর ।	বিজয়নগরে গেল করিবারে বুক ॥—চ.ন. (ভয়ানন্দ)		

Now, we give the following points which show that Vijayanagara was an important centre of Hindu culture at the time. All scholars and spiritually minded people visited it as a place of pilgrimage. The itineraries of Nityānanda and Caitanya included Vijayanagara amongst other well-known places (*Caitanya C. and Bh.*). তবে প্রভু আইলেন বিজয়া নগর ॥—চ.ভা.—১৪ অঃ।

As a great centre of learning it is mentioned along with others in a passage in connection with a *digvijayī paṇḍita* who visited Nadia when Caitanyadeva was a teacher in his *tol*—

গৌড়, তিব্বত, ছিন্নী, কাশী, দাদি কবি ।	হেমঙ্গ, তেলঙ্গ, ওড়ু, দেশ আব কত ।
গজরাট, বিজয়নগর, কাঞ্চীপুরী ॥	পণ্ডিতের সমাজ যখনরে আছে যত ॥ আদি—১ম অঃ

Bengal took its cue of neo-Vaiṣṇavism from Southern India. The Bengal School of Vaiṣṇavism was a direct offshoot of the Madhva Sect. The line of the gurus is as follows according to the *Gauraganoddeśa Dīpikā* :—

Maddvācārya > Padmanābhācārya > Narahari > Dvijamādhava > Akṣobha > Jayatīrthaka > Jñānasindhu > Mahānidhi > Vidyānidhi > Rājendra > Jayadharma or Jayadhva (according to genealogy of Rājendra's Maṭha) > Viṣṇupurī, and Puruṣottama > Vyāsātīrtha > Mādhavendra Purī > Īśvara Purī > Caitanyadeva.

What made Vijayanagara specially dear to the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas was perhaps its connection with Vyāsātīrtha variously known as Vyāsaraṇja or Vyāsayogin. He lived from 1446 to 1539 A.C. (The life of Śrī Vyāsaraṇja—B. Venkoba Rao, 1926). He became the guru of the kings of Vijayanagara, and “was at the head of what was practically a Hindu University in Penu-gonda and Vijayanagara for a period of about fifty years from 1487 to 1539 A.D. (Journal of the Mythic Society, Oct., 1924). It is recorded in the *Gauraganoddeśa dīpikā* that Vyāsātīrtha was the author of the *Viṣṇusamhitā* which was valued by the Vaiṣṇavas of the Bengal.

Thus we find that Vijayanagara plays no mean part in the chronicles preserved by the Bengalis.

The Development of Buddhist Art in South India

Technique and Composition of Amarāvati

The insignificant village of Amarāvati, in the Kistna district of Madras Presidency, is renowned throughout the modern world for its exquisite treasures of plastic art. Like most of the monuments of yore, almost nothing survives of this once magnificent and glittering pile of the original "stūpa," hallowed by the piety and fervour of devout pilgrims from far and near in that hoary antiquity and eliciting the warmest praise and appreciation of admiring generations. The ruthless hand of Time and the vandalism of Man, have alike wrought havoc with it. As the main stūpa is utterly destroyed beyond repair, nothing but our imagination is left to conjure up its shape and structure in all its glory and grandeur. But we can have a delightful glimpse of the wonderful æsthetic insight and technical skill of the artists of Amarāvati from the casing slabs and reliefs of the richly decorated railings.

The sculptures of Amarāvati are to be ascribed to two different periods, characterised by different techniques, and several centuries intervene between them. The fragments of the early railing slabs found at Amarāvati reveal from their affinity to the style of the old Bodh Gayā rail that they certainly belong to the 1st century B. C. The later reliefs have been assigned by scholars to the 2nd century A.D.

Early Period—The remains of the earlier sculptures are not so copious as those of the later. But even from the very few specimens, we can perceive that they were executed in the language which first found expression at Bhārhut (2nd century B.C.) and which reaches its perfection here. As at Bhārhut, the figures and representations are flat but the limbs are slimmer and more slender. The faces with fully opened eyes and thick lips are more oval. The glaring stiffness of Bhārhut is not so palpable here, although an

amount of archaic restraint lingers in the posing of some of the figures. But they are, nevertheless, accurately drawn, and specially the powerful and animated animals are without any flaw whatsoever.

The most remarkable feature of those sculptures is an unrestrained sweeping movement. The figures seem to be entirely swept away by their own undulations. The artist relied more on the linear than on the plastic aspect of the composition for the expression of this particular characteristic. The tempestuous, yet a gliding movement of the south does not stop anywhere to meditate and then start to express, as at Bhārhut. It is ever moving and ever rolling on, and its manifestations are the spontaneous outburst of the inner joy of unfettered motion. Again the system of oversecting or overlapping is as rigorously employed here as it was avoided rigorously at Bhārhut, but the spatial relation has not been emphasised to the same extent as it has been done at Rānigumphā, Udayagiri.

Dr. Stella Kramrisch says, "These few instances warrant us to conclude that the temperamental, emotional or transitory side is as significant in the south, as the abstract, reserved, intellectual or well-calculated side of the north. The south is full of energy, life and force and not stationary or contemplative."

Late Period—A comparison between the treatment of figure sculpture of Bhārhut and Amarāvati would clearly demonstrate the vast development which has taken place during the course of centuries. The story-telling function of Bhārhut by means of abbreviations and denotations is effected at Amarāvati in a different language altogether.

Nature—As regards the representation of nature, we find a developed stage in the treatment of the tree. Whereas at Bhārhut, the tree is merely suggested, at Sanchi it is treated in a realistic and individualistic way, depicting the transitory moments, consequent upon a more deep nature study and critical observation. But the Amarāvati tree is not dissolved

into branches like Sānchi, it is more or less a solid and compact mass like Bhārhut with the leaves and twigs simply marked. Even where there is an attempt at separating and differentiating the branches and leaves, the outline is not dissolved. But in spite of these drawbacks it can be safely affirmed that compared with Bhārhut, there is not only a fuller play of light and shade combined with sharper features, but the outline filled with mass has gained in roundness and modelling. At the same time the movement, which is not only peculiar to the outlines of the trees but to every animate object represented, is pictured in a most charming manner. The movement flows sometimes in small curves, imparting a soft, wavy and unstabilised character to the figures.

The convention of representing rocks at Bhārhut consists in every boulder being circumscribed by a more or less deeply incised outline tending to a quadrangular shape. Into this boulder again a small quadrangle is inscribed right in the middle. At Rānigumphā, the convention is apparently quite different. The single rock is not isolated but chained with one another consisting of parallel bands, leading to geometrical patterns of angular and round forms, indicating thereby a greater variety of landscape. At Amarāvati, the treatment follows closely the method of Rānigumphā; but the boulders being more irregular in shape and pattern and strewn in disorder, the landscape is much more realistic and enlivening. The wild animals, peopling these regions, are not merely surrounded by circular frames, but are shown as emerging out of deep hollows. The sharp contrast of light and darkness caused by the shady caverns and abrupt prominences, heightens the effect of naturalistic composition.

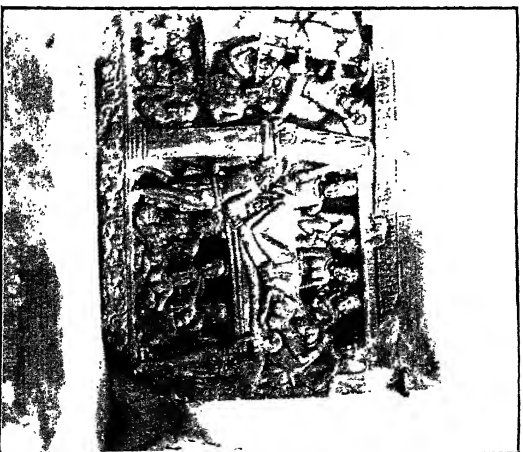
Animals—The elephant is always very favourite with the Indian artist and it is always a pleasure to watch the portrayal of these noble creatures full of grace and vitality. Contrary to the tradition of Bhārhut but resembling that of Rānigumphā and Sānchi, the elephant figures are beaming with energy and activity. All the other animals, e. g., the

PLATE I



The Dream of Mayā
Bhārhut, 2nd Century B.C.
L.H.Q. June, 1927

PLATE II



The Dream of Mayā
Amravati, 2nd Century A.D.

lion or the tiger, are lacking in that touch of realism. Very often, on the pillars of the rail, the flowing lines of the spiritedly drawn animals and Makaras, as also the scrolls of the foliage, make up a continuous and running design indicative of much forceful action and virile movement.

Human Figures—For the purpose of having a definite idea and a true perspective of the wonderful stride of Amarāvātī in the vista of Indian plastic art, we must take stock of the preceding achievements. The tablet appearing on one of the rail pillars of Bhārhut, represents the well known Dream of Māyā (Plate 1). Here we find the story narrated in a restrained and economical way. Surrounded by three female attendants two of which are seated below, while another is standing with folded hands on the other side of the plain bed, on which Mahāmāyā lies and is made to present improperly her left side to the Bodhisattva, in the form of a great white elephant in the air, about to enter her womb.¹ The accuracy and preciseness of the sculptures and the enlargement of the principal object was a necessary factor at Bhārhut, in order to make the story picture intelligible to the unlettered masses. This particular requirement led to some peculiar abbreviations in natural representation. All the human figures have the sameness and uniformity of type. Shortness is their marked characteristic. They have broad shoulders, squarish chins, full cheeks, bulging eyes, small tightly closed mouths and little regular features. In the linear sense the figures are devoid of straight lines and angularities and are conspicuous by a wholesale undulating movement in flowing round curves. From the plastic point of view, the relief is rather very low. There is no real modelling so to say—the edges of the parts are merely rounded off with a slanting cut. Whatever modelling to be found—is very slight, flat and sweeping, instead of

I According to M. Foucher "the school of Gandhāra is never guilty of these negligences which are contrary to the letter of the text and always presents the right side to the Blessed One."

being sharp and abrupt. The absence of high relief combined with the treatment of the figures on the same level or surface renders the picture absolutely flat and even but at the same time very clear in character, without much scope for the display of light and shape.

The scene is depicted at Amarāvati in a strikingly different manner, both iconographically and technically (Plate II). With the disappearance of the story-telling function of Bhārhut, the peculiar free and rhythmical composition associated with it gradually loses ground. Late Amarāvati follows the footsteps of Gandhāra in respect of the composition of reliefs. The whole story is never portrayed in a single medallion. Each portion is dealt with in distinct compartments and often architectural motifs serve as partition walls between the different parts of the narrative. Like Gandhāra too, there is a tendency towards the centralisation of the principal object.

The bed-chamber is represented here, full of vividness and observation. The four female slaves are in the foreground in diverse postures. The mother of Gautama is represented fast asleep, as at Bhārhut, but she is stretched in an easy and natural pose. Also in contrast to Bhārhut, the descending elephant has considerably diminished in size, being merely confined to the frame. Again the couch is surrounded by the four Lokapālas or guardians of the cardinal directions.

The human figures are no longer mere symbols and do not belong to an uniform type. They are living and vigorous, and each is a separate entity with individual expression and character. They are meant to be human beings with all their variegated enjoyments and sufferings of a chequered life, motives and vocations as such. The practice of indicating objects by mere formulas or names gradually dies away being replaced by the truthful delineation of characteristic features of each. With the march of time, the realism of Amarāvati evolves out of the abstraction of Bhārhut.

The heaviness, thickness, and squarish built frames of

Bhārhut and improved Sanchi technique or even the flatness of early Amarāvati sculptures, is to be rarely noticed. The figures are carved almost wholly in the round and consequently the reliefs gain greater height than even that of Sanchi. They are extremely graceful and refined. The limbs, specially the legs are tapering, slender and as attenuated as possible. The slenderness of some of the figures on the railing of Stūpa II at Sanchi (cf. the figure of the goddess Śrī) and in Rāṇigumphā, is developed almost to its utmost limit. The length of the figures in all their undulating curves combined with sharp angularities, produce to give a touch of realism which was conspicuously absent at Bhārhut. The rather heavy faces of the men have narrow round foreheads, large prominent eyes, short noses, thick protruding lips, very short chins and full cheeks. Women have as a rule almost oval faces and expressive mouths. Facial expression, through the agency of the eyes and specially the lips, plays an important part in these sculptures as at Rāṇigumphā and Mathurā. The human body is neither flat nor summarily treated like that of the previous schools. The influence of Gandhāra permeated this southern region and we find the finely modelled body with the muscles and bones clearly indicated, at the same time retaining its soft, wavy and flowing movement.

A distinct departure from Bhārhut is glaringly apparent in the sense of spacing and emotional contact, which contribute to make the scenes more vivid and interrelated. The advent of this trend is to be first noted in the sculptures of Rāṇigumphā and here we have the pleasure of witnessing its evolution and perfection. In spite of it, however, there are special and separate entities within the relief, with individual forms stamped with personal impress. Another remarkable point to be noticed is the introduction of novel forms of movement. Contrary to Bhārhut the figures are neither stiff nor stationary but any and every turn and twist is assumed by the extremely supple and pliable body. As suspected by some, the development of this feature, is not,

according to Dr. Kramrisch, due to any Hellenistic influence, for an examination of the forms and contours of the bodies will clearly reveal that they are distinctly and typically Indian in essence and structure. This new movement gives birth to a new kind of relief. Unlike any of the earlier schools, we find in the composition two distinct surfaces.

The beginning of two different trends of artistic treatment at Bhārhut i.e. the "a" style represented by the Prasenajit pillar and the "b" style by the Ajātaśatru pillar, are also found to be attaining their climax here at late Amarāvati. The former is distinctly reflected in some of the reliefs where the figures are extremely flat and low with broad surfaces on shallow backgrounds. There is no roundness of modelling and the sense of illusionism caused by the extremes of depth and the vivid contrast of brightness and shadow is entirely absent. Indeed the artistic treatment depends more upon the linear emphasis, though traces of careful observation of the muscles of the body can be occasionally detected.¹ While the latter school, which is represented by the general mass of sculptures, is remarkable for its angular curves, very high relief, sharp modelling, crowded treatment of groups and figures with the frequent employment of the system of overlapping and oversetting—all very similar to the Sanchi technique leading to the diffusion of irregular patches of black and white over the entire surface.²

1 Burgess, "Amarāvati and Jagayyapeta Stūpas," pl. XII, nos. 1, 2.

2 The remarks of Sir John Marshall in connection with the two styles at Sanchi apply equally to Amarāvati. "Both reliefs," he says, "are equally admirable in their own way, but there can be no two opinions as to which of the two is more masterly. The one on the South Gateway is the work of a creative genius, more expert perhaps with pencil or brush than with the chisel, but possessed with a delicate sense of line and of decorative and rhythmic composition. That on the west, on the other hand, is technically more advanced, and individual figures taken by themselves, are undoubtedly more effective and convincing; but it fails to please, because, the detail is too crowded

Now let us consider the peculiar characteristics of Amarāvati treatment. There is a gap of two centuries between the early and the late period of Amarāvati sculptures—and a considerable and astonishing change has taken place in the meantime. The change consists in providing an illusionism by the extremes of depth indicated in the reliefs, as far as the three dimensions permit. We have here, the tangible depth of single objects, resulting in a novel complexity of relief. Another conspicuous feature is that every figure has its independent setting, so as to allow the modelling to be as fully in the round as possible. Here also, we have for the first time the fusion of the cubical and the linear treatment and a greater indication of the third dimension. "Continuous representation," says Dr. Kramrisch, "linear treatment and the relative independence of the single figures, are the chief characteristics of the later school of Amarāvati."

But the most singular and striking feature of this late school, in common with the earlier one, is the expressive motion and vigorous style of narrative reproducing pictures of transitory moments. What we find in these reliefs is not the calmness or passivity of exertion. The atmosphere is electric, thrilling and vibrating with life. Everywhere there is the impulse to energetic action. Men and women are rushing forth, crowds are jostling, even the sitting figures are throbbing with a dynamic pulsation, betrayed in their very ardent emotional contact and passionate furtive glances. The wild frenzy of the dancing groups, the utter abandon born out of an intense religious fervour, the urge of mad passion as also the magnificent bravura of individual beings—is portrayed with a vivid ingenuity unsurpassed in the whole realm of Indian art.

In the case of women, this incessant movement combined with their beautiful and charming postures and the gliding

and confusing, and the composition too regular and technical."—*Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 631.

curves of the contorted and twisted bodies, point to their passionately devotional zeal almost touching on voluptuousness and sensuality. Dr. Burgess remarks, "If in the legends, Buddha is represented as disparaging women, they are certainly represented in these sculptures as among his most ardent votaries."¹ Apart from religious association, a remarkable development in the sexual outlook of the artist is plainly visible.² Truly a deep undercurrent of all pervading sensuousness is diffused throughout the sculptures and later we shall have the occasion to see, that even the Buddha figure failed to keep itself immune from the infectious touch.

In conclusion we should like to say that the sinuous and amazing rhythm of composition, as the direct outcome of the wonderful decorative instinct of the people, is "as cultured in design and accomplished in technique as Italian Cinquecento work."³ The marbles of Amarāvati have struck a quite novel and unique chord in the symphony of Indian plastic art. In the achievement of pure form in all its elegant modulation, in the subtle delineation of the elusive moods and sentiments of the human heart and in the picturesque representation of the vibrations of the stirring soul, it stands unrivalled.

(To be continued)

DEVAPRASAD GHOSH

1 "Matugāmo nāmo pāpo"—Burgess, op. cit., p. 82.

2 Prof. Benoy Chandra Sen, writing about "Sex in Indian Art" says "At Bharhut and Sanchi the great law of the universe, has been admitted, but here at Amarāvati it is no more formula, but a vital principle of human motives and actions, invested with a halo and poetry of charm of an exquisite artistic expression. Female figures with slim waists, and a symmetrical arrangement of physical beauties, loosely dressed with garments of fine texture, full of softness of a slender creeper and inviting gracefulness, deeply sensitive of the luxuries of nature sometimes playing upon musical instruments in beautifully artistic poses, rather a little coquettish, they are found in the company of young men, who seem to possess keen powers of appreciation. If we have eyes to see perchance we may catch a glimpse of the exchange of significant looks" passing between a maid in one corner and her lover in the opposite side, giving flashes of sensual suggestions which are not easy to miss."

3 Burgess, op. cit., pl. XI, fig. 1.

Origin and Development of Dūtakāvya Literature in Sanskrit

*Dūtakāvyas*¹ or Messenger-poems, as they may be called, occupy an important position in Sanskrit literature. They, along with the *pañcakas*, *aṣṭakas*, *daśakas* and *śatakas*, go a great way to compensate for the comparative dearth of lyric poetry in Sanskrit. But of these the *dūtakāvyas* are the most important on account of their high poetic conception and the abundance of exquisite good poetry consisting in the pathetic description of the pangs of separation suffered by lovers. Their importance is further enhanced by the topographical which information some of them furnish of one part or other of ancient and mediæval India. It is for these reasons that it will be worth while if we attempt a short history of these poems both in their origin and development.

Several scholars have given lists of *dūtakāvyas* as known to them. H. H. Mahārāja Ravivarma describes six of them² (all of which have their origin in Malabar) while Aufrecht names ten which are different from the six described by the Mahārāja.³ Monmohan Chakravarti combines the above two lists and thus his list names sixteen such poems.⁴ I have after patient search traced as many as fifty such poems with which I intend to deal in the following pages. But there is reason to believe that there were a few more *dūtakāvyas* (see below) no trace to which have yet been found out.

1 As the names of these poems end with the word *dūta* (messenger) in North Indian Mss. [or *sandēśa* (message) in South Indian Mss.] I have used the word *dūtakāvya* to indicate them. They have actually been called *sanīśakāvya*. Cf. 'विद्वत्प्रीत्यै बहुवचसुधास्यन्दि सन्देशकाव्यम्'—*subhaga-sandēśa* (last verse).

2 J. R. A. S., 1884, pp. 401ff.

3 Z.D.M.G., vol. 54, p. 616.

4 J. A. S. B., 1905, p. 42.

Enumeration and description of available dūtakāvya

Before going into the question as to the probable origin of dūtakāvya literature and the line along which it developed it would be proper to give a brief survey of this literature as it exists or is known at present. The names of these are arranged in an alphabetical order (following the order of the Sanskrit alphabet) as the arrangement in a chronological order is not yet possible the dates of most of the poems having not yet been settled. The metre where not specifically mentioned otherwise is *mandākrāntā* except in cases where no more information than the mere name of a poem could be gathered.

1. *Indudūtam*¹ of Vinayavijayagaṇi, author of *Lokapra-kāśa*, *Kalpasaubodhikā*, and *Haimalaghuprakriyā*. (1710 v.s.)². It consists of 131 verses and relates how the poet, a Jain himself, while staying at Yodhāpura (Jodhpur), made a messenger of the moon to convey to his religious preceptor living in Surat the report as to how he was carrying on his religious precepts with all attention. It gives a most illuminating account of Jain temples and sacred places on the way from Yodhāpura to Surat.

2. *Uddhavadūtam*³ of Mādhava Śarman. It is a poem in 141 verses. Here we have a description of how Uddhava sent as a messenger by Kṛṣṇa to the Gopīs revealed himself to the latter who expressed to him their unbearable pangs of separation and how he consoled them with a message from Kṛṣṇa. The same theme occurs in the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* x. 47.

1 *Kāvya-mālā*—14th *Guccha*, pp. 40-60.

2 Belvelkar—*Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 79.

3 Haeberlin's *Sanskrit Anthology*, pp. 348 ff.; also *Kāvya-kalāpa* (I) published by Haridasa Hirachand (Bombay 1864) pp. 59 ff.; also *Kāvya-saṅgraha* (ii)—published by Bhuvanachandra Basak (Calcutta 1874), pp. 145 ff.; also *Kāvya-saṅgraha* (vol. i), J. Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta 1888), pp. 531-595.

3. *Uddhavasandeśa*.¹ It is attributed to Rūpagosvāmin. An account of the poet as well as the works composed by him is given below under *Haṃsadūtam*—another dūtākāvya composed by him. It also describes how Uddhava was sent by Kṛṣṇa as a messenger from Mathurā to the Gopīs in Gokula. It consists of 138 stanzas.

4. *Kīradūtam*² of Rāmagopāla. In the opinion of Mm. H. P. Sastri the poet may be identified with Rāmagopāla of the court of the king Kṛṣṇacandra of Navadvīpa (Nuddea—Bengal) who was one of the compilers of the *Vivādārṇavasetu* (Gentoo Code).³ It gives a description of the sending of a *Kīra* (parrot) as a messenger by the Gopīs of Vṛndāvana to Kṛṣṇa in Mathurā. It consists of 104 verses.

5. *Kokilasandeśa*⁴ of Uddandakavi of North Arcot, (son of Raṅganātha, grandson of Gokulanātha) who flourished in the beginning of the 15th century (*I. H. Q.*, vol. III, p. 223). This is said to have been composed in response to *Bhṛṅga-sandeśa* (No. 23 below) which was sent to Uddanda by its author, Vāsudeva. Here we have an account of the sending of a cuckoo as a messenger by a lover in Kāñci to his beloved in Kerala.

6. *Kokilasandeśa*⁵ of Nṛsiṃha.

7. *Kokilasandeśa*⁶ of Venkātācārya, son of Tātaya.

1 Haeberlin's *Sanskrit Anthology*, pp. 323-347; also *Kāvya-saṅgraha* ed. by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, (Calcutta), vol. iii, pp. 215-275; also *Kāvya-saṅgraha* (ii) published by Bhuvanchandra Basak (Calcutta 1874), p. 120.

2 There is a Ms. of this book in the Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishat, Calcutta.

3 *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, H. P. Sastri, vol. I, Preface, p. xxxix.

4 *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Library, Madras*, vol. xx, no. 11835.

5 *A Preliminary List of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Adyar Library, Madras*, p. 128.

6 Burnell—*A Classified Index to the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace Library, Tanjore*, p. 157.

8. *Cakorasandeśa*.¹

9. *Candradūta*² of Kṛṣṇacandra Tarkālaṅkāra, son of Gopikānta Bhaṭṭācārya. The book describes how Rāma made a messenger of the moon to convey his message from the Mālyavat hill to Sitā in Lāṅkā when Hanumān who had been sent on the same errand had already returned with the news of Sitā.

10. *Candradūta*³ of Jambūkavi. It consists of twenty-three verses in the Mālinī metre, each verse illustrating the figure of *Antyayamaka*.

11. *Candradūta*⁴ of Vinayaprabhu.

12. *Ātakasandeśa*⁵—It consists of 141 verses. As the name implies, it relates how a message is sent through a *Ātaka* bird (*Cuculus Melanoleucus*) by a Brahmin, not to his mistress, but to the king of Trivandrum, Mahārāja Rāmavarma. The poor Brahmin lived somewhere in the northern part of Malabar but fled from his native place like many others to Trivandrum when Malabar was invaded by Tippu. There he had an interview with the king but after sometime, owing to a sudden attack of illness, he had to go home without taking leave of the king and after recovery he seems to have submitted this poem to the king praying for his patronage.

13. *Cetodūta*⁶—It is complete in 129 verses. Here a disciple is described as sending his own mind as messenger to his preceptor. The fourth foot of every verse of this

1 Burnell, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

2 *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, H. P. Sastri, vol. II, p. 153.

3 *A Third Report of Operations in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Bombay Circle (Peterson, April 1884-March 1886), p. 292.

4 *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts during the years 1884-85, 1885-86, 1886-87*—R. G. Bhandarkar, No. 354.

5 *J. R. A. S.*, 1884, p. 451.

6 *Ātmānanda Grantharatnamālā Series*, No. 25. Published at Bhāvnagar by Vallabhadas Tribhuvandas Gandhi, Secretary, Jaina Ātmānanda Sabhā, Bhāvnagar, 1924.

poem is identical with the fourth foot of a verse of the Meghadūta.

14. Jaina *Meghadūta*¹ of Merutuṅga of Añcala-gaccha who flourished in the fifteenth century of the Christian era. He should not be confused with another poet of the same name, author of the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, (translated by Tawney in the Bibliotheca Indica Series) and other works (*JBBRAS.*, vol. ix, p. 147.). Here we have an account of the sending of the cloud as a messenger to Neminātha, the 22nd Tīrthaṅkara of the Jainas, who had renounced the world and had gone to Mount Abu to practise austerities. The message is sent by Neminātha's wife who, unable to bear the pangs of life-long separation, requests him to come back to the world. It consists of four cantos having 50, 49, 55 and 42 verses respectively.

15. *Tulasīdūta*²—Composed by Vaidyanātha Bhaṭṭācārya in 1706 Ś. E. It describes in 54 verses the sending of Tulasī leaf, believed to be the most favourite object of the god Viṣṇu, as a messenger to Kṛṣṇa in Mathurā by the Gopīs in Vṛndāvana.

16. *Nemidūta*³ of Vikrama Kavi. The theme here is the same as that of the Jaina *Meghadūta*. It consists of 123 verses, the fourth line of every verse of which agrees with that of a verse of the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa. Here the wife of Nemi asks the mountain to act as the messenger.

17. *Paṭāṅkadūta*⁴ of Kṛṣṇa Sārvaabhauma, a poet at the

1 Śrī Jaina Ātmānandagrāṇthamālā, No. 76. Bhāvnagar, 1924.

2 There is a Ms. of this book in the Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishat, Calcutta.

3 *Kāvyamālā* (2nd *guccha*).

4 *Kāvyakalāpa* (I), published by Haridas Hirachand (Bombay—1874), p. 53ff; *Kāvyasaṅgraha* (ii), published by Bhuvanchandra Basak (Calcutta 1874), p. 197; *Kāvyasaṅgraha* (vol. i)—J. Vidyāsāgara, (Calcutta 1888), pp. 507-530; also separately in Bengali characters, with Sanskrit commentary and Bengali translation by Pandit Syama-Charan Kaviratna (Bengal Medical Library, Calcutta—Śaka 1826).

court of king Raghurāma Rai, father of Mahārāja Kṛṣṇa-candra, the famous king of Nuddea in Bengal. The work was finished in 1645 Ś. E. Here we have an account how the foot-print of Kṛṣṇa was requested by the Gopīs in Vṛndāvana to carry their message to Kṛṣṇa in Mathurā. Next to the Meghadūta this book is the most popular *dūta-kāvya* among the old Paṇḍits in Bengal.

18. *Pavanadūta*¹ of Dhoyī, a poet at the court of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal (12th century). In 103 verses it describes the sending of the wind as a messenger to king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal by a Gandharva damsel who lived in the far south of India and fell in love with the king.

19. *Pavanadūtam*² of Sūri Vādicandra who flourished in the 17th century A. D. It describes in 101 verses how the Wind was made a messenger by Vidyānareṣa, king of Ujjain, to his wife Tārā who had been carried away by a Vidyādhara.

20. *Pānthadūta*³ of Bholānātha. This is a poem in 105 verses in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. The writer is a Vaiṣṇava Brāhmaṇa of Tikuri. It describes how a *Gopī* sent her love-message to Kṛṣṇa through a pilgrim who was on his way to Mathurā.

21. *Pikadūtam*.⁴ It gives in 31 verses in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre a description of the sending of a *pika* (cuckoo) as a messenger by the *gopīs* to Kṛṣṇa.

1 First published in *J.A.S.B.*, 1905, pp. 53-68 ; also separately with critical and historical introduction, Sanskrit notes and variants, Calcutta, Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishat Series, No. 13.

2 *Kāvyamālā* (13th *guccha* pp. 9-24) ; also separately by Udaail Kashliwal in Hindi Jain Sāhitya Series, No. 3. Hindi Jain Sāhitya Prasāraka Kāryālaya, Bombay, 1914. It is not known if the *Pavanadūta* mentioned in the *List of Sanskrit works supposed by the Nepalese Pandits to be rare in the Nepalese Libraries at Khatamandoo*, No. 6 is identical with any of the above works (Nos. 18 and 19) bearing the same name.

3 *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the India Office Library*, vol. VII, no. 3890.

4 A Ms. of this book is in my private collection.

22. *Bhaktidūtī*¹ of Kālīprasāda. This is a small allegorical poem in 23 verses wherein the poet takes *mukṭi* (salvation) as his lady-love and sends a message to her through *bhakti* (devotion).

23. *Bhṛṅgasandeśa*² of Vāsudeva, a poet in the court of Ravivarma and Godavarma who ruled at Calicut. The theme here is the sending of a message by a person to his wife from whom he had been carried away, when sleeping, by a *Yakṣa*. It is complete in 192 verses.

24. *Bhramaradūta*³ by Rudranyāyavācaspati, son of Vidyānivāsa, grandson of Vidyāvācaspati. The author seems to be identical with the great Nyāya commentator Rudranyāyavācaspati (who was also a son of Vidyānivāsa) and not with the poet Rudranyāyavācaspati who wrote the *Bhāvavilāsa* (*Kāvya-mālā*—2nd *guccha*, pp. 111ff.) in honour of Mānasimha's son, for, the father of the poet Rudra was Vidyāvīlāsa (cf. *Bhāvavilāsa*, v. 136) and not Vidyānivāsa.⁴ The theme of this book is the same as that of Candradūta (No. 9). Here the messenger, however, is the *bhramara* (bee).

25. *Manodūta*⁵ of Viṣṇudāsa (maternal uncle (?) of Cai-

1 *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*—R. L. Mitra, vol. III, p. 27.

2 *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Madras Oriental Library*, vol. XX, No. 11865. The same work under the title *Bhramarasandeśa* is described in *J. R. A. S.*, 1884, p. 452.

3 *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*—H. P. Sastri—vol. II, p. 153; *A Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner*—R. L. Mitra—p. 229. It is not known if the work entitled *Bhramaradūta* mentioned by Oppert (*List of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the private Libraries of Southern India*, no. 6104) is identical with no. 23 or 24, or is a different work altogether.

4 H. P. Sastri—*op. cit.*, Preface, p. 4; S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa in his *History of Indian Logic*, p. 476-7 has identified both these scholars.

5 *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the India Office Library*, vol. VII, nos. 3897-3899. The opening verse as also the colophon contain the name of the poet. The Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat of Calcutta

tanya the great Vaiṣṇava reformer of Bengal). It is a poem in 101 *vasantatilakā* verses in which the poet, who calls himself *Viṣṇudāsakavindra*, makes his own mind the messenger for conveying his feelings of devotion to Viṣṇu.

26. *Manodūta*¹—composed in 1814 *V.S.* by Trailaṅga Vrajanātha. Here we have the description of the sending of the mind as a messenger to Kṛṣṇa by helpless Draupadī when she was dragged by the hair to the court of Duryodhana.

27. *Manodūta*²—The author is stated in the introductory verses and the colophon to have been one Rāmarāma, descendant of Viṣṇudāsa, maternal uncle of Caitanya. It is different from No. 25 though the subject-matter is identical. It consists of verses in the *Sikharinī* metre but the two introductory verses are in the *Sārdūlavikṛīḍita* metre.

28. *Manodūtikā-kāvya*.³ Here under the guise of a dūta-kāvya we have a description of 'the relations of Ātman and Jiva.'

29. *Manodūta*⁴. It appears to be a Jaina work and hence possibly not identical with any of the above poems bearing the same name.

30. *Mayūrasandēśa*⁵ of Raṅgācārya.

has got a fragmentary manuscript of this book. The *Manodūta* mentioned by R. L. Mitra in his *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (vol. II, no. 613) seems to be identical with the work of Viṣṇudāsa as this also, like the latter, appears, from the last verse quoted by Mitra, to have been composed in *Vasantatilakā* metre. But the colophon here does not give the name of the author and we are not in a position to know whether the first verse contained that name as the first folio is missing.

1 *Kāvyamālā* (13th *guccha*, pp. 84-130)

2 Bangīya Sāhitya Parishat, Calcutta—Sanskrit Ms., no. 1282.

3 *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Raghunūth Temple Library of His Highness the Maharajah of Kashmir*,—M. A. Stein—p. 70, 287; Introduction, p. xxv.

4 *Jaina Granthāvalī* (Jain Svetambar Conference, Bombay), p. 332.

5 *A Preliminary List of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Adyar Library, Madras*, p. 130.

31. *Meghadūta*¹ of Kālidāsa. It is the earliest, the best and the most famous of the *dūtakāvyas*. It describes, as is well-known, the sending of the cloud as a messenger by a cursed Yakṣa to his beloved wife, from whom, owing to a curse, he had been separated. Like all popular books it has swollen in size as time went on by interpolations. Hultzsch following the commentary of Vallabhadeva gives 111 verses as its text, K. B. Pathak on the other hand following the *Pārśvabhūdaya* gives 121 verses. The commentaries of Dakṣiṇāvartanātha, Mallinātha and Pūrṇa Sarasvatī (Vidyullatā) give respectively 110, 118 and 110 verses.

32. *Meghadūta*² of Mantrī Vikrama.

33. *Meghadūtasamasyālekha*³ of Meghavijaya, author of various works on *Nyāya*, *Vyākaraṇa*, *Kāvya* and *Jyotiṣa*. He is also the author of the *Haimakaumudī* which is supposed, by some scholars, to have been the model of the *Siddhāntakaumudī*.⁴ This last work was completed in V. S. 1725 (1669 A.D.). The

1 It has gone through a good many editions both in India and in Europe of which the two best and critical editions at present are those of K. B. Pathak (Oriental Book Supplying Agency, Poona, 1916) and Dr. Hultzsch (Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1911). Of the fifty commentaries of this highly popular work mentioned by Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* only a few have as yet been printed. The commentary of Vallabhadeva has been published in the edition of Dr. Hultzsch, that of Dakṣiṇāvartanātha has been edited by Mm. Gaṇapati Śāstri in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series and *Vidyullatā*, another commentary on the *Meghadūta* by Pūrṇasarasvatī, has been edited by R. V. Krishnamachariar in the Sri Vanivilas Sanskrit Series, No 15 (Srirangam, 1909). The commentary of Mallinātha is very popular and is well-known through many editions, the best of which is that of Prof. Pathak.

2 *Jaina Granthamālā* (Jain Svetambar Conference, Bombay), p. 332.

3 *Ātmānandagrantharatnamālā* Series, No. 24. Published by Vallabhadas Tribhuvandas Gandhi, Secretary, Jaina Ātmānanda Sabhā, Bhāvnagar, 1914.

4 Belvelkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 79.

Meghadūtasamasyālekha describes how he made a messenger of a cloud to convey his message to his religious preceptor Vijayaprabhasūri. His *Māghakāvyasamasyāpūrtikāvyā* was completed in 1727 V. S. ; it is intended to eulogise Vijaya-devaguru.¹ As its name implies, it utilises the fourth lines of the verses of the *Meghadūta* by way of *Samyasāpūrti*.

34. *Rathāṅgadūta*.²

35. *Viprasandēśa*³ of Lakṣmaṇa Sūri. It relates how Rukmiṇī sent an old Brāhmaṇa as a messenger to Kṛṣṇa, her chosen husband, requesting him to take her away. The same subject-matter is found described in the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (x. 52).

36. *Śīladūta*⁴ of Cāritrasundaragaṇi, author of *Mahī-pālacaritra*, *Kumārapālamahākāvya* and *Ācārādarśa*. It is not a *dūtakāvya* proper, though it bears a name similar to those borne by other poems of that type, as there is no reference here to any *dūta* who is sent by one person to another. It consists of 131 verses, the last lines of the first 125 verses of which, agree with the corresponding lines of the verses of the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa. This utilisation of the fourth lines of the *Meghadūta* probably led to its being called a *dūtakāvya*. It describes—how Sthūlabhadra, a great Jaina prince, renounced the world at the death of his father and became a disciple of the great Jaina sage Bhadrabāhu—how the former, who came to his city by the order of his preceptor, was not the least moved by the persuasive arguments put forward by his wife, Koṣā, against the prudence of his taking the order and—how in the long run, on account of the powerful influence of his immaculate character (śīla) he was able to prevail upon his wife and persuade her to become a nun.

1 *Meghadūtasamasyālekha*, v., 131.

2 Introduction to *Jaina Meghadūta*, p. 10.

3 Published from Tanjore, Pūrṇacandrodaya Press, 1906.

4 Śrīyaśovijaya Jaina Granthamālā, 14, Dharmābhyudaya Press, Benares city, Vīrasaṃvat 2439 (A. D. 1915).

and thus put an end to all earthly sorrows and sufferings. The book was composed in the year V. S. 1487 in Khabhant in Gujarat under the patronage of the chief of that place.¹

37. *Śukasandēśa*² of Lakṣmīdāsa. Here we have a description of the sending of a *śuka* (parrot) as a messenger by a lover who was separated from his wife in a dream. It consists of two parts, *pūrvasandēśa* and *uttarasandēśa* having respectively seventy-four and eighty-nine verses. We get here an elaborate topographical description of the region between Rāmeśvaram and Guṇapura, probably to be identified with a village called Trikkānapuram not far from Cranganore.

38. *Śukasandēśa* of Kariṅgapalli Nambūdiri.³

39. *Śukasandēśa* of Raṅgācārya.⁴ It is not known if he is identical with the author of *Mayūrasandēśa* (No. 30 above).

40. *Siddhadūta*⁵ of Avadhūtārāma.

41. *Subhagasandēśa*⁶ of Nārāyaṇa. It consists of 130 verses. Subhaga is a *snātaka* (?) messenger sent from Cape Comorin to a city which the author calls Vṛṣapuri, Pauṅgavī, etc.

42. *Haṃsadūta*⁷ of Rūpagosvāmin⁸ who flourished in the

1 *Śiladūta*, v. 131.

2 *J.R.A.S.*, 1884, pp. 404-48.

3 *List of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Private Libraries of Southern India*, Oppert, No. 2721, 6241.

4 *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Mysore and Coorg*, Rice, No. 2250.

5 *Report of a Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts*, A. V. Kathavate, No. 596.

6 *J.R.A.S.*, 1884, p. 449.

7 Haeberlin's *Sanskrit Anthology*, pp. 323ff.; *Kāvyaśālā* (I)—Harichand Hirachand (Bombay, 1864), pp. 35ff.; *Kāvyaśaṃgraha*, pt. II—Bhuvan Chandra Basak (Calcutta, 1874), pp. 169ff.; *Kāvyaśaṃgraha* (vol. I)—Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1888, pp. 441-507; also separately in Bengali characters with a Bengali translation (Basumati Steam Machine Press, Calcutta).

8 Some manuscripts attribute it to Jivagosvāmin, nephew of Rūpa (cf. *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Sanskrit College*, Ms. no. 162.)

16th century. He was one of the immediate disciples of Caitanya, the great Vaiṣṇava reformer of Bengal. He was, previous to his conversion to Vaiṣṇavism, a royal officer at the court of Allauddin Hussain Shah, king of Gauḍ. After his conversion to the new faith, he became an ardent preacher of the teachings of his preceptor through his voluminous writings, which though embracing heterogenous subjects like philosophy, poetry, drama, dramaturgy, rhetoric and grammar had all in view the dissemination of the doctrines of his new faith. In this respect he seems to have a parallel in Veṅkateśa, author of *Haṃsasandēśa*, whose many-sided literary activities also in all probability were directed by a similar object, popularising the doctrines of the special school of Vedānta to which he belonged. Of his many works the most important are *Ujjvala-nīlamanī*, *Chandoṣṭādasaka*, *Dānakelikaumudī*, *Nāṭaka-candrikā*, *Padyāvalī*, *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*, *Lalitamādhava*, *Haṃsadūta*, *Uddhavadūta* and *Vidagdhamādhava*.¹ In the *Haṃsadūta* we have the description of a swan having been sent as a messenger by the *gopīs* of Vṛndāvana to Kṛṣṇa in Mathurā.² It consists of verses in *śikharīṇī* metre. The number of verses varies in different editions and Mss. Thus *Kāvyaśaṅgraha* of Jivānanda gives 142 verses, Sanskrit College Ms. 131 verses, *Kāvyaśālāpa* of Hirachand 142 verses and Basumati Press edition 101 verses.

48. *Haṃsasandēśa*³ of the famous scholar and well-known

1 The *Vaiṣṇavatoṣiṇī*, a commentary on the tenth book of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* by Sanātanagosvāmin, brother of Rūpagosvāmin in the concluding verses, in the course of the description of the genealogy of the author, gives a list of the works of Rūpagosvāmin (R. L. Mitra *op. cit.*, vol. vi, no. 2125).

2 The statement of Prof. Mm. Kuppaswami Shastri that the work describes the love-message sent by Kṛṣṇa to Rādhā does not seem to be correct (*A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Library, Madras*, vol. xx, no. 11903).

3 Text and commentary published by the Government Oriental

ācārya of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, Veṅkaṭeśa, known also as Vedāntadeśika or Vedāntācārya. He flourished in the 14th century. He was a polymath, writing on different branches of Sanskrit literature, so much so, that his more important collected works number about 121 separate treatises, some of them running to great lengths. Of these 32 are hymns, 8 *kāvya*s, 24 scientific treatises and 33 theological works. In addition to these works in Sanskrit he wrote 24 books in Tamil.¹ His *Haṃsasandēśa* describes the sending of a swan by Rāma as a messenger to Sitā in Laṅkā. It consists of two *āśvāsas* of 60 and 50 verses respectively.

44. *Haṃsasandēśa*² of Bhaṭṭavāmana. Here we have a description of the sending of a swan as a messenger by a cursed *Yakṣa* to his wife. Thus its theme is exactly identical with that of the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa.

45. *Haṃsasandēśa*.³ It is a philosophical piece, consisting of 110 verses.

46. *Haṃsadūta*⁴ of Raghunāthadāsa.

47. *Hṛdayadūta*⁵ of Bhaṭṭa Harihara. It consists of verses in *vasantatilakā* metre.

48. *Haṃsadūta*⁶ by Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī. It consists of 40 verses.

There are a few other poems of the *dūtakāvya* type

Library, Mysore 1913; Edition with commentary of Raṅgarājācārya and English Translation and Notes by N. V. Desika Chariar and G. Kasturi Ranga Aiyangar.

1 Introduction to the *Haṃsasandēśa*, Mysore edition, p. VI.

2 *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Library, Madras*, vol. xx, no. 11912.

3 J.R.A.S., 1884, p. 450.

4 *Vaṅga Sāhitya Paricaya*—D. C. Sen, p. 850.

5 *Handschriften verzeichnisse der Koniglichen Bibliothek*—Weber, I, no. 571.

6 *A classified List of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace Library at Tanjore*—Burnell, p. 1637.

composed in more recent times (and hence not included in the above list). They belong to the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century written by poets in different parts of India. Some of these are found to have poetic excellence of no mean order. In this connection mention may be made of the *Vāṭadūta*¹ of Kṛṣṇanātha Nyāyapañcānana of Bengal who in the eighties of the last century composed this highly poetic piece wherein the *vāta* or wind is sent as a messenger to Rāma by Sītā who was then in Lankā. As regards poems of minor importance reference may be made to *Sukadūtam*² of Yāḍavacandra Vidyāratna (S. E. 1786), *Pikasandēśa*³ of Dādhīca Brahmadevaśarman published only recently describing how a bee was sent by a cuckoo as a messenger to a poet relating the present fallen condition of India. We have also got two modern supplements to the work of Kālidāsa, viz, *Meghapratīśandēśa*⁴ of Mandikal Ramasastry and *Meghadautya*⁵ of Trailokyamohan Guha Niyogi Kavikīrti. The first of the two is very beautiful and describes how the wife of the *yakṣa* on receipt of the message of her husband sent her reply through the same cloud giving a description of herself and her household; the other relates how she asked the cloud to carry her message to *Kubera* requesting him to cancel the order of banishment passed upon her husband and how *Kubera*, in the long run, complied with her request and the *yakṣa* restored to liberty was united with his wife.

Origin of dūtakāvya

The earliest *dūtakāvya* that we have is the *Megha dūta* of Kālidāsa. The central theme of Kālidāsa's work is the sending of an inanimate object as a messenger that carries a love-message from a lover to his beloved. It should be noted here that this kind of mak-

1 Calcutta, S. E. 1822.

2 Published from the Ryots' Friend Press by Brajanath Dutt.

3 Published from Jhalrapatan Rājakiya Sarasvatībhavana.

4 Jayālaya Press, Mysore, 1923.

5 Sanyal and Co., 25 Roy Bagan Street, Calcutta, 1909.

ing messengers of inanimate but moving objects or irrational creatures carrying a love-message from one to his or her object of love constitutes the most important characteristic of *dūtakāvyas* in general. It is not known to what particular work or works, if any at all, Kālidāsa was indebted for this peculiar and at the same time poetic conception. We have however somewhat similar ideas, viz. making messengers of irrational creatures adopted in works which can definitely be assigned to a date earlier than that of Kālidāsa. Thus, in the *R̥gveda* we have reference to a dog called *Saramā* sent as a messenger to the Paṇis (*R̥v.*, X, 108). The two great Indian epics viz. the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* represent irrational beasts as performing the duties of messengers carrying love-messages. Rāma sent Hanumān as a messenger to Sītā (*Rām.*, IV, 44) who also in return sent through him a message to Rāma (*Rām.*, V, 40). The *Mahābhārata* (III, 5331-2) mentions Damayantī as making a messenger of a swan which had come to her from king Nala and sending a message through it to the latter.

Of course in none of the above works there is reference to any ordinary irrational creature having been utilised as a messenger. All those messengers are represented as having possessed unnatural powers such as human voice and rationality to some extent and there is scarcely anything poetic in making messengers of them. But it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that Kālidāsa was inspired by what he read in the epics. He himself appears to indicate this in verse 105 of his *Meghadūta* (Pathak's edition) which runs—*इत्याख्याति पवनतनयं नैयिलीवीन्मुखी सा*. This naturally creates the impression that Kālidāsa might have had the account of Hanumān having been sent as a messenger to Sītā before his mind's eye when he composed his *Meghadūta*. Mallinātha, also, records an old tradition to this effect.¹ His predecessor

1 Mallinātha on *Meghadūta*, v. I—'सीतां प्रति रामस्य हनुमत्सन्देशं मनसि निधाय कविः कृतवान् इत्याहुः ।'

Dakṣiṇāvartanātha, too, in the beginning of his commentary on *Meghadūta* traces the origin of the central idea of the poem to the same source, viz., the account of Hanumān's carrying the message of Rāma to Sītā as given in the Rāmāyaṇa.

But besides these there were in India and outside before the time of Kālidāsa other works which are found to have made use of ideas closely similar to those of the *dūtakāvyas*. Thus the *Kāmavilāpajātaka* (No. 297) describes the sending of a crow as a messenger by a man in danger to his wife. Hsü Kan (between 196 A. D. and 221 A. D.) of China who translated the *Prajñāmūlaśāstraṭīkā* of Nāgārjuna into Chinese in one place describes how the cloud was requested by a lady to carry a message to her lord. Thus run the lines of the poet in question :—

“O floating clouds that swim in heaven above

Bear on your wings these words to him I love.’¹

It is true we have no positive evidence as to whether Kālidāsa had any knowledge of all these works. But it may reasonably be expected that he was aware of the popular accounts of the epics and the *jātakas*, if not of the Chinese poet; and he might have been indebted to them at least for the suggestion of the main idea of his book, viz., making messenger of an inanimate object, if for nothing else. Neither can it be dogmatically asserted that the account of the Chinese poet did not float to India in some form or other and indirectly help Kālidāsa to lay the foundation of *dūtakāvyas* in Sanskrit. Of course, this cannot, in the least, lower him in the estimation of the people as a great poet. For have not great poets of other lands like Shakespeare and others been known to have borrowed the plots of their works from earlier sources? Is not Kālidāsa himself indebted to the *Purāṇas* and the epics for supplying him with themes for some of his other works like *Abhijñāna-śakuntalam*, *Raghuvamśam* and *Kumārasambhavam*? A poet should be judged by his

¹ *History of Chinese Literature* by Giles—p. 119-20.

power of representation, penetrative insight into human nature, and the right and effective delineation of the characters of a poetic composition. And judged by this criterion his *Meghadūta* inspite of his borrowings, if there be any, rightly entitles him to the undisputed rank of the prince of Indian poets. For do we not meet with numerous instances of exquisite poetry in the *Meghadūta* which we unfortunately seek in vain in the epics, etc. which may be supposed to be the prototypes of *dūtakāvyas* in Sanskrit ?

According to some the idea of the poem was most probably first suggested to Kālidāsa by the *Yamakakāvyā* of Ghaṭakarpāra, who is traditionally believed to have been, like Kālidāsa, one of the nine gems adorning the court of king Vikramāditya and contemporary and rival of that great poet. His work incidentally describes how a lady finding it extremely difficult to bear the pangs of separation from her husband who was away from home addressed, at the approach of the rains, the floating clouds in the sky and requested them to report to her lord the sad plight through which she had had to pass. (*Yamaka-kāvyā*, vv. 8-13). But the tradition of nine gems being not substantiated by any historical proof it is not possible to determine the relation of the *Yamakakāvyā* to the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa.

Popularity of the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa

The new type of poetic composition introduced by Kālidāsa in his *Meghadūta* marks an epoch in the history of Sanskrit literature and it was fruitful in catching the imagination of the people. In fact it has been seriously suggested by M. Hippolyte Fauche that the *Meghadūta* stands without a rival in the whole elegiac literature of Europe.¹ Thus naturally, Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*—the earliest of the available *dūtakāvyas*—attained immense popularity from a very early period. It is to this popularity that we owe

1 Dr. Bhau Daji's *Essay on Kālidāsa*, p. 7.

the not few imitations of the work undertaken by a host of later-day poets. It is true that none of these imitations of which we can ascertain the date with any amount of certainty can be assigned to a period anterior to *circa* 12th century of the Christian era. But this need not lead one to conclude that the Meghadūta did not have a wide publicity before that date; for even if we accept for the sake of argument that it had no earlier imitation (the existence of which however seems only too probable from the statement of Bhāmaha in his *Alaṃkāra*, I, 42-44), we have a work of the 8th century which amply testifies to the high popularity it enjoyed at so early a date. I refer to the *Pārśvābhhyudaya* of Jinasena which incorporates the whole of the Meghadūta by way of *samasyāpūrti*. It is needless to point out here that the poet would not have interwoven the whole of the Meghadūta into his poem, as known to him, unless the latter was a well-known and highly popular work of his time. This kind of incorporation of the lines of the Meghadūta was undertaken, as we have already seen, by some other poets also in later days, giving proofs, if any were needed, of the popularity of the Meghadūta in those days. The comparatively old translations of this book which are available in Sinhalese and Tibetan also testify to the position held by it in popular estimation.¹ The unusually large number of commentators—fifty mentioned by Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*—who commented on this small work is another eloquent testimony to the unprecedented popularity enjoyed by a poem at any time. We only need to note here that the popularity which began so early has survived through these long centuries unabated to the present day not only

1 A Sinhalese paraphrase of it was discovered at Kandy by W. Gunatilaka and was published along with the Sanskrit text by the Hon. T. B. Pānbokke (Colombo—1893). The Tanjur contains a Tibetan translation of the Meghadūta which has been edited and translated into German by Dr. Beck (Berlin, 1907)—Hultzsch, Preface to his edition of Meghadūta, p. VIII.

among the Indians but also among peoples of the whole world.

History of the development of dūtakāvyas in Sanskrit

In tracing the history of the development of *dūtakāvyā* literature in Sanskrit we should begin with post-Kālidāsan works, that is, from the earliest imitations of Kālidāsa. Of the many available imitations of Kālidāsa's Meghadūta, Pavanadūta of Dhoyī seems to be the earliest, though a partial adaptation of the central idea is met with in an earlier work, the *Mālatīmādhava* of Bhavabhūti where the hero Mādhava asks a patch of cloud to relate to her lady-love, Mālatī, the love-stricken condition through which he was passing.¹ No earlier imitation of the Meghadūta is known to exist; and owing to our ignorance of the dates of many of these available imitations it is not possible for us to assign any one of them to a date anterior to that of Dhoyī. But we seem to be on strong grounds to suppose that the Meghadūta had a host of imitators long before the time of Dhoyī whose works like those of many other writers of ancient India have been lost for ever or are awaiting, in some unknown corner, the eagle eye of a fortunate discoverer. Thus Bhāmaha (end of 7th and beginning of 8th century) while finding fault with the lack of the sense of propriety of poets who make messengers of cloud, wind, moon, bee, *cakravāka* (anas casarca), *śuka* (parrot), etc. that are devoid of speech and the sounds of which carry no sense expressly states that even highly cultured poets are found to have recourse to this *motif* more often than not (*Bhāmahālaṅkāra*, I, 42-44). This statement of Bhāmaha scarcely leaves any room for doubt in concluding that dūtakāvyas (like *Meghadūta*, *Indradūta*, *Bhramaradūta*, *Cakravākadūta*, *Śukadūta*, etc.) were well-known in his time and they possibly constituted the preliminary

x 'देवात् पश्ये नंगति विचरन्निच्छया मत्प्रियां चेद
आत्रासादी तदनु कथयन्माधवीयामवस्थाम्'—*Mālatīmādhava*, Act IX.

stage in the imitations of the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa. We fail to understand what led Prof. Keith to take Vatsabhaṭṭi to be the earliest imitator of Meghadūta,¹ inasmuch as the influence of Kālidāsa's works on the Mandasor Inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman² (which is the only available work of Vatsabhaṭṭi) must be sought in the description of the rainy season which we get here and which may be supposed to have some connection with a similar description in the *Ritusamhāra* attributed to Kālidāsa. We equally fail to understand how Dr. Hultzsch comes to suspect traces of imitation of Kālidāsa's Meghadūta in the *Viśvaguṇā-darsa*³ of Venkaṭādhvarin which gives a description of an imaginary journey over India by two *gandharvas* one of whom praises while the other decries all things, apparently bad, that he comes across.

Now, in these post-Kālidāsan dūtakāvyas, all of which owe their inspiration to the celebrated Meghadūta, traces of indebtedness to Kālidāsa are to be met with at every step. In fact the borrowing goes to the extent of utilising the very metre used in the Meghadūta. Thus with very few exceptions (e. g. *Hamsadūta* of Rūpagosvāmin in *Śikharīṇī* metre, *Manodūta* of Viṣṇudāsa in *Vasantatilakā* metre, etc.) all the dūtakāvyas are composed in *Maṇḍākrāntā* metre of Meghadūta. The subject matter in most of them is also almost the same as in Meghadūta viz. the sending of a messenger by a lover to his or her beloved. And it should be noted that in many of these later poems we come across a good many words and expressions in the very form in which they are used by Kālidāsa not to speak of same or similar ideas occurring in them only in a slightly different form.⁴

1 *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 36.

2 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*—Fleet, vol. III, pp. 81ff.

3 *Meghadūta*, Preface, p. IX,

4 Cf. my edition of *Pavanadūta*, Introduction, pp. 13-4; also compare *Jaina Meghadūta*, I, 9 (युक्तयुक्तं समदमदनाविश्वतोऽविन्दमाना), *Hamsasandēśa* of

But these later poems though they have a common origin in the renowned work of Kālidāsa and each one of them has a remarkable similarity with the original in point of subject-matter and style, are found to introduce some changes here and there though not necessarily for poetic elevation. Thus inanimate objects (which move about) like the cloud and the wind that were conceived of as messengers originally—no doubt a highly poetic conception it was—made room gradually for animals and ultimately for human beings e.g. *Sukasandēsa*, *Uddhavasandēsa* etc. The climax was reached when abstract things like 'devotion,' 'mind' etc. (which can have no movement) occupied the place of messengers (as in *Manodūta* and *Bhaktidūti* etc.) and the poems tended to become allegorical.

The most curious fact however in the development of *dūta-kāvya* literature that strikes one is the introduction (probably by the Jainas first through the *Pārśvābhyudaya*) of the sentiment of tranquility in this class of literature (e.g. in *Manodūta* and *Bhaktidūti* etc.) which originally and even in most of the later poems was predominated by the erotic sentiment. We thus find that several poet-philosophers utilised this kind of poetic composition for giving a popular representation to religious tenets and philosophical doctrines (e. g. in *Śiladūta*). Several Jain poets composed messenger poems intended to serve the purpose of letters—the so-called *vijñaptipatras*—which they were required to send to their religious preceptors living far away, with a view to acquaint them with the works they

Vedāntadeśika, I, 5 (विज्ञेयेण क्षमितमनसां मेघशैलदुमादौ यावज्जादेयं भवति, किमुत कापि स'वेदनाहं), *Pavanadūta* of Vādicandra, v, 1. (दूत'मोहान्तं पवनमहदं प्राद्विषोदञ्चनेन, प्रायो मोहो भवति भविनां बोधग्रन्थलहेतुः), *Haṃsadūta* of Rūpagosvāmin, v, 8 (न तस्या दोषोऽयं यदि च विद्वग्ं प्रार्थितवती, न कश्चिन् विस्मयं दिशति हरिभक्तिप्रणयिता ।), *Meghadūta-samasyālekhā*, v, 5 (कायं प्रायः 'पवनसलिलज्योतिषां सन्निकायः, कार्यं चायं प्रवणकारैर्वीं विधेयः समर्थः । हर्षोत्कर्षादिति स सहसा ऽ चित्तयन् चित्वां कामार्त्ता हि प्रकृतिकपण्याश्चैतनाचेतनेषु ॥) with *Meghadūta* I, 5 ; also *Haṃsadūta* of Rūpagosvāmin, v, 9 (न याज्जा सत्पत्ने ब्रजति हि कदाचिद् विफलताम्) with *Meghadūta*, I. 6 ; Also *Sukasandēsa* of Lakṣmidāsa, v, 12 (आशापाशः किल चलदृशमाश्रयः शोषितानाम्) with *Meghadūta*, I, 10. Instances can further be multiplied.

were doing for the furtherance of the Jain faith (e. g. *Cetodūta* *Indudūta* etc.)

These new elements which found place in the *dūtakāvyas* furnish eloquent testimony to the immense hold this kind of composition had on the people; for there seems to be scarcely any room for doubt that it was on account of the wide popularity which these poems must have enjoyed, that philosophers and leaders of religious sects hit upon the novel idea of reaching the masses through them with their not so very palatable and interesting topics.

One more fact that is sure to strike one in the study of *dūtakāvyas* in Sanskrit is that the subject matter of most of these poems—whether Hindu or Jain—are more or less mythological in character in that the heroes and heroines in them are persons of mythological fame, e. g. Rāma, Sitā, Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā etc. in Hindu poems and Pārśvanātha, Nemikumāra, Sthūlabhadra etc. in Jain poems. Here, again, the Hindu poets are found to have given more prominence to the popular story of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, on the one hand, and that of Rāma and Sitā, separated from each other on the other. And it is curious that the fairly well-known and popular love-story of Nala and Damayantī and similar other mythological stories, eminently suitable for forming the subject-matter of a messenger-poem, are not known to have been touched by any of these later poets, busy ruminating on the hackneyed stories of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. Bengali poets, again, have almost as a rule, employed the story of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in their messenger-poems, the story of Rāma being met with only in a few so far known viz. *Bhramara-dūta* (No. 24 above) and *Candradūta* (No. 9 above). This predominance of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa stories in later *dūta-kāvyas* is probably due to the flourishing condition of the Vaiṣṇava faith—taken in its widest sense—all over India and specially in Bengal, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and onwards. But it is most curious that non-mythological (historical or imaginary) heroes or heroines may be

said to be almost conspicuous by their absence in these poems with the exception of the negligible few (e.g. *Parasādūta* of Dhoyī ; *dūtakāvyas* of the *viññaptipatra* type etc).

Dūtakāvyas in the vernaculars

That this particular type of poetic composition made a very deep impression on the popular mind far more than any other type of Sanskrit composition is proved not only by the abundance of messenger poems in Sanskrit, of which a fairly detailed survey has already been made, but also by the fact that some later-day poets thought it worth their while to compose similar poems even in the vernaculars. Thus the Sinhalese literature is known to embrace a long series of such poems viz. the *Mayūrasandēśa*,¹ *Kokilasandēśa*² etc. We have a *Haṃsadūta* in old Bengali composed by Narasiṃhadāsa in the 17th century, which is supposed to be a translation of a Sanskrit work of the same name by Raghunātha Dāsa.³ We get reference to two more works also of the same name in Bengali by Mādhava Guṇākara and Kṛṣṇacandra.⁴

*Contribution of Jain poets towards the development of
dūtakāvyā literature*

The credit of first utilising the *dūtakāvyas* for the dissemination of religio-philosophical tenets probably belongs to Jain poets. Thus as early as the eighth century the *Pārśvābhyudaya* of Jinasena which is intended to popularise the account of the sacred life and teachings of the first historical Jain teacher Pārśvanātha incorporates all the verses of Meghadūta within

1 Prof. Geiger in his *Litteratur und sprache der Singhalessen* mentions a good many Singhalese dutakāvyas at pp. 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 17.

2 *Ceylone Antiquary*, vol. III, pp. 13 ff. I am indebted to my former teacher Dr. S. K. Chatterji, M.A., D. Lit. for drawing my attention to this.

3 *Vaṅgasāhitya Paricaya* (Calcutta University)—D. C. Sen, pp. 850-60.

4 *History of Bengali Language and Literature*—D. C. Sen, p. 225.

it by way of *Samasyāpūrti* not of course invariably in the sense in which they occur in the work of Kālidāsa but sometimes in a slightly different sense to adapt them to the new work in which they are used. There are a few more similar compositions of Jain poets which though artificial in the extreme display the great mastery the authors had on the Sanskrit language, and they constitute an important stage in the history of *dūtakāvya* literature. We may cite the names of several such Jain poems here viz. *Śīladūta*, *Cetodūta*, *Nemidūta* and *Meghadūtasamasyālekha* which use the fourth lines of every verse of Meghadūta mostly in the corresponding verses in those works. It cannot be denied that they are not entirely devoid of poetic excellences. But being highly artificial and having had to adapt the verses of the Meghadūta to their own particular works the language in them is necessarily not spontaneous and easy-going but is difficult, terse and pedantic. But as they embody lines of the Meghadūta we find a clue in them to the text of it as it existed at the time of these authors and was known to them and as such they are highly important in helping us in the determination of the possibly genuine and original text of one of the most important works of Kālidāsa.

The Jains, again, in using this type of literature as the vehicle for conveying religious tenets to the people became instrumental in giving it a new turn. Thus almost all the Jain poems, unlike the Hindu ones, far from being based on any erotic sentiment bristle with an underlying flow of the sentiments of tranquility and devotion. In this connection reference may be made to the *viññaptipatras*—letters written by Jain hermits to their religious preceptors on the occasion of the *Paryuṣaṇaparva*—which were composed after the manner of the *dūtakāvyas* so that some object like the mind, the cloud, etc, were conceived of as carrying their messages to their *gurus* (e.g. *Cetodūta*, *Meghadūtasamasyālekha*, *Indudūta* etc).

Geographical information from the dūtakāvyas

Some of the *dūtakāvyas*, in the course of the description of the route to be followed by the messenger, furnish us

with elaborate topographical information. Of course, unfortunately for us, in most of the available *dūtakāvyas* this description is more or less conventional so that we miss there this much-expected and welcome information. We must, however, have to be satisfied with what little we get here considering the paucity of such information in Indian literature taken as a whole. Kālidāsa's description of a long route from Rāmagiri to Alakā bristling with important topographical information is well-known through the study of various scholars. The geographical data to be derived from the *Pavanadūta* of Dhoyī which describes the route from the Malaya range to Vijayanagara in Bengal, capital of King Lakṣmaṇasena, has been thoroughly discussed in more places than one.¹ The *Haṃsasandeśa* of Vedāntadeśika gives an elaborate description of a route from the Mālyavat hill to the island of Lankā. The *Śukasandeśa* of Lakṣmīdāsa describes the towns, shrines, mountains, rivers, and all objects of interest between Rāmeśvaram and Guṇapura, probably to be identified with Trikkana-puram near Cranganore. The *Meghadūtasamasyālekha* has a minute and detailed description of the route from Avaraṅgā-vāda (Aurangavād) to Dvīpapuri (or Dīv-vandar) in Gujarat. The *Indudūta* of Vinayvijayagaṇi gives a description of all the way from Yodhāpura (Jodhpur) to Surat. The importance of the descriptions of these last two poems, which belong to the Jains is heightened by the references they contain to the not few Jain temples and places of pilgrimage on the way. It is curious however that the *dūtakāvyas* dealing with the love affairs of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, most of which had their origin in Bengal, do not give us any light on the topography either of Vṛndāvana or of Mathurā with which places alone they are mostly concerned.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

1 J.A.S.B., 1905 (N. S.), vol. I, pp. 43-5 ; Introduction to my edition of *Pavanadūta*, pp. 19-26.

Origins of Hindu Iconism

Pre-vedic Aryanism knew no idols, and the word for 'God' in Indo-European languages involves no conception of a personal deity. But in Vedic religion two parallel streams of thought have to be distinguished. On the one hand there is the theistic, and even monistic, conception evolving possibly through the stages of polytheism, henotheism, monotheism and pantheism in the *R̥g-veda Saṃhitā*, the impersonal sacrifice in the Brāhmaṇas, and the all-powerful God in the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads, to the philosophy of the Absolute in the Upaniṣads. On the other hand, there is a parallel tendency towards anthropomorphic integration, towards Symbolism, for instance, of *Gāyatrī* and *Om̐kāra*, towards the representation of spiritual conceptions in their *Puruṣavidhā* character. The student of iconism is concerned with the evolution of the latter phase of the Vedic religion.

The transition from what may be styled word-painting or verbography in the Aryan style to iconography may be observed in various hymns even of the *R̥g-veda Saṃhitā*. In *R̥v.*, II. 33. 9 we find *babhruḥ Sukrebhiḥ pipiṣe hiraṇyair̥* which Prof. Wilson translates thus, 'shines with golden ornaments.' So also in *R̥v.*, I. 21. 2 we have *Indrāgnī śumbhatā narak̥*. Sāyaṇa explains *śumbhatā* in this passage by *nānāvidhair̥ alankāraiḥ śobhitau kuruta*, in which he might merely refer to the chanting of praises in honour of Indra and Agni, (especially as by Sāyaṇa's time images of Vedic gods had gone long out of fashion), but which Prof. Wilson translates into 'decorate with ornaments.' In *R̥v.*, III. 4. 5. *nr̥peśas* is explained by Prof. Roth as 'adorned by men' and by Prof. Wilson as 'of sensible shapes.' *R̥v.*, II. 33. 8 speaks of Rudra as white-complexioned (*śvitiṣe*), which taken along with *pipiṣe hiraṇyair̥* (*R̥v.*, I. 21. 3.) might

only be a verbographical description of the stormy sky, though there would be nothing philologically absurd in taking *nṛpeśas* as 'having the form of men.'

But there are passages in the *R̥g-veda* which would remain obscure unless resort is taken to iconographic explanation. Dr. Bollenson discovered a reference to images of *maruts* in *Rv.*, V. 52. 15 : *nū manvānā eṣām devān accha*—"to the gods of these (images) (the Maruts)," but the meaning is not clear, or the evidence conclusive, though *eṣām* in the passage seems to refer to something concrete which could be pointed to on the spot. Again, in *Rv.*, IV. 24. 10 (*ka imam daśabhir mamendram kṛṇāti dhenubhiḥ, yadā Vṛtrāṇi jaṅghanad athainam me punar dadāt*), we have reference to an image of Indra which was to be hired out for a rent of ten cows, and which was to be returned after use. This is the earliest passage which definitely suggests the first idea of an Indra festival, of which our evidence is overwhelming in the early centuries of the Christian era, from Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa*, and the Sangam work *Maṇimekalai* in the South. It is apparently referred to in *Rv.*, I. 10.1, XIX. 1 *brāhmaṇās tvā Satakrata udvaṃśam iva yemire*—"worshippers held thee aloft as if it were (on) a pole," (which reminds one of *puruhūtadhvajasyeva nananduh saprajāḥ prajāḥ* and *Indradhvaja ivotthitah* in Kālidāsa). Lastly there is a passage in the *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* (XX. 7) which explains the *R̥k*: *uru Viṣṇo vi kramasva uru kṣayāya naḥ kṛdhi*, by saying that "fire is to be piled with the 'navel of Viṣṇu.' It is twelve *āṅgulas* only, for thus much is the navel of Viṣṇu" while the *Tait. Saṃ.* (V. 2. 8) merely states that if the fire is piled without a navel, the *nābhi* (navel) of the sacrificer would be injured. The reference to *āṅgulas* in the *Kāṭhaka* puts one in mind of the *Puruṣasūkta* where the *Puruṣa*, certainly an anthropomorphic conception of the universe, exceeds the universe by ten *āṅgulas* (*sa bhūmim viśvato vṛtvā atyaṭiṣṭhad daśāṅgulam*).

In other passages one may discover reference to the casting

of images: In *Rv.*, VIII. 69. 12 we have *sūrmīyaṃ suṣīrām iva* which Ballantyne (*Mahābhāṣya*, p. 34) has rendered: "a beautiful perforated iron image". I find a variant of this expression in the *Tait. Saṃ.*, I. 5.7: *Sūrmī karnakāvātī* which Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara explains *lohamayī sthūṇā antaḥ suṣīravatī* (metallic body of holes).¹ The Vedic word *Samdṛś* may denote an image, as we have in *Tait. Saṃ.* (I. 6.6): *Samdṛśas te mā chitsi* and in *Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad* (V. 11): *na samdṛśe tiṣṭhati rūpam asya*. Other passages may be cited to the effect that there are references to concrete representations: *Rk-sāmāyoh silpe* (*T. S.*, I. 2.2) which Prof. Keith translates 'images of R̥c. and Sāman'; *ūruḥ prthuh sukṛtaḥ kartṛbhir bhūt* in *Rv.*, VI. 19.1 which refers to the 'makers' (kartṛ), and *nārvāg indram pratimānāni debhuh* (*T. S.*, II. 2. 12) where the word *pratimā* may be noted. Turning to the hymns addressed to a particular deity, e. g., Indra, I find clear evidence in the following (*T. S.*, II. 1. 6,) *arūṇo bhrūmān*: 'He is ruddy and has eyebrows'; (II. 2. 7).—*Indrāya gharmavate, indrāyāṅkavate*: 'To Indra with the thunderbolt, and Indra with heat' (Bohtlingk) which could only refer to a metallic image. Of Viṣṇu it has been stated in II. 2.12 that he *changed his shape* in battle: *yad anyarūpaḥ samīthe babhūtha*. But the clearest evidence I could find is in the *Atharvaveda*, VII. 3.1: *Svayā tanvā tanūm airayata*, (of which there is a variant in *T. S.*, I. 7.12) 'with your own body enter another body'. The reference here could only be to concrete representations of gods.

Some elaboration of iconographic detail may be detected in various passages: Indra is conspicuous for his *śipra* as he is referred to in numerous places as *suśipra* and *harīśipra* (*Rv.*, I. 9.3 and VI. 29.6). *Śipra* most probably means the chin as in *Rv.*, V. 45.6. where Manu is said to have over-

¹ Cf. *T.S.*, IV. 2. 5: *ayasmayam vi cṛtā bandham ctam*—'enter the iron (or copper) mould.'

come the *Viśipra* 'noseless peoples, i.e. peoples whose nasal ridge was not prominent. The invisible Wind-god (Vāyu) is referred to as *darśata* ('of pleasing appearance) which could only mean that Vāyu images were made to look beautiful. The term *Nāsatyau* (Aśvins) is found in the Boghazkoui inscription, and appears to be one of the oldest epithets of the twin-gods. Yāska explains the term as *nāsikāprabhavau*. At any rate he thinks *nāsatya* is derived from *nāsa* (the nose). The prominent nasality of these Aryan gods seems to be indicated here. Varuṇa is conspicuous as *bibhrad drāpim hiranyayam* 'wearing a golden armour'. The individuality of Rudra is outlined by the epithets *Kapardin* (*Rv.*, I. 113.1) *Tryambaka* (*Rv.*, VII. 59.12) *Kṛttivāsas* and *Pinākin* (*T.S.*, IV. 5). The Vedic hymner now refers to one, now to another, of these attributes, the sumtotal of which makes up the concrete representation of the god.

Along with this anthropomorphism there was the development of symbolism, and the conception of a god, he being regarded as possessed of structural details corresponding to the known functions he exercised. Taking Agni for instance, we find this description of the god in *Rv.*, IV. 58.3 (cf. *Rv.*, I. 31, 4 & 13): *Catvāri śṛṅgās trayo 'sya pādāḥ dve śīrṣe sapta hastāso asya tridhā baddho vṛṣabho roravīti*, 'four-horned is this great bull three-footed, two-headed and with seven hands. Bound in three places he roars aloud.' The hymn is found again in the *Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad* of the Yajurveda. As regards the other popular god Indra, we find his thunderbolt mentioned in *Rv.*, I. 102.18 and *Rv.*, II. 12.10, while *T. S.*, IV. 41 describes it as *yuktagrāvā* 'made of stone' (*abhiḥidasi yukta-grāvā Indrāya tvā*). We have concrete evidence as to how these passages either describe or at any rate have suggested iconographic details. There is a sculpture of Agni corresponding to the above description in the Chidambaram temple,¹ and the figure of Indra with the *Vajra* alone

(and without the Elephant which came to be associated with him in post-Vedic times) in the Sārnāth museum¹.

One step in the evolution of symbolism was the association of a god with some weapon (*āyudha*) or animal (*vāhana*). We have references to weapons all through Vedic literature, but none of them is associated with a god excepting *vajra* of Indra noted above. So also as regards *vāhana* we have a single instance of Sūrya whose seven steeds are mentioned for the first time clearly² in the *Tait. Br.*, along with other passages where it is definitely mentioned that there is only one horse, though it bears seven names. But the *Tait. Āraṇyaka* (III. 1) explains that there were seven Sūryas and not merely seven steeds of Sūrya, and attempts various explanations which are all symbolical. I may also mention that the *dikpālas* of the Purāṇic times are all Vedic deities, but none of their *āyudhas* (except Indra's) is found in Vedic texts.

In the face of these citations it is impossible to accept the *ipse dixit* of any Vedic scholar, however famous, that "the individuality of the Vedic gods being vaguely conceived was differentiated either by the species of animal drawing their cars or by the distinctive weapons held in their hands." This is evidently putting the cart before the horse, for, as we have already seen, there is much more evidence of the individuality—and hardly any of the weapons or vehicles characterising gods in the *Rv.*,—than is implied in this statement.

It is unfortunate that actual concrete datable evidence exists in India only from the Aśokan epoch onwards.³ If the older materials of building had been other than of wood, we would have been in a much better position. To deny the

1 Catalogue of the Sarnath Museum, No. 24. c. p. 318.

2 *Rv.*, (I. 50, VI. 44, V. 62) mentions 5, 6, 7, once even 1000 horses.

3 But see the figure of a devotee seated on a pedestal, and the outlines of temple architecture etc. at Harappa.

existence of Indian artifacts of an earlier age because the evidence is not clearly datable, is to deny the existence of the proto-historic period of Indian history. But even as it is, we have concrete evidence, reaching back to the 8th or 9th century B. C., of the existence of anthropomorphic images of gods. The figure of the earth goddess found on a gold leaf dug up from the Vedic burial mound at Lauriya Nandangarh, is one known instance,¹ and cannot be regarded as an isolated one until we have had a more systematic exploration of our ancient sites. The figures of Lakṣmī and Sūrya appear on coins from the 2nd century B.C.—those of Azilises and Demetrios. The Sanchi sculptures of Gaḷalakṣmī are of about the same period. But this does not justify Grunwedel's assumption that there was no pre-Buddhist art of the kind, for very commonsense indicates, as Gairdner (*Journal Asiatique*, 1911) showed long ago, that Mauryan art, being already a mature art, presupposes centuries of pre-existing indigenous artistic tradition. As Foucher has pertinently remarked, we should seek the origin of the art in the hereditary habits of the wood and ivory carvers of ancient India, not forgetting its goldsmiths. Since (1918) Foucher wrote on the art of Gandhāra we have had the image of Lauriya unearthed, thus fulfilling the shrewdness of his observation in regard to the goldsmiths. We could only supplement this solitary find by references found in literature. Buddhist tradition in the *Divyāvadāna* has it that Pasenadi of Kosala gave orders for *Tathāgata-pratimā*, (image of the Buddha) but failed. There are references to temples and images in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya.

The early evolution of iconography has to be taken along with the development of symbolism. It is an unwarranted statement that 'ideas of symbolism grew up in South India in the present century'. Primitive man even of the Stone age made symbolical representations of the Sun and the

1 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I. plate XI. fig. 21.

Moon. We have the circle and the crescent, denoting the Sun and the Moon in Egypt during the 3rd millenium B. C. The punch-marked coins of India, and the early coins in general, are redolent of this symbolism throughout. The lotus of Lakṣmī and the horse of Sūrya appear on the coins of Azilises and Demetrios in the 2nd century B.C. The symbolism of the number seven applied to Sūrya is discussed in the *Tait. Br.* (III. 1). In the Barhut sculptures we have the symbol of the Buddha, the *dharmacakra*, by the side of the figure of Pasenadi of Kosala. The symbolism of the seven mothers of Kārtikeya, the son of Agni-Rudra, as denoting the seven tongues of fire is found in the *Mundaka Upaniṣad* which mentions them—Kālī, Karālī etc., and may be traced back to the *Rv.*, which speaks of the seven hands of fire in the passage cited already.

A number of loose statements have been made by scholars in their anxiety to fit in literary references with preconceived theories of iconographic origins. Some of these statements have since been withdrawn¹ as I drew² attention *inter alia* to the fact that in the *Rv.*, Agni has two heads and seven hands (which even so great a scholar as Prof. Macdonell forgot and could not trace), that Indra's elephant does not appear at all in the *Rv.*, while his Vajra appears; that Śiva has five heads and ten arms both in literature and in archæology; and that images with eight hands are found much earlier than the 8th century. But the mistakes about Lakṣmī and Sūrya continue to be reasserted and I may deal with them here. Prof. Macdonell insists that Sūrya was recognised from the earliest times by the seven steeds. But in fact the seven steeds were the result of a long evolution and belong to mediæval times. On the coins of Demetrios (162 B. C.), we have the Sun driving in a four-horse chariot. There are only

¹ Compare Prof. Macdonell's position in the *Rūpam*, 1920 with that of his in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1916.

² See my papers in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1918.

three horses of Sūrya's car in one of the sculptures in the Sārnāth museum (G.36) and four horses at Bodhi Gaya. Nor are the seven horses of Sūrya described as characteristic of the god in the *Kāśyapīya*, or even in the works of Varāhamihira or Hemādri, or even found among the South Indian bronze figures of Sūrya.¹ As regards the view that the earliest form of Lakṣmī was that with two elephants pouring water over her as in the Sanchi sculptures, it is flatly contradicted by the *Śrī Sūkta*, a *Khila* hymn no doubt, but considerably earlier than any piece of evidence relating to Lakṣmī in iconography. The *Śrī Sūkta* mentions the lotus-garlands, (cf. a lotus in each hand in the icons) but does not mention elephants among the characteristic accompaniments of Lakṣmī, any more than horses or chariots.

As Hinduism became more and more syncretistic in the course of ages, it absorbed non-aryan peoples who were of a lower order of mental evolution and to whom only concrete forms of divinity could appeal. There was thus an elaboration of sculptural details of the gods, besides the inclusion of new gods in the pantheon. Four-armed gods appear in literature as early as the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bhagavadgītā* and in coins from the times of Kadphises II (c. 50 A. D.) gods appear with six, eight or even twelve arms, in literature of the second or third century, and in sculpture from the fifth or sixth century. That this phenomenon was due to the inclusion of cruder forms of cult necessitated by the co-operation with peoples in inferior grades of culture, is shown by the fact that the multiplication of heads, hands and feet is carried farthest in the case of *tāmasic* forms of the god-head, such as Virābhadrā form of Śiva, Kālī form of Umā; and in the case of gods and goddesses whose worship was specialised in the South, e. g. Skanda Subrahmaṇya and Mahiṣasuramardini. The eight-headed images of Ellora, Mahabalipuram and Kāñcīpuram are good instances in point. Even in sculptures of the same

1 O. C. Ganguli's *South Indian Bronzes*, figs. 24, 25.

period e. g. Ellora, Durgā has eight hands, Pārvatī four and Lakṣmī (Śrī) only two. The reference to Umā in the *Kena Upaniṣad*, and the Kalī or Piṭāri images in South Indian villages so universally in evidence to-day and referred to in *South Indian Inscriptions*, leave hardly any room for doubt as to this compromise of the Aryan religion with other faiths, by including their gods in an all-comprehensive scheme.

This elaboration of iconographic details at the instance of inferior orders whom Hinduism incorporated in its fold was helped by the architectural and sculptural skill of these peoples, especially in dealing with stone and other durable material. The architecture of *Maya* which originally was differentiated from that of *Tvaṣṭṛ* or Viśvakarman now came to its own and contributed to the future development of Indian art. Even to-day the five orders of metal workers and carpenters claim descent from Viśvakarman, and do not claim kinship with the stone mason. Both the stone mason and the sculptor in stone on the one hand, and the painter on the other, originally non-aryan custodians of arts had the most to do with this elaboration of structural details in images—an influence which penetrated to North India in the heyday of Rajput civilisation.

S. V. VENKATESWARA

Pre-Upaniṣadic Teachers of Brahma-vidyā

The history of Brahma-vidyā falls easily into four divisions:—

- (i) The Pre-Upaniṣadic period;
- (ii) The Upaniṣadic period;
- (iii) The Sūtra period; and lastly,
- (iv) The period of the Commentators.

The Upaniṣads were not the very first beginnings of Brahma-vidyā. The thought-movement, to which we give this name, had its roots still deeper down into antiquity. There were teachers of Brahma-vidyā even before the Upaniṣads; and it was they who first developed the ideas and handed them down to the next generations of thinkers. A fuller development of these ideas was reached in the Upaniṣads, which became the starting-point for all subsequent thinking on the subject, until we reach the Sūtras of the Vedānta. The Sūtras represent the most comprehensive attempt at synthesis of the many loose threads of thought contained in the Upaniṣads. After the Sūtras, thinkers on Brahma-vidyā seldom, if ever, looked back straight to the Upaniṣads, but always took their cue from the Sūtras; and proceeded to develop even important schools like those of Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja simply by the interpretation of these Sūtras; and it was through the Sūtras that they read the Upaniṣads and their systems were based on the Upaniṣads only indirectly.

If we may use a metaphor, the Upaniṣads represent the sapling, and not the seed, of Brahma-vidyā. The seed was sown earlier and was contained in the thoughts of the pre-Upaniṣadic thinkers. The Upaniṣads stand midway between them on the one hand, and the Vedānta-Sūtras on the other. The Vedānta-Sūtras represent the full-grown tree; and the different schools of commentary that arose after and out of them, stand for the manifold branches and blossoms of this tree.

The earliest pre-Upaniṣadic thoughts on Brahma-vidyā have been mostly lost for us, for the obvious reason that they were not reduced to systematic composition and writing. But traces of them may still be found in the Upaniṣads themselves.

1 The first thing that compels our attention in this connection, is, of course, the frequent references to the Ṛks. The Rg-veda, as a whole, is not a book on Brahma-vidyā; it is hardly one book and

its parts have little organic connection with one another. But there are in it verses that express high philosophical truths. And it is obvious from the frequent references to it found in the Upaniṣads, that the study of the Ṛks and their interpretation, were already leading to the conceptions of Brahma-vidyā. The Ṛks were already a sacred lore and the Ṛṣis, to whom they were revealed, were already occupying an important place in the intellectual world of the time. And, as in Plato's time, a reference to and a quotation from Homer gave point and authority to an argument, so in the philosophical debates of the Upaniṣadic times also, quotations from and references to the Ṛg-veda were always in place.

The homage paid by the Upaniṣads to the Ṛg-veda assumes two forms:—

(a) One way, in which this is done, is the actual quotation of verses from the Ṛks. Sometimes, these verses are quoted approvingly as an authority for an argument and sometimes also as containing in a nutshell the truths that the Upaniṣads elaborate more fully. Occasionally, again, a Ṛk is quoted as the concluding prayer of a book. Thus, the Īśā concludes with a Ṛk prayer: 'Agne naya supathā' &c. Other examples of quotations from the Ṛg-veda are Śv. iii. 14, where a Ṛk verse is quoted without any formal acknowledgment. Of course, this acknowledgment was not necessary, the Ṛg-veda being the common property of all and too well-known to scholars of the time to require any formal specification.

Muṇḍaka iii. 2. 10 also professes to be a Ṛk, but unfortunately it cannot be found in the collection of Ṛks that we now possess. Possibly, it is only a paraphrase of some Ṛk, and not a *verbatim* quotation.

Br. ii. 5. 16 contains a *verbatim* quotation from the first Maṇḍala of the Ṛg-veda. Br. iv. 4. 23, like the passage of the Muṇḍ. referred to above, also professes to be a Ṛk, but is not a *verbatim* quotation. It, too, may be a paraphrase, or may be a misquotation. If the quotations be assumed to be correct, the fact that they are not found in the existing collection of Ṛks that we now call the Ṛg-veda, would lead to the hypothesis that there were other Ṛks also which have been lost. But it would be a bold—almost an extravagant—hypothesis to make, on grounds like the above.

(b) There is another way in which the indebtedness of the Upaniṣads to the Ṛg-veda has found expression. Not only are references made to particular Ṛks, but the name of a Ṛṣi also is often cited and

the *mantra* revealed to him is discussed, in order to find out its inner meaning. Thus : Muṇḍaka iii. 2. 11 quotes Aṅgiras. Taitt. i. 7. 1 refers to a Ṛṣi, but does not give his name. Śaṅkara, too, does not know who he is, and thinks that the term 'Ṛṣi' here may mean the Vedas in general, or, it may also mean some Ṛṣi whom obviously he cannot name. ('*etad-darśana-sampanno vā kaścidṛṣiḥ*'..

Aitareya ii. 5 similarly quotes a Ṛṣi, and we are immediately told that the Ṛṣi quoted is Vāmadeva. The Ṛk quoted here belongs to the fourth Maṇḍala. Bṛ. i. 4. 10 also mentions Vāmadeva and quotes the Ṛk just preceding the above one and Bṛ. ii. 5. 16, as pointed out before, is a *verbatim* quotation, and gives the name of the Ṛṣi also, which is Dadhyac.

We do not pretend to give an exhaustive list of such quotations and references. The examples that we have given will show that germs of Brahma-vidyā were known to be existing in some of the advanced Ṛk-verses ; and that the Upaniṣadic thinkers did not forget to tap these sources.

But besides these Vedic thinkers, there were, it seems, other precursors also of Brahma-vidyā ; other thinkers also preceded the Upaniṣads and led up to them. They came after the Vedas but before the Upaniṣads.

2 Express references to earlier thinkers are found in several passages of the Upaniṣads. We have no reason to think that they were Vedic Ṛṣis. On the contrary, the way in which they are spoken of, shows that they were earlier teachers of Brahma-vidyā, who had come after the Vedic period and had been carrying on the study of the subject before the Upaniṣadic teachers.

Thus Īśā 10 refers to earlier teachers and says: "This is what we heard from the learned,—those, that is to say, who explained these things for us." Kena i. 3 is identical with this expression, there being a difference in one word only.

In Kaṭha i. 1. 21 the interesting statement is made that the questions raised there—undoubtedly questions of Brahma-vidyā—were very subtle and that even the gods had long meditated upon them. We do not care what the gods did or did not. But the statement obviously means that the questions were not being asked for the first time and that there had been men who had made an earlier study of them.

3 Besides this somewhat vague reference to the 'ancients,' there are also some more specific references to earlier Brahmvādins. Thus,

Kaṭha i. 3. 1 uses the expression 'Brahmaavid' and seems to refer to a class of thinkers who went by this name and who had already attained a position in the speculative world.

Ch. ii. 24. 1 similarly speaks of the Brahmvādins. The difference between a Brahmaavid and a Brahmvādin is one of emphasis and is practically nothing. The former means 'one who knows' and the latter 'one who speaks of' Brahma; obviously, one is not possible without the other and they imply each other.

Śv. i. 1 also starts with a reference to the Brahmvādins.

As before, the list of examples given here is not supposed to be exhaustive. But they are enough to show that a class of thinkers had already been in existence, who derived their name from the subject of their speculation and were called Brahmvādins.

A very interesting support to this position is found in Sāyaṇa's remarks on Aitareya Brāhmaṇa i. 3. Certain passages there he understands as giving the opinion of the Brahmvādins. According to Sāyaṇa, therefore, at the time of the Brāhmaṇas, the Brahmvādins had occupied such a position that the authors of the Brāhmaṇas had now and then to quote their views.

4 That the Upaniṣads did not grow on a virgin soil is also proved by references found in them to other earlier branches of culture, which also appear to have contributed to the growth of Brahma-vidyā.

Ch. vii. 1 gives a fairly long list of sciences that are said to have been studied by one who pretended to have received higher education. This list includes, besides the Vedas, such subjects as history, tradition (purāṇa), science of the stars, science of precious stones, &c. All these are of course different from Ātmavidyā or Brahmavidyā and cannot compare with it; Brahmavidyā was incomparably superior to them all. But when a student comes to read Brahmavidyā with a knowledge of these, can Brahmavidyā remain absolutely uninfluenced by them?

Br. ii. 4. 10, iv. 1. 2, and iv. 5. 11, also give lists of diverse sciences. These lists also include the Vedas and the Upaniṣads, along with history (itihāsa), tradition (purāṇa), Sūtras, exposition of Sūtras, &c. But there is one interesting subject mentioned here which deserves more than a passing notice; it is Ślokas or Verses. These also are mentioned as a subject deserving of serious study, just like history, the Vedas, and the Upaniṣads, etc. What these Ślokas stand for, we shall presently see. But it is obvious from these references to them that they also constituted a branch of the culture which pre-

ceded the Upaniṣads and must have contributed to their growth and development.

5 The importance of the Ślokas mentioned in the list of Vidyās given above, can be gauged by the fact that in more than a dozen places, Ślokas have been quoted *verbatim* by the authors of the Upaniṣads. We give below some of these references, without pretending to be exhaustive:

I'raṣṇa: iv. 11; v. 6; vi. 6. Taitt. ii. 1. 1. *et. seq.* (At the end of each Anuvāka, the discussion is wound up with a Śloka which forms the beginning of the next Anuvāka).

Ch. v. 2. 9; v. 10. 9; v. 24. 5; viii. 6. 6.

Br. i. 5. 1; i. 5. 23; ii. 2. 3; iv. 3. 11; iv. 4. 6, 7. & 8.

In all the above cases, Ślokas are quoted. This extensive quotation and the repeated reference to them as a branch of culture, show that the Ślokas belonged to what was presumably a fairly well-developed literature. Ślokas are generally introduced to wind up a discussion where they are apparently intended as an aid to memory. Sometimes (e.g. Br. ii. 2. 3), the Śloka quoted starts a discussion which then consists in only an elucidation of the meaning of the Śloka itself.

In one or two cases, it has so happened that a Śloka quoted by a prose Upaniṣad occurs as a part of the text of a verse Upaniṣad, but there is no acknowledgment of borrowing either way. Thus, Ch. viii. 6. 6 quotes a passage as a Śloka which is also found as part of the text of the Kaṭha in ii. 6. 16. Again, Br. iv. 4. 7 quotes as a Śloka a verse that occurs in Kaṭha ii. 6. 14.

Now, two hypotheses are possible here. It may be that the Chāndogya and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka were only quoting from the Kaṭha which they described as Śloka, because it consists of verses. Or, it may be, that both the Ch. and the Br. on the one hand, and the Kaṭha on the other, were quoting from a common earlier source. But the Kaṭha has been so frequently quoted not only by other Upaniṣads, but also by subsequent literature such as the Bhagavadgītā, that the first hypothesis seems more likely here. Besides, to say that the Kaṭha also, like the other books, was quoting from a third common source, would reduce a large portion of this book to mere unacknowledged quotation.

On the other hand, all the Ślokas quoted by an Upaniṣad, cannot, as indicated above, be found in another Upaniṣad. That proves the existence of a Śloka literature previous to the Upaniṣads. Or, shall

we say that all the Ślokas quoted by the prose Upaniṣads belonged to some verse Upaniṣad or other? In that case, too, we have to say that an earlier philosophical literature has been lost ; for, some of these verse Upaniṣads are certainly not extant. Perhaps the literature to which the Ślokas belonged, was never reduced to any definite form and only subsisted in oral tradition handed down from generation to generation.

Whatever hypothesis we may adopt about these Ślokas, one thing is certain, viz., that there was a philosophical literature other than the Vedas and other than the Upaniṣads as they have come down to us; and that it intervened between these two.

6 There is another fact that deserves consideration here. There are several passages which are found in more than one Upaniṣad. These common passages occur in the body of the Upaniṣads as part of the authors' texts and are not acknowledged by any of them as a quotation. In the case of the Ślokas, the prose Upaniṣads usually introduce them with the prefatory remark '*Here is a Śloka*,' and so on. But the common passages which also are verses are not introduced with any such remark which might indicate that they were quotations. They occur in the body of the book as part of the author's own language; yet curiously enough, they agree literally with passages in other books. We give below a few examples :

Kaṭha i. 2. 5 is identical with Muṇḍ. i. 2. 8.

Kaṭha i. 2. 22 is identical with Muṇḍaka iii. 2. 3.

Kaṭha ii. 5. 15 is identical with Muṇḍ. ii. 2. 10 and Śvet. vi. 14.

Kaṭha ii. 6. 17 (first line) identical with Śvet. iii. 13 (first line).

Śvet. iii. 20 is identical with Kaṭha i. 2. 20 (The words are the same; there is a slight variation in the order).

Śvet. iv. 6-7 is identical with Muṇḍ. iii. 1. 1-2.

These are all cases of verse Upaniṣads using common verses without any acknowledgment either way. They cannot be cases of accidental coincidence of language. Either one was quoting the other, or, both were using verses that were common property, and therefore, must have existed from before. Against the hypothesis of mutual quotation, we have to bear in mind that they were too numerous to be allowed to remain unacknowledged. The more likely hypothesis, therefore, is that the authors of all these Upaniṣads were using verses that were public property of the intellectual world of the time.

Besides the examples given above, there are also some cases where

a prose Upaniṣad quotes a verse, without the usual introduction that it is a verse (or śloka), and that verse is found in another Upaniṣad. Thus:

Br. iv. 4. 10 is identical with Īśā 9.

Br. iv. 4. 11 is identical with Īśā 3 (with slight variation).

Br. v. 15 is identical with Īśā 15-18.

In addition to all these, there are the thought-parallels—the use of common metaphors and anecdotes. For example, the story of Bālāki-Ajātaśatru occurs in more than one Upaniṣad. The same is true of many other anecdotes. Sometimes, even a metaphor is found repeated in more than one book, e.g. Śvet. i. 14 uses the very same metaphor as Kaivalya i. 11.

What do all these facts show? There must have been a common intellectual stock upon which all our Upaniṣadic authors drew. The cultural continuity between the Vedas and the Upaniṣads does not appear to have been so hopelessly disturbed as has been so often supposed. And the Upaniṣads do not appear to have originated outside the sphere of influence of Brāhmaṇical circles, and only subsequently grafted on them. The cultural continuity that is distinctly traceable makes it clear that the Upaniṣads were never free from Brāhmaṇical influences. After the Vedas and before the Upaniṣads, generations of teachers must have laboured before the Upaniṣadic ideas assumed the form in which we find them in the Upaniṣads. Perhaps they wrote no books and left no schools behind; but yet their thoughts are not all dead and must have influenced the thought of their immediate successors. They stood to the Upaniṣadic philosophers more or less in the same relation as the Ionian philosophers stood to the later Greek philosophers. They made the soil ready and sowed the seeds; the subsequent care-taking was in the hands of other generations of thinkers. It was under the care of these later men that the plants grew and gave out a fine foliage.

Like the Ionian thinkers again, these pre-Upaniṣadic philosophers have left little else than stray sayings; and it is these sayings, perhaps, that are preserved in the Ślokas. It is no longer possible for us to get at their thought-systems. Only scraps have been preserved; the thinkers have effaced themselves so completely—even their names have been so clean forgotten—that it is impossible to say how many and who they were, and, which sayings belong to whom. Only in the case of those who were raised to the pedestal of a Vedic Ṛṣi, and who, on that account, were more famous, have the names come

down to us. The rest have completely disappeared; only their stray utterances are left to bear witness to the fact that they came and went.

In a sense, even the teachers mentioned in the Upaniṣads,—our Ṛṣi Yājñavalkya and Uddālaka and Śvetaketu—were pre-Upaniṣadic teachers; for it is more likely than not that they were not contemporary with the writers of the books. But after all, the Upaniṣads give an account of their teachings; and even though the account may have been written later, the Upaniṣadic ideas are their ideas. What we are suggesting here is that they were the inheritors of a long past; they were preceded by a long line of teachers, most of whom have been forgotten. The Vamśas preserved in some of the Upaniṣads seem however to retain some of these names.

Brahma-vidyā did not flash into existence all on a sudden in the Upaniṣads. The grandeur of the Upaniṣadic Brahmanvidyā was not attained in a day. Others also worked at it and contributed their quota to the building up of this magnificent edifice. They did their work but have left no trace of themselves; and even their work is more or less merged in the larger whole for which they laboured.

The recognition of these forgotten pre-Upaniṣadic teachers is important for us, in so far as it enables us to see in its true perspective the position of the Upaniṣads in the complex mass of Śruti literature and also in so far as it enables us to see the stages through which Brahmanvidyā developed.

UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE

The Evolution of the State

Almost all the theories which western philosophers have propounded to explain the genesis of the state have been forestalled by their Hindu predecessors. It will be too much to expect detailed discussions on each one of these theories, but some important conclusions have been repeated in several ancient works. Attempts have been made to discover the necessary cause which lies at the basis of the state and also to investigate the events, conditions and circumstances which gave rise to states. Philosophical speculation has been mingled with historical and inductive knowledge to explain the genesis of political society.

Indian literature was not much studied in the days of Bluntschli and therefore it was possible for him to make a remark like this:

Even the ancient sacred books of the Jews, which inform us of the first rise of the Jewish state, pre-suppose the Egyptian state, without telling us anything of its origin. Perhaps the Indian state served as a model for Egyptian; but *the sacred writings of the Indians give us no light on the subject.*¹

It will be the object of this paper to point out to the mass of light thrown by Hindu literature on the rise and genesis of the state.

We are here asked to solve two problems:

(a) What was the original or pre-statal condition of primitive humanity?

- (1) Were the first generations of men living in a state of innocence, bliss and contentment? or
- (2) Were they living in a Hobbesian state of ceaseless warfare and misery?
- (b) Did man emerge from this non-statal or non-political condition to the political condition through
 - (3) the beneficent interference of God's will,
 - (4) force,
 - (5) inherent necessity or natural impulse, or
 - (6) social contract?

The first question has led to the theory of the golden age.

1 The Theory of the State, p. 259.

The second has given rise to the belief that the state of nature was a state of war.

The third has resulted in the acceptance of the theory of the divine origin of the state.

The fourth preaches the dogma that the state is the result of force.

The fifth develops the doctrine of the state being a natural institution.

The sixth leads to the conclusion that the state is a free work of contract.

Each of these theories has been anticipated by Hindu philosophers. We will take up their study in the order given above.

The state as a necessary evil

The most popular theory is that of the golden age. Well did Bluntschli say that the popular¹ imagination has dreamed of the golden age of Paradise, in which there were as yet no evils and no injustice, while all enjoyed themselves in the unlimited freedom and happiness of their peaceful existence. Everyone was like another. Then too there was neither ruler nor subject, nor magistrate nor judge, nor army, nor taxes. In comparison with such an ideal the later political condition of man must appear perversion and decline; thus the state was thought of as a necessary evil, at least as an institution of compulsion and constraint to avoid greater evils.

There is an extraordinary resemblance in the above thoughts and the expressions used by Bhīṣma in his discourse with king Yudhiṣṭhira on the beginnings of sovereignty in the golden age. We are told that² at first there was no sovereignty, no king, no punishment, and no punisher. All men used to protect one another piously. As they thus lived, righteously protecting one another, they found the task in time to be painful. Error then possessed their hearts. Having become subject to error, their virtue began to wane. They became covetous, lustful and wrathful.

Unrestrained indulgence set in. Men began to utter what they chose. All distinctions between clean and unclean food and between vice and virtue disappeared. During this confusion the Vedas

¹ Theory of the State, pp. 283-4.

² Mbh., Śānti Parva, chap. 59. 13-20.

and after them righteousness disappeared. Thereupon the gods supplicated Brahman to protect the world of men. Brahman compiled the science of polity and required the people to organize themselves according to the dictates of that science.

Nārada has similarly speculated upon the origin of law and justice. When mortals were bent on doing their duty alone and were habitually veracious, says he, there existed neither law-suits, nor hatred, nor selfishness. "The practice of duty having died out among mankind, law-suits have been introduced and the king has been appointed to decide law-suits, because he has authority to punish."¹

He is supported by Brhaspati who remarks that in former ages men were strictly virtuous and devoid of mischievous propensities. Now that avarice and malice have taken possession of them, judicial proceedings have been established.²

Plato too can be said to have subscribed to this view of the existence of the Golden cycle.

In the primeval world, and a long while before the cities came into being whose settlements we have described, there is said to have been in the time of Cronos a blessed rule and life, of which the best ordered of existing states is a copy.³

Bhīṣma's discourse leads us to the conclusion that the state is a divinely organized institution. It is not the result of contract or social compact. The state, law, justice are not necessary for virtuous men. Neither kings nor judges are needed for righteous people. The Kṛta age of the world is supposed by our philosophers to possess virtuous men and women alone, and hence they had no necessity for the state. It is evident now that the theory of the golden age leads to the belief that the government is a necessary evil.

The theory of anarchy

Hobbes and Spinoza did not believe in the existence of the golden age on this earth. They postulated a state of war as the normal condition of the most primitive man. The natural state of man was 'a condition of war of every one against every one.' Men like beasts were ceaselessly warring with each other. Rousseau's description of anarchical primeval state is inimitable, but it is equalled if

1 Nārada, I. 2.

2 Brhaspati, i. 1.

3 Laws, 713; Statesman, 291.

not surpassed, by the statements in the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. It has been suggested by many scholars that the expressions of Hobbes and Spinoza are to be understood rather as a logical statement of what would be the condition of man apart from civil society, than as distinctly implying a historical society. In this sense the Hindu account of the non-political condition of mankind is full of interesting details.

Bṛhaspati on anarchy

Anarchy is the worse of all conditions. In kingdoms torn by anarchy citizens devour one another. Sinful men enjoy by robbing the wealth of others. The wealth of one is taken by two, that of those two is taken away by many acting together. He, who is not a slave, is made a slave. Women are forcibly carried away. Every thing is destroyed untimely, every part of the country is laid waste by robbers, everybody falls into dreadful hell.

In the absence of king's protection men would disobey or even injure their very parents, even their very preceptors, guests and elders.

If the king did not protect, all persons possessing wealth would have to meet with death, imprisonment and persecution while the very idea of property would be lost.

If the king did not protect, all restrictions about marriage would disappear; all matters of agriculture and trade would fall into confusion; morality and the three Vedas would disappear.

In the absence of king's protection, all kinds of injustice would commence; intermixture of castes would occur; and famine would devastate the kingdom.

In the absence of king's protection, all things, filled with fear and anxiety, and becoming senseless and uttering cries of misery, would be ruined in no time.

As, O king, all creatures cannot see one another and sink in utter darkness if the sun and the moon do not rise, as fishes in shallow water and birds in a safe place dart and move about as they please (for a time) and repeatedly attack and grind one another with force and then are destroyed, so men sink in utter darkness and meet with destruction if they have no king to protect them like a herd of cattle without the herdsman to take care of them.

If the king did not observe the duty of protection, the strong would by force misappropriate the property of the weak, and if the

latter refuse to surrender to them easily. their very lives would be taken.

Nobody then, would be able to say about any of his belongings, this is mine. Wives, sons, food, and other kinds of property would cease to exist.

Ruin would befall everything if the king did not observe the duty of protection. Wicked men would by force appropriate the cars, dresses, ornaments, precious stones and other kinds of property belonging to others if the king did not protect.¹

This theory implies that the state is necessarily a beneficial institution. There can be no society, no peace, no order, no progress, nor even existence without government. The benefits of the existence of the state are inestimable. Chaos and anarchy are on one side, life, property, morality, order, and progress are ensured by the other.

We need not suppose an inherent contradiction in the preceding two doctrines. They were harmonized with one another by Hindu philosophers when they averred that in the beginning humanity was living in an idyllic state of Earthly Paradise; time came when the people fell from that pure, noble and high life through passion, ambition, delusion, rapacity; this fallen humanity was subjected to the beastly war of every one against every one and then emerged king, law, and government. Such an hypothesis of the origin of body politic and the justification of government is also found in Aristotle:

"He who by nature and not by mere accident is without a state, is either above *humanity* or below it; he is a 'tribeless, lawless, hearthless one,' whom Homer denounces—the outcast who is a man of war."²

State v. Anarchy

Many Hindu books refer to the popular maxim that the world is dominated by the Mātsya Nyāya—the Logic of the Fish. It is merely another name for the Darwinian struggle for existence, for the Spencerian formula of the Survival of the Fittest, Marxian axiom of class-struggle or the race-struggle of Gobineau and Cumplowicz. The Hindu formula of the logic of the fish is all comprehensive and it

1 Cf. Śānti Parva, chapters 67, 68, 90, 91. Manu, vii. 20-25, Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā K., chap. 67.

2 Aristotle's Politics, I. 2. 9.

implies universal struggle going on in every place and every time. The Indian philosophers were wide awake. They witnessed this life and death struggle among the fishes, birds, animals and men too. The latter are as much inherently subject to the same law of destruction as the lower animals, but they can be saved from its ruthless operation by the interference of the state. The rule of law, the fear of punishments puts a stop to this struggle. Thus while extreme individualistic writers posited this dogma of the survival of the fittest as a beneficent and moral law for the betterment of the world, the Hindu philosophers like the modern socialists favoured the interference of the state for checking the destructive operations of the law. The antiquity, popularity and significance of this important contribution to political science will be evident from the following passages :

The stronger will eat up the weaker just as men eat fish on the spit. The stronger will eat up the weaker as the strong fish make a prey of the weak fish in the water.¹

We have heard that men, in days of yore, in consequence of anarchy, were ruined, devouring one another like stronger fishes devouring the weaker ones in the water. The strong will oppress the weak after the manner of the fish in the water.²

As all creatures cannot see one another and sink in utter darkness if the sun and moon do not rise, as fishes in shallow water and birds in a safe place dart and move about as they please for a time and then repeatedly attack and grind one another with force and then are destroyed, so men sink in utter darkness and meet with destruction if they have no king to protect them like a herd of cattle without a herdsman to protect them.³

In kingless lands no law is known,
And none may call his wealth his own ;
Each preys on each from hour to hour,
As fish the weaker fish devour.⁴

In this world where beings are related to one another as food and consumer, when proper chastisements are withheld, the exertions of a king to keep his subjects under control, become as futile as those of an angler trying to catch fish without the help of a rod.⁵

1 *Manu* vii. 20 ; *Yuktikalpataru*, p. 15.

2 *Śānti Parva*, 67. 16-17.

3 *Śānti Parva*, chap. 67.

4 *Griffith's Rāmāyaṇa*, ii. lxvii.

5 *Kāmandakī*, ii. 40.

There is no race in the world without a king. I do believe that the gods introduced the magical name among men in their alarm, fearing that otherwise the strong would devour the weak, as great fishes eat the little.¹

According to Raghunāthavarman, the logic of the fish is an accompaniment of the logic of the monsters. The latter implies two equal forces neutralising each other or two men of equal power fighting and destroying each other like the traditional monsters Sunda and Upasunda. The logic of the fish is used only in those cases when two facts or men are of unequal strength and the one can overpower the other. It is frequently mentioned in the Purāṇas and books on history. An illustration is given in the story of Prahlāda described in the Yogavāsīṣṭha. "By this time there came to be in the Nether region an extremely kingless or anarchic state characterised by the deplorable logic of the fish. As the strong fishes make an end of the weak ones, so in that region where anarchy ruled supreme the strong men destroyed the weak ones."²

When the law of punishment is kept in abeyance, it gives rise to such disorder as is implied in the proverb of fishes; for in the absence of a magistrate the strong will swallow the weak; but under his protection the weak resist the strong.³

In the absence of punishment, strong people will devour the children, the old, the sick persons, ascetics, priests, women and widows just in the manner of the logic of the fish.⁴

The Bhāgavata preaches that the handless creatures are the means of sustenance to the beings having hands (human beings), the footless (all vegetables), to the quadrupeds, and the smaller to the greater ones; in this way all weaker beings are the means of sustaining life to other beings of greater power.⁵

The Viṣṇudharmottara thus depicts the evil consequences of the universal strife in the non-political state.

"If law were not to defend, all will be drowned in blinding darkness. Hence law controls those who ought to be controlled and punishes men of violent tempers.

If the law should fail to protect the people, they following the

1 G. A. Jacob's *Laukikanyāyāñjali*, ii, p. 57.

2 Ibid., p. 57.

3 Arthaśāstra, Eng. tr., p. 10 :

4 Matsya Purāṇa, ccxxv. 9.

5 Bhāgavata, I. 13. 46.

principle of the logic of the fish, would eat up the children, the old, the afflicted, the ascetics, the priests, the maimed and the women. The gods, demons, divine serpents, men, animals, birds, all shall transcend their own limits in the absence of the rule of law.¹

The state as a divine institution

The state is a prototype of the God's kingdom on earth. All conquerors and despots have pinned their faith to this theory. Alexander declared himself to be the Son of Zeus. Akbar by starting the *Din-i ilahi* and accepting the prostrations of his followers raised himself to the status of a divine being. The Emperor of Vijayanagara had the title of *Paramēśvara*—God himself. The Austrian king too appropriated very high sounding titles. The formal titles of the Italian king are no less funny.

The English king is the Lord's Anointed. The Kaiser had the temerity in this twentieth century to openly declare to his troops that he was the God's vicegerent on earth : "Remember that the German people are the chosen of God. On me, as German Emperor, the spirit of God has descended. I am his weapon, his sword and his vicegerent. Woe to the disobedient. Death to cowards and unbelievers."

These are the remnants of the theory of the divine personalities of sovereigns. The age-long institution of monarchy has taken deep roots in the human mind and it is impossible to root out the sentiments and beliefs in 'the divinity that doth hedge a king.'

While there are many passages in the Indian political literature which propound the belief in the divine direction of human affairs, there are other statements that distinctly lay down that kings are not only representatives or vicegerents of God on earth, but incarnations of God himself. The second is only the necessary and logical consequence of the first. In India as in Europe the same process was worked out.

In the middle ages the chiefs of Christendom were looked upon as divine personages being representatives of God himself, but later on they grew to be the incarnations of God. All authority emanated from the divine source of the person of a king. Louis XIV gave expression to this belief in the words : 'We Princes are the living

images of Him, who is all holy and all powerful.' His minister Bhasent explained and fortified the position of his sovereign by maintaining that 'kings are the ministers of God, and his vicegerents on earth'. The Throne of a King is not the throne of a man, but the throne of God himself. The person of a King is sacred and it is sacrilege to harm them. They are Gods and partake in some fashion of the divine independence.'

Divinity of kings

In the Hindu political system too, the divinity of rulers has been emphatically taught. The primeval law-giver Manu lays down that a king has been created by God through the eternal essences of Indra, Wind, Yama, Sun, Fire, Varuṇa, Moon, Kubera. As a sovereign has been made from the essences of the great gods like Indra, etc., he overpowers all living beings through his energy. Like the sun itself, he burns the eyes and minds of men. There is none capable on the earth to see his face. He becomes Fire, Wind, Sun, Moon, Yama, Kubera, Varuṇa, and the great Indra through his influence.

As if these assertions were not sufficient to justify the absolutism of sovereigns, Manu teaches his readers the significant lessons that they should not look upon a king as a mere man. Even when he is a child, he should not be ignored. He (in the form of a man) sits upon the throne as a great God.¹ These ordinances inculcate the sacred duty of passive obedience to the king. The Nītiprakāśikā of Vaiṣampāyana faithfully reproduces the above doctrine in the very words of Manu viii. 1-7).

The high water mark of this doctrine is reached in the teachings of Bhīṣma² who states on the authority of the sacred books that in crowning a king it is Indra that is crowned, hence a person who is desirous of prosperity should worship the king as he would worship Indra himself. "What other cause can there be for which all men obey one person, save the *divinity of the monarch*. A king is really a portion of Viṣṇu on earth. No one should obey a king by taking him for a man, for he is in sooth a great god in human form."

This doctrine of the divine personality of rulers led to the dangerous doctrine of the divine rights, or to absolute and irresponsible

¹ Manu, chap. vii. 3-8.

² Śānti P., lxvii. 4; lix. 131, 134; lxviii. 40.

sovereignty. In India too we find an anticipation of the principle that the king can do no wrong.

The full significance of this monstrous maxim can be realized from the commentaries of Blackstone. He observes that "the king is not only incapable of doing wrong, but even of thinking wrong; he can never mean to do an improper thing; in him is no folly or weakness."

Such an incredible theory that the king, though an ordinary man, is not liable to err; that he is ever right and just; that his acts though oppressive, unrighteous or brutal, are not wrongful; that he is not amenable to any earthly court of law; that he is absolutely immune from punishment, has led to the dismal dictum that "the erring prince must be left to the rebukes of his own conscience, and to his personal accountability to God alone."

King's responsibility

The Indian political philosophy has not gone so far as to confer immunities upon the king. He cannot indeed be called as a witness in a court of law, but many others have got the same privilege.¹ He can be punished. The sentence is in some cases more severe than on ordinary offenders. Kings are not law-makers. They are not above law. Law is above kings.² Then law is to be interpreted by Brāhmaṇa judges. Laws are to be administered with the help of legal councillors. Kings are inferior in social status to a Ṛṣi, Brahmanavādin, Brahmachārī, etc.³

King can be even deposed for the wrongs that are done by him.

The subjects have the right to revolt against him⁴ and invite some other king to rule over them as was done in the bloodless English Revolution of 1688.

The king is actually beaten during the ceremonies of the coronation by the representatives of the four classes.⁵

The king is responsible both to the people before whom he takes

1 Manu, viii. 65-68; Nārada, i. 147-171; 177-197; Bṛ. Up., vii. 13-14.

2 Manu, vii. 14-27.

3 Arth., i. 3; Manu, vii. 41; Śukra, i. 68-69, 142-5.

4 Mahāvamśa, pp. 19, 53, 261.

5 Śatapatha, v. 4. 4. 7.

oaths to faithfully execute the laws of the land,¹ and to be responsible to God. He commits a crime as well as a sin in violating a certain law.

The king has been called a slave of the people, whose wages are the taxes obtained from his subjects for their protection.²

For these and other reasons the Hindu political science does not recognize an irresponsible, unerring, unpunishable and unjust king. *It takes him to be endowed with divine functions rather than with divine rights.*

The verses of Manu have been perverted in interpretation by the interpolatory verses regarding the divinity of kings. Such passages are spurious, as they are totally against the spirit of the laws of Manu.

Even a king of divine origin like Veṇa was not merely deposed but murdered on account of his tyranny. He was succeeded by Pṛthu who took solemn oaths not to rule capriciously, but righteously, impartially, and according to the dictates of ethics and politics. The Hindu Śāstras idolize constitutional kings alone. Capricious, despotic, tyrannical rulers are condemned to hell in the life to come and the loss of their kingdoms here.

Divine duties and not rights

The statement regarding the creation of kings from the essences of the gods is to be found in several works. The real significance reverses the meaning ordinarily given to those passages. There is no straining of the sense, and no attempt at reading thoughts not found in the books. The sense is so clear that anyone who runs will be convinced of the pregnant ideas embedded in the verses.

Let us first take the Śukranīti. It is emphatically stated therein that the king is made out of the permanent elements of Indra, Vāyu, Yama, Sun, Fire, Varuṇa, Moon, and Kubera, and is the Lord of both the immovable² and movable worlds. Śukra has himself so explained this passage that he leaves no doubt as to its exact significance. The king has to perform certain duties which are assigned to the gods in the kingdom of nature. *He resembles them in the performance of those functions.*

Says Śukra:

Just as Indra is the receiver of his share and clever in protecting the people, so should also be the king.

1 Śānti P., lix. 102-107.

2 Śukra, i. 375.

As the wind is the diffuser of scents, so the king is the guide in good and evil actions. As the sun is the dispeller of darkness, so is the king the impeller of religion and destroyer of irreligion.

As Yama is the god who punishes human beings after death, so also the monarch is the punisher of offences in this world.

Like Fire, the prince is the purifier and the enjoyer of all gifts.

As Varuṇa sustains everything by supplying moisture, so also the king maintains everybody by his wealth.

As the moon pleases human beings by its rays, so also the king satisfies everybody by his virtues and activities.

Like the god of wealth the king should be vigilant in protecting treasure and possessions.

As the moon does not please if deprived of one of its parts, so the king does not flourish unless he has all the parts described above.

The preceding passages have emphasized upon the eight important duties of rulers.

These can be summed up as under :

- (1) Levying taxes and fully protecting the subjects in return.
- (2) Establishing virtue and eradicating vice.
- (3) Spread of education and orthodoxy and the rooting out of heterodoxy and ignorance.
- (4) Administration of justice.
- (5) Realization of revenues.
- (6) Generous expenditure of what has been collected as revenue for the good of the public.
- (7) Procuring means for the amusements of the people.
- (8) Security and increase of national wealth.

It is the doctrine of the divine duties of kings and not of the divine rights of sovereigns that has been expounded by political science in India.

Śukra is not satisfied with showing close resemblance between the important functions of earthly kings and the powers of nature. He seeks his analogies from the world in which we live, move and have our being. According to him, the sovereign *is always possessed of the attributes of seven persons*, e.g., father, mother, preceptor, brother, friend, Vaiśravaṇa or Kubera and Yama.¹

As a *father* makes his offspring qualified. (i.e., by education), so the king can endow his subjects with good qualities.

The *mother* pardons offences and nourishes the children. (so also the king).

The *guru* is an adviser to the disciple and teaches him good lessons, (so also the king).

The *brother* takes out his own legal share from the ancestral property so also the king receives his own share of the people's wealth and produce).

The *friend* is the confidante and keeper (or protector) of one's self, wife, wealth, and secrets, (so also the king).

Kubera gives wealth, (so also the king), and *Yama* is the punisher (so also the king).

These attributes abide in the king who is prospering. These seven qualities should never be deserted by a king¹

These injunctions are supported by Manu and Bhīṣma in an unequivocal language thus:

The lord of all creatures, viz., Manu, has declared that the king has seven attributes: he is mother, father, preceptor, protector, fire, Vaiśravaṇa, and Yama.

The king by treating his people mercifully is called their *father*. The subject, who plays him false, is born in his next life as an animal or a bird.

By doing good to the n and by supporting the poor, the king becomes a *mother* to his people. By consuming the wicked he is regarded as *fire* and by restraining the sinful he is called *Yama*.

By making presents of riches to his dear ones, the king is regarded as *Kubera*, the granter of wishes. By delivering instructions on morality and virtue, he becomes a *preceptor*, and by exercising the duty of protection he becomes the *protector*.

That king, who pleases the inhabitants of his cities and provinces by means of his virtues, is never divested of his kingdom for observing such a duty.

That king, who knows how to honour his subjects, never suffers misery either in this world or in the next.²

In another place, Bhīṣma thus emphasizes the character of the king as mother:

The king should always treat his subjects as a mother does the child of her womb. Hear, O king, why this is desirable.

As the mother, even not caring for those objects which she likes best, seeks the well-being of her child alone, so, forsooth, should kings treat their subjects.

A righteous king, O foremost one of Kuru's race, should always act in such a manner, as to sacrifice what he loves most for the sake of securing the well-being of his people.¹

In the 68th chapter of the Śānti Parva, it has been declared that the king puts on five different forms according to five different occasions. He becomes Fire, Sun, Death, Kubera and Yama.

Then Bṛhaspati similarly explains the import of these functions.²

This idea of functions has been brought out in another discourse of saint Utathya. He advised the emperor Māndhātṛ to *imitate* Yama in his conduct by restraining all his subjects without making any distinctions. It is further pointed out that the king is said to *resemble* the thousand-eyed Indra, because whatever is regarded by the king as righteous is accepted as such by all. The saint summed up his teachings by saying that Indra, Yama, Varuṇa and all the great royal sages had acted upon principles expounded by him, therefore the emperor should follow the same conduct.³

In the Matsya Purāṇa and Viṣṇudharmottara⁴ kings are advised to follow the functions of the various deities in their treatment of subjects. Rulers ought to imitate the sun, the moon, earth, wind, fire, Yama, Varuṇa and Indra. The similarities in the characters of the gods and kings are said to be as follows:

Gods	Kings
Sun	None should be able to gaze at the king by reason of his splendour.
Moon	People are mightily delighted to see him. Just as people feel joy on seeing the full moon, so the officials should be delighted at his sight.
Yama	Impartially punishes both friends and foes.
Varuṇa	Sinners are effectively caught in the nets of the king.

1 Śānti P., ch. 57, 44-46.

2 Bṛhaspati, 41-47.

3 Śānti P., ch. 91, 44-57.

4 Matsya Purāṇa, ch. 226 ; Viṣṇudharmottara, i. 71, 1-10.

Agni	Kings ought to be valorous and burning to the wicked and cruel officers.
Earth	Kings should support and look after all their subjects.
Indra	Kings should shower gifts for four months.
Sun	Kings should collect taxes from their kingdoms for eight months as the sun sucks up moisture.
Wind	A king pervades all through his spies.

It must have been evident now that Hindu Śāstras do not really teach the principles of the divinity of kings their divine rights, or their immunity from punishment, but they emphasize the doctrines of divine duty and civic responsibility. Hence the dogma of the state as a divine institution was not taught in ancient India. However the time came as is clear from the assertions of Manu, and Cāṇakya when the doctrines of the divinity of rulers and their divine rights were preached here.

The political nature of man

Some philosophers have developed the precious idea of Aristotle that man is a political animal. They believe that when society is once formed, government results as necessary to preserve and to keep that society in order. But J. Bentham has rightly criticised the above statement of Blackstone in these words: "According to this, political society, in any sense of it, ought long to have been established all the world over. Whether this be the case, let anyone judge from the instances of the Hottentots, of the Patagonians and of so many other barbarous tribes, of which we hear from travellers and navigators."¹

There is much truth in this criticism. If man were a political animal by nature, he must have satisfied this inherent instinct, this natural and eternal impulse from the very beginning by uniting with others in political communities. It is, however, not the case. From time immemorial people have been living in nomadic state. When men of extremely primitive civilization can live, propagate and wander together in groups without any political bond whatsoever, men of virtuous, unselfish, peaceful and altruistic temperaments must be more able to live together without any political unions.

One Vedic verse formulates the hypothesis that the state had its existence from the very beginning. It is said that : "Vrātya was filled with passion, from him sprang the Rājanya. He came to the people, to kinsmen ; food and nourishment followed him. He went to the people ; assembly and council, army and treasure followed him."¹

It is evident that kingship was established first and then followed the various political institutions.

The state as a necessary good

In the Puruṣa hymn which is found in all the four Vedas, society has been likened to the body of the Virāṭ Puruṣa—the Supreme Person. The hymn contemplates society as a manifestation of the divine will. It is consequently not a necessary evil, but a necessary good. It is a perfect organism. Man is the noblest work of the God's creation being made in the God's image itself, so the society is the noblest organization, made as it is in the image of the Virāṭ Puruṣa. The various sections of the society are harmoniously set together in one undivided whole, breathing and pulsating as one organism only. The principles of unity, equality and fraternity are indirectly taught in this hymn.

Again, the conception of this Virāṭ in the Atharva Veda² is full of significance. It is said that this world was at first Virāṭ, controlled by law. At its birth all were afraid at the thought that it will become or control this all. Law first entered into the families and established, through the institution of marriage, regular worship of the family fires.

After the growth of the families, there came into existence villages, districts, and countries. Law was successively established in all of them. It was expressed through special political bodies called the *Sabhā* or village-moot, *Samiti* or district council and *Āmantrana* or congress of the whole country. The political evolution of a society through the territorial development of sovereignty has thus been outlined in a Vedic hymn. It is remarkable to find that the Veda should have recognized a time when the institution of families did not exist. After family life was established, there came into existence higher and higher forms of government through the assemblies of the people. No idea has been given of the non-political or pre-statal condition.

1 Atharva Veda, 15. 8-9.

2 Ibid., 8. 10.

As Virāj is represented elsewhere as an issue of Brahṁā, it appears that the state was a divinely contrived mechanism. It is the immediate work of God. This hymn like many others works out the idea which the Augsburg Confession¹ teaches in its 16th Article that all authority, government, law and order in the world have been created and established by God himself.²

The beneficence of the institution of the state has been very naively brought out by Kāmandaki. He emphatically asserts the existence of the law of the survival of the fittest and the struggle for existence by using the pithy and popular phrase of the logic of the fish. His arguments can be summarised thus:

In this world beings are related to one another as food and consumer. There is a perpetual struggle between the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor, the ruler and the ruled. The logic of the fish is working among all. Human beings are saved from the terrible consequences of this struggle by the existence of laws and the dread of punishment. There is a strong and ingrained propensity among men to give way to lower passions and animal instincts. They are kept back through the rule of law. In the words of Kāmandaka "this stayless world is being forcibly drowned into the lake of sin by lust, cupidity and such like passions, but is supported by the king through the prompt infliction of punishment. Upright conduct is scarce in this slavish world of ours. But as it is, men attend to their prescribed duties only through the fear of punishment." In his opinion the state means the rule of law and the maintenance of customs, usages, conventions and traditions. "The king is the lawful promoter of all righteous usages followed by various classes, communities and occupations. In the absence of a ruler all righteousness is lost and this loss entails the destruction of the world itself."

The beneficence of the state is brought out in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa wherein it is propounded that even the gods cannot live without a ruler. As long as the deities were without a leader, they were defeated in all directions by the demons. Finding themselves in such a predicament, all of them agreed to elect a king. "They elected Soma their king. Headed by their king, they were victorious in all directions." This allegory teaches us that even the highly gifted, brave and virtuous persons cannot live long in a non-political state. As soon as internal or external struggle begins, the institution

1 1530 A.D.

2 Bluntschli, p. 287 n.

of the state becomes a paramount necessity. The story is written to emphasize the idea that the state is a very beneficent institution and a *sine qua non* of peace, order and progress.

In passing, a note should be taken of the other significant lesson that kings should be elected and that too as far as possible by the consent of all.

Theory of contract

It is most surprising that the Hindu philosophers should have postulated the historical existence of society living in a state of warfare. This anarchy was put an end to by a *voluntary contract*. Bhīṣma has thus stated this theory to king Yudhiṣṭhira.¹

We have heard, that men, in days of yore, in consequence of anarchy, were ruined, devouring one another like stronger fishes devouring the weaker ones in the water. *We have heard* that a few amongst them, then, assembling together, made certain agreements saying that he who becomes harsh in speech, or violent in temper, he who seduces other people's wives or rob others' wealth should be renounced by us.

For inspiring confidence among all classes of the people, they made such an agreement and lived for sometime.

Assembling after some time, they proceeded in great misery to the Grandfather, saying—Without a king, O divine lord, we are meeting with ruin. Appoint some one as our king.

All of us shall adore him and he shall protect us. Thus prayed for, the Grandfather asked Manu who, however, did not agree to the proposal. Thereupon certain agreements were entered into between the two parties—the would be ruler and the people.

Having been fully assured by the people that they would obey his commands, pay him taxes, *help him in the work of administration*, Manu consented to become their king.

The following extract from Plato's Republic will be of great interest for comparison :

So that after men had done one another injustice, and likewise suffered it, and had experienced both, it *seemed* proper to those who were not able to shun the one and choose the other to agree among themselves neither to do injustice nor to be injured and that hence

laws began to be established, and their *compacts*; and that which was enjoined by law they denominated lawful and just and that this is the origin and essence of justice.¹

This contract theory related in detail by Bhīṣma is very briefly summed up by Cāṇakya in his Arthaśāstra :²

"People suffering from anarchy as illustrated by the proverbial tendency of a large fish swallowing a small one first *elected* Manu, the Vaivasvata, to be their king ; and allotted one-sixth of the grains grown and one-tenth of merchandise as sovereign dues. Fed by this payment, kings took upon themselves the *responsibility* of maintaining the safety and security of their subjects (yogakṣemavaha), and of being *answerable* for the sins of their subjects when the principle of levying just punishments and taxes has been violated. Hence, hermits, too, provide the king with one-sixth of the grains gleaned by them, thinking that 'it is a tax payable to him who protects us.'

It is evident now that the Hindus believed that in days of yore at some time or other there were no laws and no kings, that the kingless state was a state of chaos, that the people entered into contracts with one another to abide by certain laws, that the same could not be observed as there were no police or force behind those contracts, that they then chose a king and entered into contract with him.

Three important differences in the statements of Bhīṣma and Cāṇakya should not be passed over.

Preliminary to a governmental pact with a king, the people emerged into a semi-political state by means of a social contract among themselves. This intermediate stage is not recognized by Cāṇakya who postulates a compact with a king as the primary cause of the transformation of a non-statal society to a civil condition.

Secondly, Bhīṣma declared the first king, Manu, to have been created by Brahman. Thus he adheres to the divine origin of kingship. It was with this divinely created king that the people entered into a contract. Cāṇakya does not make mention of any interference on the part of Brahmā.

Thirdly, Bhīṣma following Manu Smṛti states that the people

1 Plato's Republic, Book II, p. 39.

2 Eng. Trans., p. 26 ; cf. Manu, VII. 3 ; Kām. II. 40 ; Matsya P., 225. 9.

contracted to give Manu as taxes a fiftieth part of the increase in their animals and a tenth part of the net produce of their grains.

On the other hand, Cāṇakya allows one-sixth of the grains and one-tenth of the merchandise to be given as taxes to the king.

The ancient liberal system of taxation had been replaced by higher taxes before the establishment of the Mauryan dynasty. In the Buddhist literature too the theory is frequently found. Sumedha, the first king of the present age of the world was born a-sexually at a time when the people of the planet were suffering from all the evils and miseries of anarchy. The people approached him with a request to protect them by being their king. He consented to be their ruler. Thereupon all the great men of the age assembled together and consecrated him as their ruler. As he was elected by all the great men, he was called Mahāsammata i.e. "Elected by the Great." This Sumedha is also popularly known as Manu, or Mahāsammata Manu, that is, "Manu elected by the Great."

Now let us examine the Hindu doctrine in the light of the Western expounders of the theory of the social contract. Bhīṣma has taken the standpoint of Rousseau. Natural liberty is substituted by civil liberty by a "form of association which may defend and protect with all the force of the community the person and property of each associate, and by which each, being united to all yet, only obeys himself and remains as free as before." This is a covenant of each with all. Kingship had not come into existence yet. There was no ruler, compact alone was the rule. It was the rule of law without the executive force. It was that ideal state which so many of the Nihilists desire to establish in future. But it failed in the past and will fail in the future.

We do not share the optimism of Hall when he says that "I can see the reign of *Anarchy*, when the law of mutual love suffices to secure justice to all, when society will be lawless because it is just."¹

Bhīṣma differs from Rousseau in expounding the next stage of statal evolution. The Hindu philosopher proceeds to propound the doctrine advocated by Locke. That state of social compact where every one was free being subject only to the restrictions of the voluntary agreement, proved ineffective in course of time. The people agreed to submit to a single authority. They entered into an agreement with Manu whom they had elected as their king. Thus the

monarch became a party to the contract and consented to hold office by virtue of his compliance with the terms of that agreement. Should the monarch violate these, the contract is dissolved. He is a responsible ruler, answerable to the people for the defects of his administration, and liable to be deposed for breaking the compact. The people were then justified in entering into a new agreement with a new ruler. This kind of compact accompanied by solemn oaths formed a sure basis of limited monarchy in Hindu society.

It is now evident that theories of social contract as propounded by Rousseau, Hobbes and Locke have all been happily amalgamated in the Hindu theory. Like Rousseau Indian philosophers propounded that the primitive state of nature was an era of idyllic felicity. In course of time, this blissful condition of simplicity, plenty, and happiness was followed by Hobbesian "Bellum omnia contra omnes." This state of universal warfare was ended by the voluntary agreement of the people on the lines of Rousseau's social contract. That non-ruler state too was ineffective in putting down anarchy. Thereupon the people entered into a governmental pact of the type explained by Locke. Hence Bhīṣma is not only the first discoverer of the Social Contract Theory, but his genius developed a doctrine which has the advantage of unifying the three aspects of the theory separately emphasized by Rousseau, Hobbes and Locke.

To sum up then. It must have been evident now that the Hindus have given all possible solutions to the problems of statal evolution, centuries before the ancient Greek philosophers or the modern thinkers like Hooker, Hobbes, Locke, Spinoza, Rousseau, or Herbert Spencer speculated upon those questions. They followed both the deductive and historical methods in their discussions on the origin of law and political societies.

It is true that these ideas are blended with allegory, mythology, and ethics and are not represented in a systematic manner. Many a time they lie buried under debris of Paurāṇic mythology. The want of a system and a treatise has led to the belief in their non-existence. Yet it will be now admitted that their abstruse discussions reflect an extraordinary credit upon the Hindu thinkers who differentiated the statal from the pre-statal condition and brilliantly anticipated all possible answers to the questions of the origin and justification of government, and of the subsequent stages of social evolution.

The Kalinga Edict

II

Let us now take up the next sentence :—

Etasa ca savasa mūle anūsulope atulanā ca nitiyaṃ.

Here, taking *ūsulope* and *tulanā* in the sense of 'want of perseverance' and 'hastiness,' *anūsulope* and *atulanā* have been taken in the sense of 'perseverance' and 'avoidance of hastiness'. Hultzsck reads 'absence of anger' in *anūsulope*. But *mūle* has been taken by all scholars as a substantive in the sense of 'root'. Here some difficulty arose in understanding the construction of the sentence by taking *mūle* as a substantive, for then the sentence ends with *ca*, and *nitiyaṃ* (*niti iyaṃ* of Jau.) becomes an independent proposition. Senart concluded that "this *nitiyaṃ* is repetition made by the stone-cutter" (*Ind. Ant.*, 1890, p. 91, n. 14). To avoid this difficulty, Hultzsck has concluded the sentence in *ca*, carrying *nitiyaṃ* (as *nityāṃ*) to the next sentence. Prinsep preferred beginning with *niti* and ending with *siyā*. Kern takes *nitiyaṃ* with this sentence, but has changed its form to *nityāṃ* with a locative significance in the sense of 'in polity and conduct'. Bühler has done the same thing, explaining the word as "in the application of the maxims of government". Senart has followed them with the meaning "in moral training." Bhandarkar, in his 'Inscriptions of Aśoka', has ended the sentence with *nitiyaṃ*, but in his 'Aśoka' he has taken the word, like Hultzsck, with the next sentence.

We have taken *ūsulope* to mean 'precipitate-giving-up,' so *anūsulope* means 'non-precipitate-giving-up,' i.e. giving up which is not the outcome of sudden exertions, and hence of a temporary character, but of a permanent nature. We have seen that in a previous sentence the word *ūsulopena* has been used with *isūya*, so by *anūsulope* the author of the edict here refers to the permanent cessation of envy. But it refers to laziness (*ālasiyena* and *kilamathena*) also. We have seen that the destruction of idleness and sloth was also the object of the author of the edict, so by the word *anūsulope* here it is meant that temporary destruction is not sufficient, but permanent cessation of these bad tendencies leads to success. So, by the single word *anūsulope* the king refers to envy, sloth and idleness. By *atulanā* he refers to *nīkūl-iyena*. *Tulanāya* was used with that word, so by *atulanā* here the

king means complete abstention from cruelty, i.e. an act which is not qualified by any consideration or comparison of any kind, about which we have spoken with illustrations before.

Then about *mūle*. It may be taken as a substantive in the sense of 'root', so that *mūle anūsulope* means 'complete destruction in root.' In this case *niti* i. e. (maxims of moral conduct) is the subject in the sentence, and *savasa* is in genitive case, connected not with *mūle*, as has been taken by the scholars, but with *anūsulope* and *atulanā* in apposition with *niti*. So, the passage can be rendered as follows: The maxim of conduct is the complete destruction in root (of envy and sloth) and non-comparativeness (i. e. complete abstention from cruelty) regarding all these (natural dispositions, such as envy, cruelty and idleness).

Hultzsch like other scholars has conceived the idea of seven dispositions,—envy, anger, cruelty, hurry, want of practice, laziness and fatigue. Then after saying that these dispositions may not arise in the officers, he says that the *root of all this* is the *absence of anger* and the *avoidance of hurry*. The significance of "of all this" is not quite clear in this translation.

If it be argued that the means of getting rid of these dispositions are absence of anger and avoidance of hurry, even then we cannot see how the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry can make one free from all the dispositions narrated above. Absence of anger can no doubt make a man free from anger, and from envy, and cruelty, to some extent, if that particular case only is considered in which anger leads to the destruction of life. But what about sacrificial cruelty? Surely that is not the work of anger, or of hastiness. Again, how can absence of anger and avoidance of hurry kill laziness and want of practice? On the contrary, we find that an angry man may rather get to work and give up laziness; and hastiness is an antidote to laziness and want of practice. So, the rendering is faulty in this case. Moreover, we cannot find a single word used in this way to signify an abstract idea of this nature anywhere in the edicts. Compare *sayamaṃ, bhāva-sudhīṃ, dāne, kataṃnatū, dadhabhatitū* of the R. E. VII; *dayā dāne, sace, socaye* of the P. E. II; *kodhe, māne, isyā*, etc. of the P. E. III. We also object to the taking of *nitiyaṃ* as *nityāṃ* when we have *niti iyaṃ* at Jaugaḍa, and *nitiyaṃ* is distinctly clear at Dhauli.

Let us now take up the next sentence. Hultzsch has adopted the following readings :—

Dh. *E kilamte siyā na te ugacha saṃchalitaviye tu vaṭitaviye etaviye vā.*

Jau. *E yaṃ kilamṭe siya.....saṃchalitu uthīyū saṃchalitaviye tu vaṭita-siya pi ctaviye pi.*

We find that the trace of this negative particle *na* has been admitted by Senart, Cunningham, Kern, Bühler and other scholars, but not by Prinsep and Bhandarkar. Other important variations are *vajitaviye* in the place of *vaṭitaviye* of the above noted texts, adopted by Senart, Bühler and Bhandarkar; and *uthāye* of Bühler in the Jaugaḍa version.

Of the two texts of Dhauli and Jaugaḍa we find that of Jaugaḍa is more distinct here as elsewhere. From all the versions available to us we are in favour of taking up the following mixed readings :—

E yaṃ kilamṭe siya (na) te saṃchalitu uthāye, saṃchalitaviye tu vaṭita-viye pi ctaviye pi.

Yaṃ is no doubt somewhat distinct at Jaugaḍa, and we find that it has been noted in the transcripts of Hultsch, Cunningham and Bhandarkar. So we may say that this word was in the original manuscript. Jaugaḍa has *saṃchalitu uthāye*, while at Dhauli we have simply *ugacha*, the first being complementary to the second, as has been observed by Senart (*Ind. Ant.*, 1890, p. 91, n. 15). Then there is difference of opinion about the negative particle. But whatever may be the variations, we find that the two texts of Dhauli and Jaugaḍa speak about practically the same thing.

Now, most probably this *yaṃ* is an independent word *iyam*, (like *E iyaṃ* of Dh. V. 26), the first letter *i* being dropped like that of many words so often used in the edicts. We think that here *iyam* has been used with the force of an adverb, in the sense of “thus or in this manner”, qualifying *kilamṭe* in the sentence under review. So, *E yaṃ kilamṭe siyū* means ‘who is thus oppressed’ (i. e. by the dispositions envy, cruelty and sloth). But even by giving up this contention, we lose nothing if we read *E kilamṭe siyū* (as in Dhauli) in the sense of whoever is oppressed. But the most important word is *kilamṭe*. It has been taken in the sense of ‘fatigued’ (in the administration of justice), but when we have seen that *nītiyaṃ* should go with the previous sentence, we cannot bring in the sense of ‘administration’ here. When we have the topic of dispositions running through the previous sentences, it is quite natural to connect *kilamṭe* with those dispositions, and hence the sense should be ‘oppressed’, not in the administration of justice, but with dispositions like envy, cruelty and sloth. Then, what should a man do who is thus oppressed? He should move to rise, walk and advance, i. e. he should

gradually try to gain moral strength. This is the middle path pointed out by the king. He has said that overzealousness in religious matters is bad, and he has also pointed out that success is impossible with envy, cruelty and sloth, and that complete destruction of these evil tendencies is the maxim of moral conduct. Now he points out the middle path of gradual exertions for those who are oppressed with evil tendencies. The word *kilaṃte* is explanatory of *palikilesaṃ* in the eighth line. The middle path lies between *akasmā bāṃdhanantikāṃ* and this *palikilesaṃ*. This is the textual, and therefore the most reliable, evidence to prove that *bāṃdhanam* and *palikilesaṃ* have nothing to do with common imprisonment or administration.

The translations which we offer of this sentence are these:—

(*Without the negative particle*)

(1) He, who is thus (with envy, cruelty and sloth) oppressed, will move to rise, for one needs must move, walk and advance.

(*With the negative particle*)

(2) He, who is thus (with envy, etc.) oppressed, will not move to rise (in the sense of he has not the power to move, so long as he is oppressed with envy, etc.) though one needs must move, etc.

In this case it is once pointed out that so long as a man is oppressed with envy, etc., it is useless for him to try to move, for he has not the power to do so, though one should move, walk and advance; but in the sentence without the negative particle it is simply pointed out that the man oppressed with envy, etc. should even try to move, the bad paralysing effect of envy, etc. not being particularly pointed out there. This makes no appreciable difference in the sense of the two readings. The last three words signifying movements bring in mind the figure of a man lying unconscious, say, from the effect of a shock. He then gradually regains consciousness. We mark the first impulse of life in the movements of his limbs (indicated by *saṃcalanam*). Then, he attempts to walk, but from weariness is not steady, and in bewilderment cannot ascertain the right direction, so he walks hither and thither (indicated by *vajitaviye*), but when he regains strength and consciousness he walks right towards the goal (indicated by *etaviya*). So here we mark the first dawn of consciousness, an attempt to advance, and finally a movement towards the goal. The various stages of progress in moral exercise are here set forth in these terms, and the use of these three words are thus justified.

In his moral code the king has spoken about mastery over the senses and purity of mind, getting rid of vice; about compassion and

truthfulness, and about brutality, cruelty, anger, pride, and jealousy leading to impiety. This is exactly what he speaks about in the Kaliṅga Edict. But above all he places implicit faith on exertions. The purpose of his Minor Rock Edict I, was, as he says, to encourage the great and the small to exert themselves. Then, in the Rock Edict X he says that it is difficult to attain freedom from vice, whether by people of low or of high degree, save by the utmost exertions giving up all other aims. Is it not exactly what he speaks here in the sentence under review? We are now in a position to understand his *dhamma* more clearly. It aims at the moral and spiritual perfection of a person by gradual exertions, i. e., by following what he here calls the middle path.

Now, we pass over to the next sentence :—

Dh. *Hevaṃneva e dakheya tuphāka, tena vataviye, aṃnaṃ ne dekhata, hevaṃ ca hevaṃ ca devānaṃ piyasa anusathi.*

Jau. *Nitiyaṃ e ve dekheyā, aṃna ne niṣhapetaviye, hevaṃ hevaṃ ca devānaṃ piyasa anusathi.*

We find that there is perfect agreement between the two texts. The significance of the third word *ve* of the Jaugaḍa text has been hitherto misunderstood. It is the alternative form of *tuphāka*, just as *ne* is the alternative form of *aphāka*. *Ne* has been used in the sense of "our" in K. V. 16, and at Jau. Sep. II, 10, where we find that it is a substitute of *aphāka* of Dhauḷi. It has also been used in the sense of "us" at Dh. Sep. II. 5, and at Jau. Sep. II. 6. Thus, we find that the alternative forms of Sanskrit declensions of the pronoun of the first person have been fully used by the author of the edicts. We need not, therefore, be surprised to find the alternative forms of the pronoun of the second person in the edicts. Here in the present case when we find that *ve* has been used in the place of *tuphāka* of Dh., we cannot but take it in the genitive case, possessing the pronoun *e* (*yaḥ*), so that *e tuphāka*, or *e ve* means "who of you", and refers to the officers of the king. Hultzsch has taken *tuphāka* with the next clause *tena vataviye* making it an accusative, but the use of *ve* before *dekheyā* at Jaugaḍa conclusively proves that it has nothing to do with the next clause, and that the sense of a genitive case can only be ascribed to it. Thus, we find that the first parts of the texts at Dh. and Jau. are in complete agreement. Here *hevaṃneva* of Dh. corresponds to *nitiyaṃ* of Jau., and the next three words are almost similar, with this difference that *tuphāka* has been used after *dekheya* at Dh., while its alternative form *ve* has been used before it at Jaugaḍa. The

next clause, though it varies in wordings in the two texts, has the same sense in both of them. *Tena vataviye* has no corresponding word at Jaugaḍa, but the effect of its omission has been counteracted by the use of the word *nijhapetaviye*. By comparing the two texts we find that the sense of *dekhata* must have been accommodated in *nijhapetaviye*, for *amnam ne* being common to the two texts, we are left with no other alternative but to accept this view. So, "it should be said by him do not look to any other thing" is the another way of saying "He should make (others) not to think of any other thing", *nijhapetaviye* being a verb of the tenth class with the long vowel of *dhyā* shortened, as has been observed by Hultzscht in his *Corpus*, p. cix (with footnotes). So, the two texts can be rendered thus :—

Dh. Whoever of you will point out this (*niti* to others), it should be said by him—do not look to any other thing : such and such is the instruction of Devānaṃpiya (thereby calling upon the people in the name of the king to follow this precept with one-mindedness).

Jau. He who of you will point out this (*niti*, to others) should make (them) not to think of any other thing : such and such is etc. (as before).

This sentence with the previous one expresses the same sense as the last few sentences of the R.E. X. There the king says that it is difficult to obtain freedom from vice save by utmost exertions, giving up all other aims. Here also the necessity of gradual exertions to get rid of evil dispositions has been pointed out in the previous sentence, but in the sentence under review here the obligatory character of following the precept with one-mindedness is set forth. So, there is nothing new in this sentence.

Hultzscht has divided the sentence into four parts :—(1) *Hevaṃmeva e dakhaya*, (2) *tuphika tena vataviye*, (3) *ānamne dekhata*, (4) *hevaṃ ca*, etc. We cannot understand how the second part can be translated as 'he must tell you'; for the word *tuphika* has been used in the edicts in the genitive case only, but not in the accusative, so it is doubtful that *tuphika* is the object of the verb *vataviye*. Besides, the identification of *ve* of Jaugaḍa as the alternative form of *tuphika*, at once does away with the chance of the word being taken with *tena vataviye*. Then about the reading of the word *ānamne*. We find that both Senart and Bhandarkar have read as *amnam ne*. Though Kern like Cunningham has read the first word as *aganam*, yet both of them have clearly separated *ne* (*no*) from it at Dhauli, and in the translation they have kept the idea of negation there (*JRAS.*, N S., XII, pp. 386, 389, and *Corpus*, p. 90).

Woolner has adopted the readings of *amman ne* at Dhauli, and *amna ne* at Jaugaḍa (*Aśoka*, part I, p. 23), as has been done by Bühler (*ZDMG.*, vol. 41, p. 4). In the translations of Prinsep and Burnouf we also find that they have treated *ne* as a separate word in the sense of *no*. So, we find that these scholars do not support the transcription of Hultzsch. As we have already pointed out that *nitiyaṃ* of Jau. is a counterpart of *hevaṃmeva* of Dhauli, it is evident that this word should be read with the sentence following, but not with the previous one.

Then passing over the next seven sentences we come down to the eighth, wherein Aśoka speaks about the object of this edict, and here also we take up the last part of the sentence :—

Dh.—*Nagala-janasa akasmū palibodhe va akasmū palikilese va no siyū ti.*

Here, the most important words are *palibodhe* and *palikilese*. Annotators have always been in difficulty to bring out the meaning of *palibodhe*. Childers in his *Pāli Dictionary* says—“It is probably the result of a confusion between *parirodha* and *paribādha*, it may perhaps be a dialectic variety of *paribādha*. In Clough’s *Sinhalese Dictionary*, *palibodha* and *palirodha* are given with the same significations, and of the former, Clough says that it is compounded of *pālī* revenge, and *bodha* substituted for *rudha*, to produce. In the Pali Text Society’s *Dictionary*, it is observed—“The etymology offered by Andersen, *Pāli Reader*, S. V. *palibuddha*, viz., dissimilation for *pariruddhati* (*rudh*) is most plausible, other explanations like Trenckner’s (notes 66 for *paribādha*, etc.) and Kern’s (Toev. S. V. Ogh. *firbiotan*, Ger. *verbieten*) are semantically not satisfactory”. So, we find that scholars have always been in difficulty with this word, and no satisfactory explanation based on the etymology of the word has as yet been given. In literature the word has been used in the sense of “obstacle, hindrance, impediment, fetters, etc”, but the derivations suggested by the scholars do not bring us directly to these senses. It must, therefore, be admitted that there is something wrong somewhere, for the meaning that is ascribed to the word has not been shown to follow from its etymology. But here in the sentence under review we have textual evidence to solve this difficulty.

This sentence seems to have apparent similarity with a previous one—*Iyaṃ eka-pulise pi athi ye baṃdhanāṃ vā palikilesaṃ vā pāpunāti* (Dh. Sep., I. 8). Here the two words *baṃdhanāṃ* and *palikilesaṃ* have been used side by side, just like *palibodhe* and *palikilese* used in

this sentence. The similarity is so very apparent that even Senart could not help remarking—"the word *palibodhe* means "bond", "fetter". If there were need of a further proof of this, we have an irrefutable one in the present passage, in which *palibodha* is substituted as a synonym of the *baṇḍhina* used above" (*Ind. Ant.*, 1890, p. 93, n. 24). It is no doubt a very attractive identification, for, having *palikilesa* common in these two sentences, we have the word *baṇḍhanam* before it in the former, while *palibodha* is in the same place in the latter, thus suggesting a substitution of synonyms. But we have seen that all attempts have hitherto been unsuccessful to trace the meaning of 'fetter' or 'obstacle' in the etymology of the word *palibodha*, so it is not reasonable to jump into a conclusion without further circumspection.

We find that this *palibodha* has no connection with the word *baṇḍhanam* of the sentence quoted above. The word *akasmā* is the connecting link. We find that this word has been used with *baṇḍhanamitika* in a previous sentence, and that *akasmā baṇḍhanamitika* means the manifestation of sudden religious zeal in turning a hermit by forsaking all worldly ties, or in other words, the manifestation of *paribodha* thereby. Now, *paribodha* can be derived in the following manner :—*pari* (supreme) *bodha* (knowledge), here *pari* is an augmenting adjective, as used in words like *paritoṣa* (full satisfaction), *pari-jāṭhā* (supreme sacrifice), *parisuddha* (extremely clean), etc.

The word *bodha* here admits of no other interpretations, and to connect it with *ruidha*, or *bādha* is wide of the mark. So, in *akasmā paribodhe va akasmā parikilese va no siyā ti*, the city judiciaries are instructed to see on one hand that people may not manifest sudden religious zeal by leaving home due to what is called here keen desire for supreme knowledge, and may not also fall a sudden prey to evil dispositions on the other, i. e. to insist upon their following the middle path between these two extremes by depending upon exertions for gradual progress.

The words *palikilese* of this sentence, *palikilesam* of Dh. 8 noted above, and *kilaṃte* of Dh. 12 have come from the same source and have been used here to mean the same thing i. e. the torture of dispositions. About *palibodha*, if there is still an iota of doubt about the significance of this term, it can be dispelled by the following discussion. In the fifth Rock Edict at Gīrnar (also at Shāhbāzgarhī according to Hultzsch) we have *parigodha* used instead of *palibodha* of the other versions. We have the satisfaction to see that "Thomas has

traced the substantive *parigoḍha* (desire) and the participle *paṭiguddha* (= *parigṛhḍha*) 'desirous' in Buddhist Sanskrit works (*J.R.A.S.*, 99 ff)". Hultsch has accepted this view, but has translated the word in the sense of "freeing from desire for worldly life". But we find that the idea of keen desire or excessive greed, as has been observed by other scholars, is expressed by this word. However, what is this desire for? The phrase is *dharmma-yutānaṃ aparigodhāya*. Now, for the *dharmmayutas* to desire for further spiritual and moral perfection is a more reasonable interpretation than that of their hankering for worldly life. So, we find here that keen desire for moral or spiritual perfection or in other words *paṭibodha*, or overzealousness in religious matters, as has been said before, is meant here, but not the reverse of it, i. e. a desire for worldly life. And hence *aparigodha* has been used as a synonym of *apalibodha* and both stand for non-manifestation of excessive religious zeal.

But more about this in the next sentence of the R. E. V.

Baṃdhanabadhasā paṭividhānāye apalibodhāye mokhāye cā etc. Hultsch, like other scholars, has rendered it as—"They are occupied in supporting prisoners *with money*, in causing their fetters to be taken off and in setting them free, etc." Here, of course, the three words *paṭividhānāye*, *apalibodhāye* and *mokhāye* are in the dative case, but if they have here identical application, we should have reasonably expected another conjunction like *ca* used between the first two, for in the language of the inscriptions we find that the writers are very careful about the use of such conjunctions between words of the same class. The interpretation we offer is this :—

For the purpose of making provision (not with money) for those who are bound in the bond of worldly attachment, these Mahāmātās are engaged to dissuade them from manifesting overzealousness (*apalibodhāye*) on one hand, and on the other, to effect their release (not from the prison of the king, but from the bonds of vices and worldly attachments) by gradual exertions, as has been pointed out in the Kaliṅga Edict I.

Here also we have the idea of following the middle path perfectly clear. The two words *apalibodhāye* and *mokhāye* are correlated and hence we have only one *ca* used after the latter, but both of them stand on the basis of *paṭividhānāye*, signifying that this *paṭividhāna* is to be effected by *apalibodhāye* on one hand and *mokhāye* on the other, and hence no *ca* has been used after *paṭividhānāye*. This

is textual evidence for another verification of the real significance of *paṭibodha*.

The next clause is *Iyaṃ anubandhīṃ pajīvati* ३७, which means that the Dharmamahāmātās should point out the middle path to the people for the reason (*anubandha*) of their having children, etc. That this is a parallel passage of *Akaṣmī tena bandhanantika amhe ca bahujane* (*vage bahuke*—Jau.) *daviye dukkhīyati* of the Kaliṅga Edict is too clear to require an explanation. The sufferings of the relatives have there been advanced as a cause for dissuading people from showing overzealousness in religious matters; here also the same thing is said, though under different wordings. So, we find that this *bandhana* is not imprisonment in the prison of the king, but worldly attachment, from the bond of which the officers are instructed to release persons by pointing out the middle path, in the same manner as is done in the Kaliṅga Edict I.

We have now seen that Asoka has used *paṭibodha* twice in the R. E. V, and once in the Kaliṅga Edict I with explanations, to mean keen desire and excessive religious zeal. The etymology of the word should, therefore, not be sought in *ruddha* or *bīdha*, but in *bodha*, which signifies knowledge. But in literature the word has been used to mean fetters, hindrance, etc. There is nothing to be wondered at this application. We have seen that in the edicts Asoka has spoken against *paribodha* for bringing unnecessary sufferings upon the relatives. It is not therefore difficult to guess that due to these preachings *paribodha* came to be regarded as a thing not desirable for all, and the word thus must have fallen from its original significance from that time. Asoka has also clearly stated that mere *paribodha* cannot bring success, unless the evil dispositions are completely subdued, so *paribodha* without moral perfection is rather a hindrance to success. Having thus lost its original significance, the word, it is not difficult to guess, must have been used in the sense of hindrance in the Pāli literature in later times. In the edicts there is at least another word which has suffered in significance in this manner. We mean the word *Devānam-priya*. In the edicts it is an honorific epithet of the king meaning somewhat like "beloved of gods" or "his sacred majesty", but in later literature the word is used to signify "a fool", or "a sacrificial animal." Hence there is nothing unusual in *paribodha* suffering change of meaning. We have always marked a tendency to interpret the words of the edicts in the Buddhistic sense. But here is the word *paribodha*, which has not been used in that manner by the authors of the edicts

Even the most acute observer of Buddhism in everything of the edict will be forced to admit the non-Buddhistic significance of *paribodha*, if he cares to consider the texts, where the word has been used, along with the general significance of the edict and think of the substitution of the Kaliṅga Edict I for the R.E. X, about which we shall discuss later on.

When the administrators of the town are here instructed to carry out the instructions contained in this edict, it may be argued that something referring to the administration must be in this edict. We also find that in a previous sentence their occupation with many thousands of men is mentioned, so it is not improper to take *bamdhana* and *palikilesa* in the sense of imprisonment and torture. But the text of the edict stands in the way of accepting this view. Besides, we find in the edicts that the officers of the king were engaged to propagate the Dhamma along with their other business, and some of the edicts in which these officers are mentioned are absolutely religious, without having anything to do with the administration. In the Pillar Edict I the *pulīsā* and the *aṃṭamahāmātās* are mentioned, yet that edict is a purely religious one; in the Minor Rock Edict I, which is also a sermon on exertions, the Prince and the Mahāmātās of Suvarṇagiri, and those of Isilā are mentioned. In the Rock Edict III, the *Yutas*, *Rājukas* and the *Prādesikas* are instructed to go on tour to propagate the faith. In the Rock Edict XII, *dhammamamahāmātās*, *ithihakha-mahāmātās*, *vaca-bhūmikās* and other *nikāyās* are instructed to observe toleration among all sects. So, we find that the officers of the king performed dual functions, those of administration of the empire and of propagation of Dhamma. So, when the *nagala-viyohālikas* are called upon to perform a work, that need not necessarily be of administrative character, but may be of purely religious nature, as we have seen, other officers were also engaged in the same way. Thus the mere mention of the officers of the king in the Kaliṅga Edict does not authorise us to interpret the edict in the light of the principle of administration and imprisonment.

We, then, come up to the last sentence that we shall take up, viz., that in which Asoka speaks about the qualities of the *mahāmātās* whom he proposes to send for the propagation of this *niti*. The sentence is,—
Eakkhahase acamḍe sakhinālaṃbhe hosati.—Dh.

In dealing with this Senart has observed—"One difficulty, however, remains. What is the real drift of that enumeration of qualities belonging to the *mahāmātra*, upon which stress has been laid by the king?" (*Ind. Ant.* 1890, p. 93, n. 25).

We suggest that these three adjectives have been used to signify the negation of three evil dispositions about which Asoka speaks in the sentence *isāya āsulopena*, etc. We have seen that in that sentence Asoka speaks about three dispositions, i.e. those of envy, cruelty and idleness, but not of seven as has hitherto been understood. It is reasonable to suppose that in this sentence the king, in enumerating the qualities of the *mahāmātās*, has purposely used these three words in negation of those dispositions. Let us now see how this supposition of ours is supported by the text of the edict. Kern has taken *akhakhase* as equivalent to the Sanskrit *akarkaśaḥ*. Senart has accepted this interpretation and has been followed by Hultzsch who has quoted a verse of the Dhammapada in support of this view (*Corpus*, p. 97, n. 8.), but the translation he has offered, i.e. harsh, does not seem to be very happy with reference to the context. Kern has remarked—the *kha* in *khakhase* is due to the influence of the *r* in *karkaśa* (*JRAS.*, N. S., XII, p. 392, n. i.). In the Amarakoṣa dictionary (3/75), we have—*kakkhaṭaṃ kathinaṃ krūraṃ kathoraṃ niṣṭhuraṃ drḍḍhaṃ*. In the annotation of this verse it is written—*khakārādir iti kūsminṛakūḥ, karkaśam iti dāksipātyapāṭhaḥ*. So we find that *niṣṭhuraṃ* (cf. *niṣṭhukiyena* of the edict) is a synonym of *kakkhaṭaṃ* = *khakkhaṭaṃ* (of Northern India) = *khakhasaṃ*, owing to a confusion with the last syllable of the corresponding southern form *karkaśaṃ* which is, however, the most current expression. So, *akhakhase* of the edict means *aniṣṭhuraḥ* and hence one who is free from cruelty.

Then about *acaṇḍe* (acande): The word *caṇḍa* comes from the root *caḍi* with *ac* in the sense of rage. In fact *caṇḍaḥ* is always associated with the idea of rage and anger. In the *Raghuvamśa* (2/49) we have *caṇḍa* used in the sense of anger. So, *acaṇḍe* here signifies a person who is free from rage. Now, in the *Manu Saṃhitā* (7/48) it is stated that *īṛṣā* is one of the eight bad dispositions that arise from anger, so a man who is free from rage can never be subject to *īṛṣā*. Thus, *acaṇḍe* should be translated here as a man who is free from the cause of *īṛṣā*. We prefer this interpretation as it maintains a connection with the sentence *isāya āsulopena*, etc., otherwise “free from anger” may do, and in that case the term has a wider application comprising many other things besides *īṛṣā*. From the cast of the edict in the Indian Museum, and from the impression supplied by Hultzsch in his *Corpus*, the next word of the sentence seems to be *sekhinālaṃbhe*, as observed by Senart (*Ind. Ant.*, 1890, p. 93, n. 25), but not *sakhinālaṃbhe* as adopted by Hultzsch. Now, *sekhinālaṃbhe*

represents the Sanskrit word *sāksīṇārambhaḥ*, composed of *sa + aksīṇa + ārambhaḥ*. It is well-known that in Sanskrit *ārambhaḥ* means exertion, so *aksīṇaḥ ārambhaḥ* means non-diminution of exertion, and *sāksīṇārambhaḥ* means in Bahuvrihi compound the person who is associated with non-diminution of exertion. In this sense we may take the word as referring to a person who is free from idleness and sloth, which primarily brings about the relaxation of energy. We think that the initial *sā* of the word has been written as *se*, the horizontal stroke of *sā* being reversed by mistake. *Ālam̐bhaḥ* here does not mean 'destruction of life.'

So, the clause means—He who is free from cruelty, free from the cause of envy etc., and free from idleness; thus signifying the negation of the three dispositions envy, cruelty and idleness.

At Jaugaḍa we have also *acam̐lam̐*, which is thus common to the two texts. Then Bühler, Senart, Bhandarkar, A. C. Woolner, and Kern read the next word as *aphalahata*, but Hultzsck takes it as *aphal(usa)ṇ*, and the next word he reads as *ta*. With *aphal(usa)ṇ* followed by *ta*, the word may stand for *aphal(aha)ta*. As a Bahuvrihi compound it means a person whose action does not become fruitless. For the sake of agreement with the corresponding version of the Dhauli text, we maintain that the word in this form means a person who does not spoil the fruit of his action by idleness, for idleness stands in the way of success, and perseverance wins it. It will then be a synonym of *sekhinālam̐bhe* of the Dhauli text, and it should be observed that both the words have identical figurative applications here. The only word that now remains to be traced is *vacanele*, as read by Bühler. As the impression at this place is very indistinct, we find it impossible to verify the reading, but taking *vacanele* as the correct word, it appears that the word has some connection with *vraścana* meaning cutting, from the root *vraśc* in the sense of cutting asunder. Then the second member of the compound should be a word meaning cruelty, so in *vacanele* we expect to find a word signifying a person who has cut off the tendency of cruelty. We can reasonably go no further.

TRANSLATION

Our explanatory rendering.

From Hultzsch's *Corpus*.

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| <p>1 "See to this, then, the maxim of conduct is well laid down" (Bhandarkar).
(What follows is the explanation of <i>suvihitā nīti</i>).</p> <p>2 There is such an individual (adopted from the rendering of Senart) who is bound in worldly ties, and who is tortured (by passions and habits).</p> <p>3 When this bond of worldly attachment (cf. bondage and misery of sin—Prinsep) is cut asunder by him all on a sudden (as indicated by his leaving home due to sudden religious zeal), his many relatives become "deeply grieved" (Smith).</p> <p>4 "Consequently you should desire—what?—to follow the middle path" (Bhandarkar), i.e. (the path that is intermediate between turning a sudden recluse on one hand, and suffering from the tortures of bad passions and habits on the other; (from the bondage and misery of sin—Prinsep).</p> <p>5 (The secret of success does not lie in turning a sudden recluse, but in the freedom from bad passions and habits. So, one should remember that) success is impossible with the following dispositions—with temporary (non-permanent) giving up of</p> | <p>1 Now, you must pay attention to this, although you are well provided for.</p> <p>2 It happens in the administration (of justice) that a single person suffers either imprisonment or harsh treatment.</p> <p>3 In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment (is obtained) by him accidentally, while (many) other people continue to suffer.</p> <p>5 In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially.</p> <p>5 But one fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions: envy, anger, cruelty, hurry, want of practice, laziness and fatigue.</p> |
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envy, with cruelty of comparison, (and) with non-retreating or unchecked idleness and sloth.

6 Hence you should desire what? that these dispositions may not be yours (Bhandarkar).

7 The maxim of conduct lies in non-temporary (permanent) giving up in root (i.e. complete eradication, used with reference to cruelty) of all these (dispositions, such as envy, cruelty and sloth).

8 (But people there are, who are subject to such tortures. For them this is the advice). He who is thus (with envy, cruelty and sloth) oppressed, will move to rise, for (with the negative particle, in the sense of he has not the power to move, so long as he is thus oppressed, though) one needs must move, walk and advance (i.e. by gradual exertions in moral training).

9 (But this exertion must be undertaken with a fixed aim). Whoever of you will point out this (nīti to others), it should be said by him—do not look to any other thing, such and such is the instruction of Devānaṃpiya (thereby calling upon the people in the name of the king to follow this precept, and exert themselves with one-mindedness).

10 For this purpose has this lipi been engraved here that the

6 (You) must strive for this, that these dispositions may not arise in you.

7 And the root of all this is the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry.

He, who is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will not rise; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance.

He who will pay attention to this, must tell you—see that (you) discharge the debt (which you owe to the (king): such is the instruction of Devānaṃpiya.

10 For the following purpose has this rescript been written here,

nagavijohālakas may strive at all times that the people may not manifest sudden religious zeal (by leaving home), and may not at the same time suffer the sudden tortures (of bad tendencies).

(viz.) in order that the judicial officers of the city may strive at all times (for this), (that) neither undeserved fettering nor undeserved harsh treatment are happening to (me-).

II And for this purpose I shall send out every five years (a Mahāmātra) who is free from cruelty, free from the cause of anger, and free from idleness, etc.

II And for the following purpose I shall send out every five years (a Mahāmātra) who will be neither harsh nor fierce (but) of gentle actions.

POSTSCRIPT

We find that this Separate Edict I is simply a sermon on gradual moral improvement effected by giving up vices like envy, cruelty and idleness with one-minded attention. In this respect, it breathes forth the same sentiments expressed in the Rock Edict X. We here quote from V. A. Smith's *Asoka* (third edition) wherein we find perhaps the best rendering of the text. "Whatsoever exertions His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King makes, all are for the sake of the life hereafter, so that every one may be freed from peril, and that peril is vice. Difficult, verily, it is to attain such freedom, whether by people of low or of high degree, save by utmost exertion, giving up all other aims." The Separate Edict I is rather more elaborate on these points. The Rock Edict X simply makes a general statement in *sakale apaparivraṇa asa. Esa tu parivraṇe ya apumñam*, but the Separate Edict I explains this with illustrations. Beginning with *Imehi cu jūtehi no saṃpatipajati*, i.e., with certain natural dispositions success is impossible (cf. *dukaram tu kho etaṃ*, i.e. it is difficult to attain this freedom from vice, of the R. E. X). Mark that the two expressions aim at almost the same thing, the edict speaks about the complete destruction of vices like envy, cruelty and idleness, and then it says *E kilaṃte siyū* etc. whereby the necessity of exertions is established as indicated by *parākrama* of the R.E.X. The idea of one-minded attention indicated by *savaṃ paricajjipā* of the R.E.X is expressed in the Separate Edict I by *Hevaṃmeva e dakkhiye tuppāka tena vataviye aññaṃ ne dekhata*. The Rock Edict X refers to the other world only once, but we have repeated references to *svagam* in the Separate Edict

I with clear indication of the line that one should follow for this purpose. So, the Separate Edict I is practically an elaborate commentary of the R.E.X.

Now, about the Separate Edict II. This edict is nothing but a sermon on *dharmma vijaya*. Herein Asoka instructs his officers as to how they should conquer or gain the confidence of *avijitānaṃ aṇṭīnaṃ*. The Rock Edict XIII also speaks about this *dharmma vijaya*. There the chief aim of Asoka is to point out the superiority of this kind of conquest over the conquest made by force of arms. In order to illustrate this with examples he has alluded to his military conquest of Kalinga taking particular care to point out the evil effects of such conquests, and advising his sons and grandsons not to think of new conquests effected by force. But in the Separate Edict II, he has pointed out the means of *dharmma vijaya*. We, therefore, find that these two edicts really deal with the same subject, the Separate Edict II clearly explaining the means of *dharmma vijaya* which was simply mentioned in the R.E.XIII, but not sufficiently explained there. The object of alluding to the conquest of Kalinga so elaborately in the R.E.XIII can thus be clearly understood when that Edict is read with the Separate Edict II. This is also the reason why the latter was engraved at Kalinga in the place of the R.E.XIII.

Now, about the numbering of these two separate edicts. We think Prinsep is perfectly justified in his numeration. Separate Edict I being a substitute of the Rock Edict X should reasonably be numbered I, but the other being the substitute of the Rock Edict XIII should be numbered II. This we can say from the internal evidence of these two edicts, and numeration should properly be based on this principle. But the edicts have been engraved at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa without taking care to preserve this order. Perhaps greater importance was attached to the Separate Edict I, and hence the whole of the left column was reserved for this edict at Dhauli. At Jaugaḍa we also find that this edict has been put into prominence by shifting it to the left. But this does not prove that the edicts should be numbered by observing the manner of engraving in two particular places only (as suggested by Cunningham in his *Corpus*, p. 20, and supported by other scholars) without taking into consideration the order of the whole series of edicts to which they belong, and which have been engraved at other places.

We have another most important suggestion to make here. We find that towards the end of the R. E. IX, the texts of Gīrnār, Dhauli

and Jaugaḍa differ from those of Kālsi, Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānsehrā. Now, what is the cause of this difference and similarity? In order to find this out, we have to look to the inscriptions at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa. We find that the Rock Edicts XI, XII, and XIII were not inscribed at those two places, but the two Separate Edicts were added to the series engraved there. These omissions and additions are undoubtedly not accidental. When those responsible for the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa inscriptions decided to leave out the Rock Edicts XI, XII, and XIII from the whole series, they counteracted this omission by the introduction of the two Kaliṅga Edicts, and by changing the texts of the Rock Edict IX towards the end in such a way that the new text might satisfactorily account for the omission uncovered by the new Kaliṅga Edicts. Now, we have seen that the Kaliṅga Edict I here stands for the R. E. X, and the Kaliṅga Edict II for the R. E. XIII, so, of the three edicts omitted, the Rock Edicts XI and XII remain to be represented, and this was done by the new text of the R. E. IX. The Rock Edict XI is simply a sermon on almsgiving and liberality, and the Rock Edict XII, though it principally deals with toleration and concord, also speaks about gifts and reverence (vide the first sentence of the edict). The new text of the R. E. IX, is nothing but a sermon on liberality, and thus it deals with the same subject treated in the R. E. XI, and in the first part of the R. E. XII. Even there is substantial agreement in the composition. Compare *Na tu etūrisaṃ nstī dānaṃ.....yārisaṃ dhaṃmadānaṃ* (G. IX. 7), with *Nāsti etarisaṃ dānaṃ yārisaṃ dhammādānaṃ* of the R. E. XI. (G. XI 1), and *Sādhu dānaṃ* (G. IX. 7) with *Sādhu dānaṃ* (G. XI. 2), and *Idaṃ kacaṃ idaṃ sādhu iti* (G. IX. 8), with *Idaṃ sādhu idaṃ katarayaṃ* (G. XI. 3). Even "therefore should a friend, lover, relative or comrade exhort saying—this ought to be done, this is excellent," of the new text of the Rock Edict IX (G. IX. 7-8) seems to be an echo of "this ought to be said by father, son, brother, friend, or comrade, nay, even by a neighbour—this is excellent, this ought to be done" of the Rock Edict XI (G. XI. 3). The instructions about the proper treatment of slaves and servants, and of hearkening to father and mother, etc. of the Rock Edict XI, (G. XI. 2-3) are mere repetition of similar sentiments expressed in the Rock Edicts III and IX. Besides, we have this matter already dealt with in the earlier part of the R. E. IX (G. IX. 4-5), and hence it was not considered necessary to repeat it in the latter part of the same Edict. It will thus be evident how the Rock Edict XI has been mostly in-

incorporated in the new text of the R. E. IX. Now, about the Rock Edict XII. It deals with toleration and concord, a subject which had already been touched upon by the Rock Edict VII. It says—“The king desires that in all places men of every denomination may abide, for they all desire mastery over their senses and purity of mind.” This lays down the principle of toleration dealt with in the Rock Edict XII, and supports the principles of “the growth in the essence of the matter” discussed therein. The Rock Edict VII was, therefore, considered sufficient for the purpose of the Rock Edict XII, so far at least as the Kaliṅga country was concerned, and hence no addition of a new text was considered necessary for R. E. XII.

About the Rock Edict XIII, it can be said that it contains a vivid description of the sufferings of the people of Kaliṅga during the war, and hence it could not be agreeable to the people of that country to be reminded of an unfortunate past event. It was, therefore, statesman-like not to engrave this edict at Kaliṅga. But its place was taken up by the Kaliṅga Edict II, which deals with *dhammavijaya*, pointing out the means of securing the love and confidence of the people, as was absolutely necessary for pacifying a newly conquered country. The selection was thus made with a purpose.

We now find how the omission of the Rock Edicts XI, XII and XIII has been made up by the Kaliṅga Edicts and by the new text of the R. E. IX. But why this new text should be added to the R. E. IX, and not to the Rock Edict X is an important point which engages our attention. We find that the Rock Edict X has not been omitted at Kaliṅga, so there was no necessity of the Kaliṅga Edict I to be engraved there, for the latter is practically an elaborate copy of the former. This is to be observed that at the beginning of the series engraved at Dhauḷi and Jaugaḍa i.e. at the beginning of the Rock Edict I engraved there, we have two additional words *Khapīṅgalasi pavatasi* which are not found in the texts of G. K. S. and M. The real significance of the addition of these two words has not yet been clearly understood. This shows that the selection of the series engraved at Dhauḷi and Jaugaḍa was specially made for those two places, but not for any other place. The necessity of such selection can also be understood when we find that some edicts were omitted, while others were added and texts changed. At the time of selection it was perhaps decided to omit the Rock Edict X also from the series engraved in those two places, and hence the new text was added towards the end of the R. E. IX. Had the omission of the R. E. X not

been decided upon the new text would have been added to the R. E. X and there would have been no necessity of the Kaliṅga Edict I. We thus find that the original intention was to omit the Rock Edicts X-XIII from the Kaliṅga series, but the Rock Edict X was retained by mistake. It is also possible that both the Rock Edict X and the Kaliṅga Edict I were engraved at Kaliṅga, because they were considered supplementary to one another, the latter being looked upon as a commentary of the former, the connection between these two edicts being perfectly clear to the authority. This is the strongest proof against the taking of *bandhanaṃ* and *palikilesaṃ* of the Kaliṅga Edict I in the sense of imprisonment and torture by the officers, for, from the foregoing discussions it is perfectly clear that they were not used by the authors of the edicts in those senses, and that the Kaliṅga Edict I is nothing but a sermon on morality, as it is an explanatory commentary of the R. E. X which has no connection whatsoever with administrative imprisonment and tortures. But there is another most interesting point to be discussed in this connection. We know that the texts of Gīrnār, Dhauli and Jaugaḍa form a distinct group with substantial agreement towards the later part of the R. E. IX, where new text was necessary at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa to counteract the omission of the Rock Edicts XI and XII. But Gīrnār does not omit these two edicts, for, it has the Edicts I-XIV engraved there in perfect serial order, and hence it had no necessity of a summary statement like those of Dhauli and Jaugaḍa at the end of the R. E. IX. What is thus justified in the case of Dhauli and Jaugaḍa is redundant in the case of Gīrnār, yet we find the same added to the R. E. IX engraved there: Does it not signify that the authorities, responsible for the Gīrnār inscriptions, received a copy of the edicts after the plan and texts of the Kaliṅga Edict had been definitely settled, and that the new text of the R. E. IX was by mistake forwarded to Gīrnār, and that Gīrnār inscription is later in date than those of Dhauli and Jaugaḍa? This is an instance of "the blunder of the writer" alluded to in the R. E. XIV, just as the Kaliṅga Edict I and the Rock Edict X show how one text has been "sometimes condensed, sometimes expanded," and how "everything is not brought together everywhere."

MANINDRA MOHAN BOSE

The Origin and Development of Numerals

II

IV. THE USE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE NUMERALS AMONG THE ARABS

With the accession of the Abbasides, long before the Muhammadan influence spread through Arabia and Persia, passion for learning, especially astronomy and mathematics, grew up with the Arabs. The mathematical knowledge of the Arabs rested upon the Elements of Euclid, which, immediately on being translated into Arabic, was enthusiastically studied by them, and on which they made considerable advances. In the 9th century A.D., they borrowed from the Indians their decimal system, numerals and arithmetic. At the instance of the Caliph Manun (about 280 A.H.) the mathematician Muhammad ibn Musa, commonly called Khowarizimi, wrote a short Algebraical treatise which gave the best known and most useful illustrations drawn from everyday problems of life. This treatise first introduced into Europe a knowledge of Algebra. The Latin translation of Khowarizimi served as a manual to the European scholars of the 16th century supplying to them knowledge of Algebra earliest in point of time.¹

From that time onward, there were numerous Arabic writers upon arithmetic, as that subject occupied one of the high places among the sciences, but most of them did not feel it necessary to refer to the origin of the symbols, the knowledge of which might well have been taken for granted.

The earliest Arabic documents containing the numerals are two manuscripts of 874 and 888 A.D.² They appear a century later in a work written at Shiraz in 970 A.D. There is also an early trace of their use on a pillar recently discovered in a church apparently destroyed as early as the tenth century, not far from the Jeremiah Monas-

1 Literary and Scientific Activities under the Caliphate by S. Khoda Buksh.

2 Karpinski, Hindu Numerals in the Fihrist, vol. XI (3) pp. 121ff.

tery in Egypt. A graffito in Arabic on this pillar has the date 349 A.H., which corresponds to 961 A.D.¹ For the dating of Latin documents the Arabic forms were used as early as the thirteenth century. In fact, it was from the eighth century that progress of learning began with the Arabs; from the eighth century to the thirteenth century Muhammadism was to the western world what Rome and Athens and the Italo-Hellenic influence generally had been to the ancient civilisation. Mr. Libri, in his *Histoire des Mathematiques*, says, "If they did not possess the spirit of invention which distinguished the Hindus and the Greeks, they at least possessed the virility of a new and victorious people, with a desire to understand what others had accomplished, and a taste which led them with equal ardour to the study of algebra and of poetry, of philosophy and of language."²

Mr. Fleet says that the method of calculation by abacus spread from India to Arabia. It is to be noted that the debt the Arabs are said to owe to Hindu mathematicians for their arithmetical notation is closely connected with the question of the existence of the abacus in ancient India. The gobar numerals of the Arabs are said to be derived more or less from the abacus. Mr. G. R. Kaye³ has pointed out that while various writers have said that the abacus was in common use in India, they have not given any proof of their assertion. He accepts no doubt that a form of abacus is now in use in India but that fact, he says, does not enable us to affirm that the appliance dates from any early times in India. What is wanted is distinct evidence and Mr. Fleet⁴ draws our attention to a passage which perhaps yields such evidence. The passage is found in the *Divyāvadāna* which is regarded as dating generally from before A.D. 100, though parts of it may be placed two centuries or more later. It is in chapter 19, entitled *Jyotiṣkāvadāna* (ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 262ff); the story begins thus:—

"There lived in Rājagṛha a rich householder named Subhadra, who greatly favoured the Nirgranthas (the Jains). On a certain occasion Buddha, wandering through Rājagṛha for alms, came to Subhadra's

1 Archæological Report of the Egypt Exploration Fund for 1908-1909, London, 1910, p. 18.

2 Libri, *Histoire des Mathematiques*, vol. I, p. 174.

3 J. A. S. B., 1908, pp. 293-297.

4 J. R. A. S., 1911, pp. 519-21.

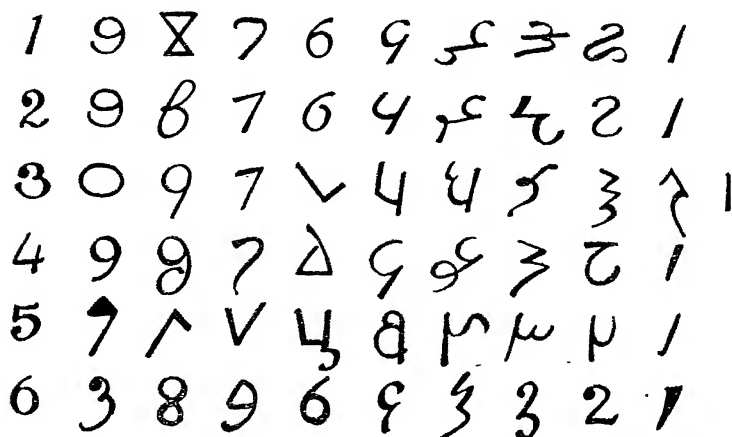
house, and in the course of conversation told Subhadra that his wife was about to bear a son who would devote himself to the Buddhist faith and attain the condition of an Arhat. The interview was witnessed by a person named Bhūrika who was the owner of a charitable hall, and was entitled to expect that Buddha should have applied to him for alms rather than to Subhadra. When Buddha, having his alms-bowl filled by Subhadra, had gone away, Bhūrika went to Subhadra, and asked what had occurred. Subhadra explained. Then we are told (p. 263, line 8):—स भुरिको गणिते कृतावी श्रितवर्णो गृहीत्वा गणयितुमारब्धः (He, Bhūrika, who was skilled in *gaṇitra*, took a *śvetavarṇā* and began to count or calculate.).

The upshot was that Bhūrika confirmed the prediction. It is clear that Bhūrika was an adept in making and testing predictions by means of calculations. The editors, regarding him as an astrologer, have explained "gaṇitra" in their index of words as meaning "an astrologer's instrument, an abacus," and "śvetavarṇā" as meaning also "an astrologer's instrument." The appropriate meaning of *śvetavarṇā*, lit. "having a white colour" is "chalk," as assigned to it in Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary. Now what is the meaning of *gaṇitra*? *Gaṇitra* is formed with the suffix *itra*. The rule 3. 2. 184 of Pāṇini teaches us the use of this suffix in the sense of instrument to form such words as *khanitra*, 'an instrument for digging,' *aritra*, 'a rudder,' *lavitra*, 'a sickle,' and *dhavitra* 'a fan.' This gives an appropriate meaning to *gaṇitra* which explains the above passage thus:—

"He, Bhūrika, being skilled in the use of the appliance for counting (of abacus) took a piece of chalk and began to count or calculate."

This distinctly suggests the use of some form of the abacus in the shape of a board—the well-known *phalaka*¹—coloured black and ruled ready for use so that calculations could be made on it with a piece of chalk. This gives, according to Mr. Fleet, a documentary evidence of the use of abacus in ancient India. This was surely the father of the system of gobar or dust numerals. The significance of the term gobar is doubtless that the numerals were written on the dust abacus. It has been stated by Al-Biruni that the Hindus often performed numerical computations in the sand. The term is found as early as circa 950, in the verses of an anonymous writer of Kairwan, in which

the author speaks of one of his works on gobar calculation. From the tenth century the Arabs used these gobar numerals and they knew the numerals as Indian forms. It is, therefore, certain that the Arabs used the gobar forms before the later numerals reached them in 773 A.D. The gobar numerals varied more or less, but substantially they were of the following forms (read from right to left):¹—



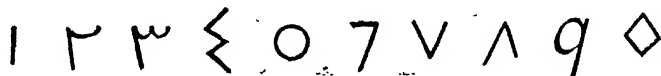
The first definite trace that we have of the introduction of the system of numerals into Arabia dates from 773 A.D. At that time the second Abbasside Khalif Al-Mansur was ruling and an Indian astronomer visited his court bringing with him tables of the planets according to the mean motions, with observations relative to both Solar and Lunar Eclipses and the ascension of the signs; these were translated into Arabic at the Khalif's command by Muhammad Bin Ibrahim Al-Fazari.² Al-Khowarazmi and Habash (Ahmed ibn Abdallah, died c. 870) based their well-known tables upon the work of Al-Fazari. It may be asserted as highly probable that the numerals came at the same time as the tables. They were certainly known a few decades later, and before 825 A.D., about which time the original of the *Algoritmi de numero Indorum* was written, as that work makes no pretence of being the first work to treat of the numerals. The three writers

¹ Silvestre de Sacy gives the ordinary modern Arabic forms, calling them *Indian*.

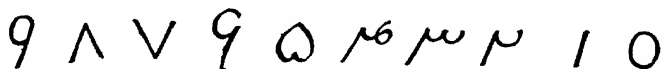
² Colebrooke, *Essays*, vol., II, p. 504.

mentioned above cover the period from the end of the eighth to the end of the ninth century and the historians Al-Masudi and Al-Biruni followed quite closely. One document cited by Woepcke is of special interest since it shows at an early period, 970 A.D., the use of the ordinary Arabic forms alongside the gobar. The title of the work is *Interesting and Beautiful Problems on Numbers* copied by Ahmed ibn Muhammad (951-1024) from a work by a priest and physician, Nazir ibn Yumn al-Quas (died c. 990).¹ It was Al-Khowarizmi who appreciating at once the importance of the position system brought from India wrote an arithmetic based upon these numerals, and this was translated in the time of Adelhard of Bath (c. 1130). This system used by Al-Khowarizmi found its way into Europe through the Latin translation.

In this way when the importance of the place value was appreciated by the Arabs, the complete system of modern Arabic numerals grew up:



The Arabs, however, did not adopt the circle, since it bore some resemblance to the letter "five" of their system. The earliest Arabic zero known is the dot, used in a manuscript of 873 A.D. Sometimes both the dot and the circle are used in the same work having the same meaning, which is the case in an Arabic Ms., an abridged arithmetic of Jamshid, 982 A.H. (1575 A.D.) As given in this work the numerals are :



I have already stated that the Hindus called the zero Śūnya or void. This passed over into the Arabic as assifr or sifr. When Leonardo of Pisa wrote upon the Hindu numerals he spoke of this character as zephirum. Maximus Planudes called it tziphra. The English cipher or zero, French chiffré, is derived from the same Arabic word assifr.

I have already cited the various forms of gobar numerals, an examination of which will show that the 5th form resembles to a great extent the modern Arabic numerals, except that there is no sign for zero in the gobar system. The sign for zero was added much

1 D. E. Smith and L. C. Karpinski, Hindu Arabic Numerals.

later when the Arabs came to appreciate the importance of place value from the Indian mathematicians. They finally adopted the modern numerals and helped to introduce them into Europe.

V. THE INTRODUCTION AND SPREAD OF THE NUMERALS IN EUROPE INDICATING A SOLUTION OF THE HINDU- ARABIC QUESTION

We have dealt with the origin and growth of Hindu numerals and also the use of the numerals among the Arabs; here we shall take up the question of their introduction into Europe, a solution of which, we are led to believe, helps the solution of the Hindu-Arabic question of the numerals.

"One theory is that the Hindu system of numerals, without the zero, early reached Alexandria (450 A.D.), and that the Neo-Pythagorean love for the mysterious and specially for the oriental led to its use as something bizarre and cabalistic, that it was then passed along the Mediterranean, reaching Darius Boethius in Athens or in Rome, and the schools of Spain, being discovered in Africa and Spain by the Arabs even before they themselves knew the improved system with the place value."¹ Another theory has been set forth by Bubnov that the numerals found their way in Europe from ancient symbols used on the abacus, but that the zero was of Hindu origin.² The latter theory is not tenable in the light of what has been said in previous chapters.

The Spanish forms of the numerals were called the *hurūf al-gobar*, the *gobar* or dust numerals, as distinguished from the *hurūf al-jumal* or alphabetic numerals. The signification of the term *gobar* is doubtless that these numerals were written on the dust abacus, this plan being distinct from the counter method of representing numbers. Al-Biruni states that the Hindus often performed numerical computation in the sand.

The *gobar* numerals themselves were first made known to Europe by Silvestre de Sacy, who discovered them in an Arabic manuscript from the library of the ancient abbey of St. -Germain-des-Prés. The

1 D. E. Smith and L.C. Karpinski, *The Hindu Arabic Numerals*.

2 Bubnov, *Origin and History of our Numerals* (Russian), 1908.

system has nine characters, but no zero. A dot above a character indicates tens, two dots hundreds, and so on, 5 meaning 50, and $\ddot{5}$ meaning 5,000. When we consider that the dot is found for zero in the Bakhshali manuscript¹ and that it was used in subscript form in the *Kitab al-Fihrist*² in the tenth century, and as late as the sixteenth century, although in this case probably under Arabic influence, we are forced to believe that this form may also have been of Hindu origin. The fact seems to be that the Arabs did not immediately adopt the Hindu zero, because it resembled their 5; they used the superscript dot as serving their purposes fairly well; they may, indeed, have carried this to the west and have added it to the gobar forms already there, just as they transmitted it to the Persians. Furthermore, the Arab and Hebrew scholars of Northern Africa in the tenth century knew these numerals as Indian forms, for a commentary on the *Safar Yesirah* by Abu Sahl ibn Tamin (probably composed at Kairwan, c. 950) speaks of "the Indian arithmetic known under the name of gobar or dust calculation"³. The Indian use of subscript dots to indicate the tens, hundreds, thousands etc. is established by a passage in the *Kitab al-Fihrist* (987 A.D.) in which the writer discusses the written language of the people of India.

The gobar numerals varied more or less, but were substantially as those shown on page 359 above.

These gobar numerals resemble modern numerals much more closely than the Arab numerals do.

How did these gobar numerals reach Boethius and Europe? Certainly along trade routes with the merchant people trading in India. Even in very remote times, before the Hindu numerals were sculptured in the cave of Nānā Ghāt, there were trade relations between Arabia and India. Indeed, long before the Aryans went to India the great Turanian race had spread its civilisation from the Mediterranean to the Indus. At a much later period the Arabs were the intermediaries between Egypt on the west, and the farther Orient. The Romans also exchanged products with the East. Horace says "a busy trader, you hasten to the farthest Indies, flying from poverty over sea, over crags, over fires."

There may be another theory of the spread of numerals in Europe. With the progress of Buddhism, several centres of learning grew

1 Possibly as early as the third century A.D.

2 Ascribed by the Arabic writer to India.

up in India which attracted scholars from China, Persia, Central Asia, Greece and other far off countries. In 62 A.D., the then Chinese Emperor sent an ambassador to India. So that it was entirely possible for the numerals of the Punjab to have worked their way to western countries through Afganistan and Persia at that early date.

As regards the Arabs, in the fifth century they traded by sea with India and even with China, and Hira was an emporium for the wares of the East, so that any numeral system of any part of the world could hardly have been isolated. Long before the activity of the Arabs, ships sailed from the Isthmus of Suez to all the commercial ports of Southern Europe and up into the Black Sea. Hindus were found among the merchants who frequented the bazars of Alexandria, and Brahmins were reported even in Byzantium. The *Gulistān* of the Persian poet Sādī contains such a passage :—

"I met a merchant who owned one hundred and forty camels, fifty slaves and porters. He answered to me: 'I want to carry sulphur of Persia to China, which in that country, as I hear, bears a high price; and thence to take Chinese ware to Roum; and from Roum to load up with brocades for Hind; and so to trade Indian steel to Halib. From Halib I will convey its glass to Yeman, and carry the painted cloths of Yeman back to Persia.'"¹ Still another certain route for the entrance of the numerals into Christian Europe was through the pillaging and trading carried on by the Arabs on the northern shores of the Mediterranean. As early as 652 A.D. in the thirteenth year of the Hejira, the Muhammadans descended upon the shores of Sicily and took much spoil. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that in the Middle Ages as in the time of Boethius, it was a simple matter for any enquiring scholar to become acquainted with such numerals of the Orient as merchants may have used for warehouse or price marks.²

To sum up, therefore, there was abundant intercourse between the East and the West for some centuries before the Hindu numerals appear in any manuscripts in Christian Europe. The numerals must of necessity have been known to many traders in a country like Italy at least as early as the ninth century, and probably even earlier, but there was no reason for preserving them in treatises. Therefore

1 *Gulistān-Sādī*, born at Shiraz in 1193. He himself travelled from India to Europe.

2 D. E. Smith and L. C. Karpinski, *Hindu Arabic Numerals*.

when a man like Gerbert (afterwards Pope Sylvester II from 999 to 1003) made them known to the scholarly circles, he was merely describing what had been familiar in a small way to many people in a different walk of life.

In the 12th century A.D., four Englishmen: Adelhard of Bath (c. 1130), Robert of Chester (c. 1143) William Shelley, and Daniel Morley (1180) are known¹ to have journeyed to Spain in the twelfth century for the purpose of studying mathematics and Arabic. Adelhard of Bath translated from Arabic into Latin Al-Khowarazimi's astronomical tables, while Robert of Chester is known as the translator of Al-Khowarazimi's algebra. The earliest trace of computation with Hindu numerals in Germany is an Algorismus of 1143, now in the Hofbibliothek in Vienna. It was about the same time that Rabbi Abraham ibn Meir ibn Ezra of Toledo wrote a book called the *Safar ha-Mispar*, the Book of Number, in the Hebrew language. Probably he acquired his knowledge of the Hindu arithmetic in his native town of Toledo.

Of all the mediæval writers, probably the one most instrumental in introducing the numerals to the scholars of Europe was Leonardo of Pisa. But more popular were the treatises of Alexander de Villa Dei (c. 1240 A.D.) and John of Halifax (Sacrobosco, c. 1250 A.D.) who were responsible for the rapid spread of the numerals among the common people. Sacrobosco's work was of special interest inasmuch as the extended use of this work made the term 'Arabic numerals' commonly known. In the introduction it is stated that this science of reckoning was due to a philosopher named Albus, whence the name *algorismus*, and in the section on numeration reference is made to the Arabs as the inventors of this science. Though some of the commentators were aware of the Hindu origin of the numerals, they took the text as it stood; and hence the belief that Arabs were responsible for the invention of the numerals gained much ground in Europe.

In Europe the complete system with the zero was derived from the Arabs in the 12th century, and the arithmetic based on this system was known by the name of *Algorithmus*. This word is nothing more than a transcription of Al-Khowarizmi as was conjectured by Reinaud, and has become plain since the publication of a unique

Cambridge manuscript containing a Latin translation, perhaps by Adelhard of Bath, of the lost arithmetical treatise of the Arabian mathematician. The arithmetical methods of Al-Khowarizmi were simplified by later Eastern writers, and these simpler methods were introduced to Europe by Leonardo of Pisa in the west and Maximus Planudes in the east. The term zero appears to come from the Arabic *sifr* through the form zephyre used by Leonardo.¹

As a result of this brief survey of the evidence mentioned in this Chapter, we come to these conclusions:—(1) commerce and travel helped the spread of numerals in Europe; (2) merchants trading in India, China, Arabia, Persia and Palestine had every opportunity of knowing the elementary number systems of the peoples with whom they were trading, but they did not put this knowledge in a permanent written form; (3) there is every reason to believe that the numerals in some forms were known to European merchants, long before the Arabs introduced the perfect system into Europe; (4) the wonder is that though the Hindu-Arabic numerals were known in 1000 A.D., and formed the subject matter of an elaborate work by Fibonacci in 1202, more extended manuscript evidence of their appearance before that time has not been found, even when they were more or less known to many merchants and travellers of Christian Europe in the Middle Ages.²

VI. HINDU ORIGIN OF NUMERALS AND THE GRADUAL EVOLUTION OF THE MODERN FORMS

It has been said that the earliest Arabic documents containing the numerals are two manuscripts of 874 and 888 A.D. They appear about a century later in a work written at Shiraz in 970 A.D. There is also an early trace of their use on a pillar recently discovered in a church apparently destroyed as early as the tenth century, not far from the Jeremiah Monastery in Egypt. A graffito in Arabic on this pillar has the date 349 A.H., corresponding to 961 A.D. The complete system with the zero was introduced, however, in Europe by the Arabs in the 12th century, and the arithmetic based on this system was known by the name of Algorithmus, algorithm. But

1 Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th edition, Numerals.

2 D. E. Smith and L. C. Karpinski, Hindu-Arabic Numerals,

the use of numerals in India can be followed back to the Nānāghaṭ inscription, supposed to date from the early part of the 3rd century B.C. The forms of the later Indian numerals for the nine digits appear to be clearly derived from the earlier system. The Nānāghaṭ and "cave" numerals give forms earlier than the introduction of the system of position, while Devanāgarī, derived from a computation of all the systems, was used with a zero and position value.¹

"It was not apparently till 773 A.D." says C. E. Bayley, "that the Arabs became acquainted with the Indian ciphers and with the Indian method of notation and arithmetic. They obtained this knowledge from a book presented by the envoy of an Indian monarch to the Khalif Al-Mansur. Probably the Indian monarch was one of the Hindu kings of Kabul. At least the modern Arabic numerals seem to be derived from the peculiar form of those then employed in that part of India. At that date the complete Indian system (employing the zero) was used, it was with this that the Arabs first came in contact. This seems clear from the excessive eulogiums lavished by them upon the new system of numeration and calculation, as being infinitely superior to the Greek system."²

As a matter of fact there is abundant reason for believing that Hindu numerals would naturally have been known to the Arabs, and even along every trade route to the remote west, long before the zero entered to make their place-value possible, and that the characters, the methods of calculating, the improvements that took place from time to time, the zero when it appeared, and the customs as to solving business problems, would all have been made known from generation along these same trade routes from the orient to the occident. It must always be kept in mind that it was to the tradesman and the wandering scholar that the spread of such learning was due, rather than to the schoolman. Indeed Avicenna³ (980-1087 A.D.) in a short biography of himself relates that when his people were living at Bokhara his father sent him to the house of a grocer to learn the Hindu art of reckoning, in which this grocer (oil dealer, possibly)

1 Burnell, South Indian Paleography, 1874.

2 Sir C. E. Bayley, "On the Genealogy of Modern Numerals", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vols. XIV, XV.

3 Carrade Vaux, Avicenna, Paris 1900. His full name was Abū-Ali-al-Hossein ibn Sina.

was expert.¹ Even in very remote times, before the Hindu numerals were sculptured in the cave of Nāraghāt, there were trade relations between Arabia and India. Indeed long before the Aryans went to India, the great Turanian race had spread its civilisation from the Mediterranean to the Indus.² At a much later period the Arabs were the intermediaries between Egypt and Syria on the west, and the further orient. Indeed, there is ample testimony to the caravan trade from India, across Arabia, and on to the banks of the Nile. About the sixth century B.C. Scylax, a Persian Admiral under Darius, from Caryanda on the coast of Asia Minor, travelled to north-west India and wrote upon his ventures. Such number systems as there were in these lands would naturally have been known to a man of his attainments."

For over five hundred years Arabic writers and others continued to apply to works on Arithmetic the name "Indian." In the tenth century such writers are 'Abdallāh ibn Al-Ḥasan, Abū Qasim (died 987 A.D.) of Antioch and Mohammed ibn Abdallāh Abū Nāser (c. 982), of Kalwada near Bagdad. Others of the same period or earlier (since they are mentioned in the *Fihrist*, 987 A.D.) who explicitly use the word "Hindu" or Indian, are Sinān ibn Al-Fath of Harran and Ahmed ibn Omar Al-Karābisi. In the eleventh century came Al-Biruni (973-1048) and Ali ibn Ahmed Abul-Hasan Al Naswi (c. 1030). Even in the first half of the 14th century, Maximus Planudes, a Greek monk, followed the Arabic usage in calling his work "Indian" Arithmetic.

The next question is, therefore, the source of information of the Arabs. In the seventh century the Arab empire became an ellipse of learning with its foci at Bagdad and Cordova, and its rulers not infrequently took pride in demanding intellectual rather than commercial treasures. It was at this time that the Hindu numerals found their way to the north. It is not possible to find out the exact time when they were actually known. But this much is certain that in the eighth century they were taken to Bagdad.

It is stated in the preface to the Astronomical tables of Bin-

1 D. E. Smith and L. C. Karpinski, *Hindu-Arabic Numerals*.

2 G. Oppert, *On the Ancient Commerce of India*, Madras, 1879, p. 8.

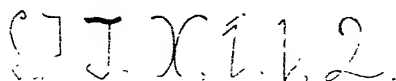
3 D. E. Smith and L. C. Karpinski, *Hindu-Arabic Numerals*.

al-Adami, published by his continuator, Al Qasim in 920 A.D., that in the reign of the second Abasside Khalif Al-Mansur, in 773 A.D. "an Indian astronomer, well versed in the science he professed, visited the court of the Khalif, bringing with him tables of the planets according to the mean motions, with observations relative to both Solar and Lunar Eclipses, and ascensions of the signs. The Khalif embracing the opportunity thus presented to him, commanded the book to be published for a guide to the Arabians." The task devolved on Mohammed Bin Ibrahim AlFazari, whose version is known by the name of the greater *Sind-hind*. Colebrooke was of opinion that the *Sind-hind* was a copy of the revised *Brahma-sidhānata* of Brahmagupta, and that the fact was deducible from the number of elapsed days between the beginning of the planetary motions and the commencement of the present age of the world according to the Indian reckoning as it is quoted by Abu Mashar (an astrologer of Balkh) and which agrees precisely with Brahmagupta.¹ The work of AlFazari, taken from the Hindu astronomy, continued to be in general use among the Arabs until the time of Al-Mamun for whom it was epitomised by Mohamed Bin Musa Al Khwarizmi; and his abridgment was thence forward known by the title of the less *Sind-hind*. Contemporary with Al-Khwarizmi and working under Al-Mamun was a Jewish astronomer, Abul-Taiyib Sened ibn Ali, who wrote a work on Hindu arithmetic. Abul-Hasan Ali Al-Masudi (d. 946) of Bagdad who travelled to the China Sea on the east, at least as far south as Zanzibar, and to the Atlantic on the west, speaks of the nine figures with which the Hindus reckoned.

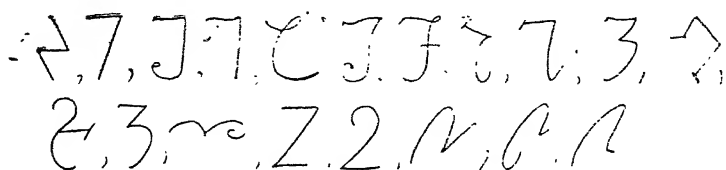
To sum up, therefore, we have up till now shown that the Indian claim to invention of the value of position and the zero rests first on the distinct testimony of Arab historians, and other Arab writers to that effect; on the certainty that it was practically used by the Indians at a date considerably anterior to that at which it can be really shown to have been used by any other people; and the Indian claim to the "zero" rests on exactly similar grounds. This claim is further established by the early records of inscriptions on caves and hills during the reign of Asoka and other princes.

As to the forms of the numerals, fashion played a leading part until printing was invented. This tended to fix these forms, although in writing there is still a great variation.

1 In the early printed books "one" was often written as i, perhaps to save types, just as some modern typewriting use the same character for i and x. One appears in such forms as

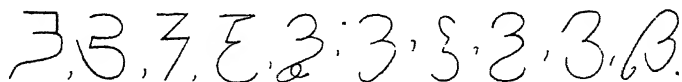


2 "Two" often as z. In early printed books 12 appears as 1 z. In the mediæval manuscripts the following forms are common:—



It is evident from the early traces that it is merely a cursive form for the primitive Ξ , just as 3 comes for Ξ , as in Nānāghāṭ,

3 "Three" usually had a special type in the first printed books, although occasionally it appears as 3. In the mediæval manuscripts it varied rather less than most of the others:

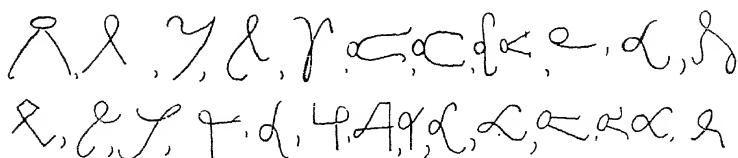


4 "Four" has changed greatly; and one of the first tests as to the age of a manuscript on arithmetic, and the place where it was written, is the examination of this numeral. Until the time of printing the

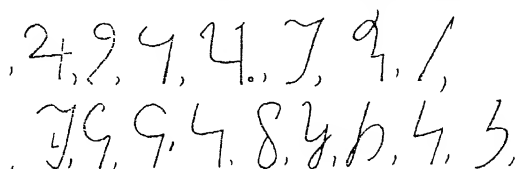
most common form was ⁹ **9**, although the Florentine manuscript

of Leonardo of Pisa's work has the form **4**; but the manuscripts show that the Florentine arithmeticians and astronomers rather early began to straiten the first of these form up to forms like **9**, and **9** or **9**, more closely resembling the present form. The first printed books generally used the present form with the closed top **4**, the open

top used in writing **4** being purely modern. The following are other forms of the four, from various manuscripts:—



5 "Five" also varied greatly before the time of printing, as :—



6 "Six" has changed rather less than most of the others, chief variation being in the slope of the top



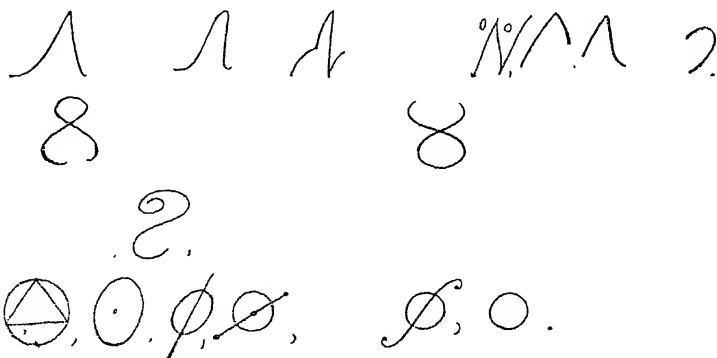
7 "Seven" like "four" has assumed its present form only since the fifteenth century.

8 "Eight" like "six" has changed but little. In mediæval times there are a few variants of interest.

9 Nine has not varied much.

o Variation of zero is given below.

The following are the variations.



Thus we see that the present forms 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 0 have been obtained through a series of variations, obtained, no doubt, from adaptation of the Indian types of Nānāghaṭ and Cave numerals.

VII. EVIDENCE OF THE EXISTENCE OF NUMERALS WITH SPACE VALUE IN LITERATURE

So long we have mainly based our evidence on the "Cave" and "Hill" inscriptions and have proved that numerals with space value existed among the Hindus as early as the sixth century. Dr. D. E. Smith in his "History of Mathematics" (vol. II) and in "Hindu Arabic Numerals" by himself and Mr. L. C. Karpinski, has also given due credit to the Hindus for the existence of numerals with space value among them at such an early date as the sixth century. But here we shall show that there is ample proof in Sanskrit and Pāli literature regarding the existence of numerals even at an earlier date. Though figure numerals can only be found in inscriptions, yet there is sufficient evidence in literature to warrant the existence of a perfect system of numerals at a date much earlier than that of the inscriptions.

We have already seen that a system of numeration existed at the Vedic period i.e. about 2000 B.C. In the Upaniṣads also there is mention of *akṣarapūjā* (worship of letters) which indicates the existence of letters and words at the time of the Upaniṣads (1400 B.C.). From this time probably the word and letter system of numerals began to be used, though it was extended and improved at a later stage. For example, *Rāma* stands for *three*; it must have come into use at least after the birth of Balarāma (the third Rāma) i.e. after the Paurāṇic age. But *aga* (mountain) standing for *seven*, *a'dhi* (sea) standing for *four*, and *agni* for *three* must have been used before the Paurāṇic age; as we get in the Purāṇas अष्ट कुलाचलः (eight mountains and not seven) and सप्त समुद्रः (seven seas and not four).

This word-and-letter system of numerals was used even in the sixth century A.D. by Varāhamihira in his *Pañcasiddhāntikā* and *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*; and this system was the most popular one generally used by the masses. Then why is it that Āryabhaṭa did not use the word-and-letter system and used alphabetic numerals as क, का, कि, कौ, कु, कू, कृ, कृ etc.? Because, we think Āryabhaṭa, a great scholar himself, wanted to introduce a simpler system to show his learning. In spite of this attempt to innovate a new system he could not but use the word *kha* (void, sky) to mean zero, as in the following,—

वर्गाक्षराणि वर्गेऽ वर्गेऽ वर्गाक्षराणि कात् ङ् जो यः ।
खद्विचवके खरा नव वर्गेऽ वर्गे नवान्वयवर्गे वा ॥

Thus the Hindus had three sets of numerals:—

1 Word-and-letter system. 2 Alphabet system. 3 Figure system.

In Sanskrit literature also there is ample evidence of a perfect system of numerals even before the sixth century A.D. In Śaṅkara's commentary on the Brahma-sūtras there is a passage:—

Yathā caikāpi satī rekhā sthānānyatvena niveśyamānaikadaśaśatasahasrādisabdapratyayabhedam anubhavati (Śāṅkara Bhāṣya, 2, 2, 17) i.e. as the same stroke (rekhā from lekḥā meaning line or stroke) coming in different positions gives the idea of units, tens, hundreds, thousands etc. This clearly shows the existence of the knowledge of place value at the time of Śaṅkara. Now what is the approximate date of composition of Śaṅkara's commentary? Orthodox Hindus believe from the inscriptions in the archives in the Maṭhas (monasteries) that Śaṅkara lived in the first century B.C.; K. T. Telang fixes the date in the sixth century A.D.; Pathak followed by Wilson fixed the date at 778 A.D. Tilak found a mistake in the calculation on astronomical basis of Pathak and fixed a date a century earlier i.e., at 678 A.D. The popular view is that Śaṅkara lived in the sixth century A.D. and died at the age of forty. Any how the system with place value must have been very popular in the sixth century, otherwise Śaṅkara would not have illustrated his point by a reference to the system of place value. Moreover there is a passage in the Vyāsa Bhāṣya of the Yogasūtras of Patañjali to imply that "the same stroke is termed one in the unit place, ten in the ten's place, hundred in the hundred's place." This clearly refers to the place value system. The date of Vyāsa Bhāṣya has been fixed in the early part of the sixth century by all oriental scholars. Therefore, it is certain that the system with place value was known before the sixth century, probably one or two centuries earlier, so that within that time the system became so well-known that it served the purpose of reference even in philosophical dissertations.

There is also some reliable evidence of the existence of numerals with place value even before the Christian era. In Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, book I, chap. V, it is said regarding the education of a prince that "after the ceremony of tonsure, which is generally performed at the third year, (cf. Raghu, iii, 28) he is taught lipi and saṃkhyāna."¹ Saṃkhyānam here surely means numerals. Also in book II, chap. VII

Vṛttacaulakarmā lipiṃ saṃkhyānaṃ copayaujīta.

where the business of keeping accounts in the office of the Accountant is mentioned, it is stated that the districts were divided into different *chaukies* and there was a perfect system of sending weekly, fortnightly, quarterly, half-yearly and annually accounts to the head-quarters. "Accounts will be submitted in the month of Āṣāḍha. When they (the accountants of different districts) present themselves with sealed books, commodities and net revenue, they shall all be kept apart in one place so that they cannot carry on conversation with each other. Having heard from them the totals of receipts, expenditure, and net revenues, the net amount shall be received. Checking of accounts will be made by the minister in charge."

This examination of accounts pre-supposes a perfect system of numeration. For it could not have been by means of sticks as in Europe even till the 15th century, records of which are found in old monasteries. It is absurd to think that so many sticks could be gathered and checked at one place. There must, therefore, have been a perfect system of numeration at that time. Now the age of Kauṭilya is fourth century B.C. So that it is not unwarrantable to conclude that a system of numerals existed even in the fourth century B.C.

The question then arises why did not Asoka coming after two generations (as his grand-father, Candragupta, was a contemporary of Kauṭilya) use this system? Probably because it was not very popular even then; and as Asoka wanted publicity of his inscriptions he resorted to the popular system, and also wrote his inscriptions in Prakrit. Further he did not lay much stress on dates.

In the poetical portion of *Lalita-vistara* (x, 15) also it is stated in the tenth chapter that "lipi (alphabet) and saṅkhyā (numerals) are to be learnt by the prince. The poetical portion of *Lalitavistara* dates from the first century B.C.

This, however, does not settle as a matter of course the date of invention of the zero as numeral. Strictly speaking these illustrations do not mention whether the place value was indicated in writing numbers or was being indicated on the abacus. In other words it may be asked whether it will be safe to conclude that the zero was known in that early age. Hence instances of the use of the zero from any early writing will be at once decisive and settle the question altogether. We have an instance in Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* (C. 620 A.D.)¹ and one in Śrīharṣa's *Naiṣadhiyacarita* (C. 12th century)²

where the zero has been expressly stated to be *śūnyabindu* meaning a point or a dot. Better instances are furnished by Varāhamihira's *Pañcasiddhāntikā* (505 A.D.) where he incidentally states two fundamental arithmetical operations by the zero (*kha*, *śūnya*, *ambara*), viz., addition and subtraction in more than one place, e.g., chap. iii, 2, 17; chap. iv, 7, 8, 11, 12; chap. xviii. 35, 44, 45, 48, 51. It is noteworthy that all the above verses are from those chapters of *Pañca-siddhāntikā* where are summarised the teachings of the Paulisiddhānta. Thibaut remarks: "Varāhamihira has in no case obliterated the characteristic features of the *siddhāntas* he has to deal with, and whatever distinguishes those works from one another in the text of the *Pañcasiddhāntikā* really distinguished them in their original form."¹ Unfortunately no means of verification of this conjecture has been left to us in the present age, the book not being now extant. It was known to Brahmagupta (c. 628 A.D.), to Bhaṭṭotpala (966 A.D.), and even as late as in the eleventh century to Al-biruni. There are, however, numerous quotations in Bhaṭṭotpala's excellent commentary on *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*² from an "original Paulisa-siddhānta" and probably also from a different edition of the same work. In any case this conjecture will lead us to the conclusion that the zero was known in India before 400 A.D., for that is the higher limit for the time of composition of the original Paulisiddhānta as set by Thibaut.³ It may further be stated that Whitney believed that in the time of Āryabhaṭa (476 A.D.), the Hindus had "invented their system of signs employed in decimal notation."⁴

The earliest instance of the use of zero is found in *Chandaḥ-sūtra* of Piṅgala or Piṅgalanāga, which is a manual of Vedic metres. One section of the book deals with the problem of determination of the number of possible variations for a metre with a given number of syllables. It is in this connection that Piṅgala has used the word *śūnya* in two successive sūtras (chap. VIII, s. 29-30). These two

1 Introduction to *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, p. xvii; cf. p. xvi.

2 Bhaṭṭotpala's commentary, edited by Dvivedi, Benares (1895).

3 Mr. G. R. Kaye says that the Paulisiddhānta is an adaptation of a work by Paulus Alexandrinus, a Greek astronomer. But the two works are entirely different inasmuch as the latter work deals with astrology while the former with astronomy. Vide an article by the present author on Hindu Astronomy in "East and West," Aug. 1919.

4 Journal of Amer. Oriental Soc., vol. 6, p. 563 footnote.

sūtras, in fact the whole of the manual, are found re-stated in the Agni-Purāṇa (chaps. 328-34). There is no doubt that, by śūnya, Piṅgala was referring, not to the mere concept of nothingness, but to a definite symbol whose concept is akin to the concept of our zero numeral. Halāyudha, the earliest commentator of Chandaḥsūtra, has explained the sūtras fully and has adduced illustrative examples as well. He is of opinion that, in the sūtras referred to, śūnya denotes the zero, and he has been supported by Weber who remarks that there can be no doubt about that. Now Piṅgala lived about the middle of the second century B.C., and his book was popular among the Brāhmaṇas, the Vedic scholars of the age. This will be at once evident from its being raised to the level of a Vedāṅga from its being incorporated in the Agni-Purāṇa and also from its being quoted in the Bhāratīya Nāṭya-śāstra (chap. XV) and in the Parīśiṣṭas (Max Müller, Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 75). Hence it has to be admitted that the zero was known to the Brāhmaṇas of India in the second century B.C. The date of invention is probably a century or two earlier. There are also in the Atharva Veda, xix, 22, 23, two hymns where there is reference to the zero as well as to positive and negative numbers. In those hymns the zero has been called kṣudra (trifling)¹ and positive and negative numbers have been denoted by ṛca and anṛca respectively.²

From these instances from Sanskrit literature it is not unsafe to conclude that the numerals with zero existed even before the Christian era, at least in the first century B.C. in a perfect form. No records of any other country can furnish any instance of the existence of numerals at such an early date.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

1 Cf. Amarasimha's synonym for zero as 'tuccha', meaning insignificant, negligible. Amarasimha is a lexicographer of the 5th century A.D.

2 For the concluding portion of this chapter, I am indebted to an article by Dr. Bibhuti Bhushan Datta of the University College of Science, Calcutta, which was published in the American Mathematical Monthly, Nov., 1926.

The Gaudī Rīti in Theory and Practice

Whatever might be thought about the antiquity of the term *rīti* as applied to a way of criticism of literary expression as well of the *rīti*, school or system which forms a pendant to it, there can be no two opinions on the view that there was from a very long time, one might even say, from the very adolescence of classical *kāvya* composition, an established code of critical thought in India consonant with the mode very much in vogue amongst a large number of writers holding that beauty in *kāvya* lies in charmingness of expression, so far as it is compatible with compactness of form and intelligibility. This tenor of literary appraisal could well take its rise in and suit an analytic language like Sanskrit, where an inherent favouritism for compounds has had to fight a tough fight with a desire for disintegration in expression through the use of inflections and expounded word-units—a desire that became growingly manifest in particular periods and localities along with the rise of Prākṛt literature, which swept the bounds of stiffness and elocution and loosened, softened and sweetened the language. Viewed from this stand-point, the *Gaudī rīti* of the writers of poetics becomes as much a necessary entity in criticism as the *Vaidarbhī*, though all the while, criticism can be expected to be appreciative, lenient, severe or censorious towards the course which either of them had to take, influenced as the one was necessarily by a hunt after pedantry or word-bombast, the craze of the erudite of the locality¹ and the other by a pliant and elastic tone, born and bred of a sweetness, the characteristic of the best Prākṛt that was making its influence felt in the province²; while discreetly applied, each genus might have grown up and did actually grow up in certain instances, into the best type of literary composition³.

And this is the opinion of Bhāmaha, the earliest known writer

1 गौडायः संस्कृतस्थाः परिचितरुचयः प्राकृते दाक्षिणात्याः—*Kāvyaṁīmāṁsā* of Rājasekhara.

2 महाराष्ट्राद्ययां भाषां प्रकृष्टां प्राकृतं विदुः—*Kāvyaṁdarśa* (1) of Daṇḍin.

3 गौडीयमपि साधियो वैदभमिति नान्यथा—*Kāvyaṁlāṅkāra* of Bhāmaha
I. 35.

professedly on poetics whose work has come down to us. He holds up to ridicule the view of those who thought that the *Gauḍī rīti* was a separate entity, was no good and made much capital of the fact that the bulk of the best-known literary compositions was composed in the *Vaidarbhī* style.¹ We maintain that the best type of *Gauḍī* is as much relishing and charming as *Vaidarbhī*. It seems from this that Bhāmaha was blind to the charms of the *Vaidarbhī*, in which the prince of poets, Kālidāsa, had achieved distinction, and was partial towards the *Gauḍī*, as much as it would be to think, as some have done² that the *Gauḍī rīti* was the earlier to be patronised to be given the go-by later in the wake of the *Vaidarbhī*; at least the facts, as known from literature and poetics, preclude us from such an inference. It is Bhāmaha's illustrious successor Daṇḍin who has overdone his part of advocacy in the matter and has transgressed the limits of condonable patriotism—he being a Southerner and the *Vaidarbhī rīti* drawing its name and essence from the practice of the poets of Mahārāṣṭra—and is responsible for the anathema pronounced on the eastern style. He has been accused, and justly so, of being over-censorious in his attack thereon. Surely the *Vaidarbhī* style did not stand in urgent need of his advocacy; the *Gauḍī rīti*, which he has vilified did not deserve his castigation either. The *Gauḍī rīti* was not strangled to death because of this; but the mandatory character of the *Alaṅkāraśāstra* was all the while there and the arrow was shot. Daṇḍin differs from Bhāmaha in thinking that the *Gauḍī* is an easily distinguished mode of composition (प्रसूतान्तर) from the *Vaidarbhī*, is by its very nature an inferior style and is the outcome of a misconception about the essentials of style (विषय्य). The *Gauḍī rīti*, as he represents it, does actually suffer from a misconception of the nature of *bandha*, which is ultimately at the root of all styles, is sometimes loose (शिथिल), more often cumbrous and bombastic, is vitiated

1 Kāvyaśālikāra, I, 31-35.

2 Dr. Jacobi, *Mahārāṣṭrī*, pp. xv f.; Dr. Nobel's *Foundations of Indian Poetics and their Historical Development*, chap. VI.

The reverse i.e. "the *Gauḍī* is a sign of further development or decadence" as maintained by Dr. De (*History of Poetics*, vol. II, p. 115), is also hardly tenable.

by an inordinate craze for verbal jingles and alliteration and casts to the winds clarity of expression and all sense of proportion and welcomes verbosity, pedantry and hyperbole¹. It is to be noted that to the student of Indian *Alaṅkāraśāstra* the idea of the *Gauḍī rīti* can never be dissociated from what it is represented by Daṇḍin.

It would not be profitless if we examine the *raison d'être* of this change in outlook of two writers who could not have been much distant from each other in point of age. The *rīti* school in its essence was much older than Bhāmaha or Daṇḍin; the pungency in the remarks of the latter could have been due as much to the urgency of rebutting the views of a remarkable earlier contemporary, as to the subject being much debated in practical and polemic poetics of the day, and therefore dealing with something which had not lost its freshness in time. Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa's observation on the style of the *Gauḍas* [गौड़ीयचरित्रः] is, in one aspect, at least, on a par with this—and may be supposed to reflect a partisan spirit when we remember the feeling which he, as a typical court-poet or courtier, entertained towards anything that smacked of the land of the *Gauḍādhama*, or *Gauḍabhujāṅga*. Bhāmaha's position is made clear by the two following verses of his *Kāvya-lāṅkāra* (I.33,35).

अपुष्टार्थमवक्रोक्तिं प्रसन्नसज्जु कोमलम् ।

भिन्नं ज्ञेयं² भिवेदन्तु केवलं श्रुतिपेशलम् ॥

अलङ्कारवदयान्तरार्थं न्याय्यमनाकुलम् ।

गौडीयमपि साक्षीयो वै दर्भमिति नान्यथा ॥

Taking his stand on the three and not ten *guṇas*, *ojas*, *prasāda* and *mādhurya*, which unlike what we meet with in Daṇḍin, in no way are intimately and vitally (प्राणा दश गुणाः) connected with the *rītis*, he finds fault with the type of *Vaidarbhī*, which is not rich in ideas, and in which there does not occur *Vakrokti* (in Bhāmaha's phraseology, a general and convenient name for all figures of speech), but is clothed in clear and plain language (and this is, in the views of early as well as late rhetoricians, the fundamental characteristic of the *Vaidarbhī*) and is

1 *Kāvya-darśa*, I. 42, 43, 50, 72 etc. The reference in I. 89 is to the *Gauḍas* and is sarcastic.

2 The reading *ज्ञेयम्* seems to be corrupt. We do not follow Nobel in his interpretation of the first verse. (Vide his *Foundations of Indian Poetics*.)

withal soft and tender—i. e. in which there figure the *guṇas*. *prasāda* and *mādhurya*, as he has occasion to deprecate that type of *Gauḍī*, which has one merit to boot, viz., is pleasing to the ear. We may do well to remember that this is the vulnerable point of the *rīti* in the view of its denouncers¹ which, in addition to having the *guṇa* *ojas* (for Bhāmaha in II. 1-3 opines that *ojas* is regarded by many as the *sine qua non* of the *Gauḍī rīti*), has *mādhurya* (*sauśabdyā*) in the shape of words pleasing to the ear. Not even the three *guṇas* will suffice to exalt a *kāvya*. There must be the *alanṅkāras* to adorn it; the *alanṅkāras* form the veritable crucial test of poetry—for Bhāmaha is an *alanṅkāra-māhātmyavādin* through and through. The *guṇas* are appreciated inasmuch as they form a plank of the *alanṅkāras*. Thus considered, the *guṇas* and for the matter of that, *rīti*, become meaningless as the principle of division of *kāvya*s. With Daṇḍin the position is different. The *rīti* (निरांशः) and its complementary or constituent *guṇas* (निरांशप्राणाः) are at least as important as the *alanṅkāras*² (वाचशोभाकरधर्मः) and are consequently a safe standard to be adopted in the classification of *kāvya*s.

1 *Kāvyaḍarśa*, I. अनुप्रासधिया गौडैः सद्विदम्.... अनुप्रासस्तु तत्प्रियः ।...शब्दालङ्कारइत्यसौ । अपेक्षमाणा वक्ष्ये पौरुषा काव्यपद्धतिः ।

2 To think from the statement in *Kāvyaḍarśa*, II, 3, काव्यनिरांशविभागाद्यं सुज्ञाः प्राग्व्यलङ्कित्याः, as Kane does (*H.A.L.*), that D. like Bh. hardly makes any distinction between *guṇas* and *alanṅkāras* is not compatible with D's views elsewhere (I. 42 & II. 1). When he includes *guṇas* under *alanṅkāras* he must be taken to mean that certain *alanṅkāras* are absolutely necessary, not all. The term *alanṅkāra* might also be taken in a non-technical sense as in Vāmana's *Kāvyaalanṅkārasūtravṛtti*, I. 1. 1. Bhāmaha and his follower Udbhaṭa are अनिर्दवादिन्स. Dr. De's remark, that "in this way he practically foreshadows, if he does not theoretically develop the rigid differentiation of the *guṇa* and the *alanṅkāra* of the *Rīti* school" (vol. II, p. 106), is a just and pertinent one. Kane's interpretation of विपर्यय as equivalent to *doṣas* and Dr. De's statement that "the ten *guṇas* are non-existent in the *Gauḍa*" (vol. II, p. 100), are rather bold generalisations. In इति रैदर्भःनिरांशप्राणा दश गुणाः सन्ताः—the term *Vaidarbha mārga* is an *upalakṣaṇa*. Daṇḍin's treatment of *doṣas* affords sufficient indication of the fact that in his remarks about the *Gauḍī* he meant by विपर्यय nothing more than misapplication or misconception.

It lay with the general body of the later writers to follow up this cue and shower abuse on the already much-maligned *Gauḍī rīti*. With Vāmana, the next great writer and an acknowledged champion of the *rīti* school, *Vaidarbhī* is alone acceptable and not the *Gauḍī* or the *Pāñcālī*, because of their lack of all the ten *guṇas* (तासां पूर्यां याच्चा गुणसाकल्यात् । न पुनरितरे सौकगुणत्वात् (I. 2. 14-15). The *Gauḍī* consists in compactness of structure as evinced by long compounds, in the use of rather unfamiliar, often harsh words, brilliance through richness of words, novel and charming expression as well as prominence of the *rasas*¹, and took its name from the style prevailing in the *Gauḍa* country (it must be Eastern *Gauḍa* when we remember Daṇḍin's description of the *rīti* as पौरुष). This richness of word-structure is procurable through conjunct consonants etc., and tends to round-about expression, over-effort or circumlocution. Maṅgala (another writer known only from quotations in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, Hemacandra's *Kāvya-mūlāsana* and several commentaries on the *Kāvya-prakāśa*), who seems to have been an authority on the subject, connects *rīti* with *guṇas*, but happens to differ from Vāmana and the predecessors of his class in thinking that *ojas* alone can differentiate the *Gauḍī* from the other *rītis*². Rudraṭa, an author of considerable repute, while

1 विदर्भादिषु दृष्टत्वात्तत्समाख्या I. 2, 10, and the *vr̥tti* thereon:—विदर्भगौड़पाञ्चालेषु देशेषु तत्तलैः कविभिर्न्यास्यरूपमुपलब्धत्वात्. I. 2. 12 is the *sūtra* ओजःकान्तिमती गौड़ीया on which the *vr̥tti* reads:—माधुर्यसौकुमार्ययोरभावात् समासबहुला अत्युत्पन्नपदा च । On this the *Kāmadhenu* comments:—अत्र भूमाय न मनुप् ओजःकान्त्योः प्राचुर्यप्रतिपादनाद-शुक्लानामशुक्लानामन्येषां गुणानामनिराकरणं प्रतिशूलयोस्तु माधुर्यसौकुमार्ययोरपवारणम्—अतएव दीर्घ-समासमत्युत्पन्नपदलक्षं सूचितम् । गाढ़वस्त्वमोजः III. 1.5. On this the *Kāmadhenu* observes:—गाढ़त्वं कनकशलाकावयवघटनवन्निबिडत्वं, तत्र हितवः—संयुक्ताकारत्वं, निरन्तररूपशिरस्कृतं वर्णानाम्..... See also III. 1, 25 and *vr̥tti* for the definition of कान्ति .

2 His views are thus referred to in Someśvara's commentary on the *Kāvya-prakāśa* entitled *Kāvya-darśa*:—तवावगीतस्य हीनस्य वा वस्तुनः पदार्थसम्पदा यदुदात्तत्वं निविञ्चन्ति कवयस्तदोज इति भरतः (?) । अवगीतस्य हीनस्य वा वस्तुनः शब्दाद्ययो-रर्थसम्पदा पद उदात्तत्वं निविञ्चन्ति कवयः—तर्हि तदनोजः स्यादिति सङ्गः । The reference may, in all likelihood, be to dramatic literature, *vastu* standing for the plot. If the reading be correct, the views of Bharata(?) and Maṅgala are contrasted. The *Saṅketa* (p.292, Mysore ed.) reads:—दण्डुः प्रक्तं समासदीर्घत्वमोज इत्यपि न ; रीति-त्वयेऽप्योजसः साधारणत्वात् गौड़ीयनिर्देशो न युक्तिमानिति वामनमङ्गलौ । There the reference to Vāmana as an expounder of this particular aspect of the thing looks a little indirect and irregular.

regarding *rīti* as a *śabdīkṛtāra* and thus relegating it to a secondary position, seems to regard it as a function of words compounded or otherwise. With him the *Gauḥī rīti* is a species of composition, which indulges in the use of compounds comprising seven or more words, an arbitrary number, however.¹ The *राट्टवस्तु*, with the older writers the *sine qua non* of *ojas* and therefore of the *G. R.* also is independent of the sense-factor. From the stand-point of the feeling-element he discusses the five different categories of *vṛtti* or of *anuprāsa* (कविता, पदवा, मधुरा etc.), which incorporate amongst them many of the constituent *guṇas* of the earlier writers on *rīti*. While it would be hazardous to equate any of his *vṛttis* with the *G. R.* of the theorists, it goes without saying that an analysis of the *rītis* (e.g. the *Gauḥī*) must have been his objective in his varied treatment of the topic. But in him too the business-like formality of the theorist in this particular at least dismisses any fresh and candid endeavour of reviving a subject which has grown antiquated and worn-out.

Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyañmūṃsā* refers to the three well-known *rītis* of Vāmana and is disposed to regard them as fundamentally associated with the *guṇas*, unlike Rudraṭa whose view he condemns. The *G. R.*, according to him, like the *Oḍra-māgadī pravṛtti* and the *Bhārati vṛtti* (and in family connection with the former), developed in the East in the course of the wanderings of the *Kāvya-puruṣa*, who represents the spirit of poetry and *Sāhityavidyā* (who may in all likelihood, in conformity with tradition, represent the spirit of healthy appreciative and corrective criticism)² and ultimately becomes his bride in Vidarbha, thus representing the perfection in form and spirit of the *Vaidarbhi rīti* [तत्र दाक्षिणात्ये सम्पूर्णतया काव्यपुरुषस्य वशीकरणं विदर्भेषु वत्सगुल्फे तयोर्गम्यैविवान्नः].³ His definition of *rīti*, as distinguished from that of *vṛtti* and *pravṛtti*,⁴ would indicate that he looks to the manner of juxtaposition of words as the cardinal principle and it is quite likely that he also is not an admirer of what was known in his days as the tough and tight composition of the *Gauḍas*. It is rather curious that in the *Karpūramañjarī*⁵ our author mentions three *rītis*,

1 Chap. II. 3-5, V. 9, XV. etc.

2 *Kāvyañmūṃsā*, chap. VII. (p. 31).

3 *Ibid.*, chap. III.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 9. वेषविन्यासक्रमः प्रवृत्तिः, विलासविन्यासक्रमो वृत्तिः, वचनविन्यासक्रमो रीतिः ।

5 *Nāṇḍī* verse, line 3.

in which *Māgadhi* takes the place of *Gauḍī*. The likely inference is either that Magadha formed a part of the *Gauḍamaṇḍala* which evolved the *Gauḍī rīti* or that the one name was substituted for the other traditionally wellknown because of the political supremacy of Magadha at the time. We shall have to revert to this point later on. That Magadha in spite of its political supremacy was not associated with a separate style is clear from the evidence of Rājaśekhara himself who opines गौड़याः संस्कृतस्थाः, and of Taruṇavācaspati who in his commentary on the *Kāvyaḍarśa*, following presumably an authoritative tradition, regards the *Māgadhi bhāṣā* as a *deśī bhāṣā*. Bhoja in his *Sarasvatikanṭhābharaṇa* ¹ and in his *Śṅgūraprakāśa*, ² however, regards the *Māgadhi* as a *rīti* separate from the *Gauḍī* and calls *rīti* a *śabdālaṅkāra*. The *Gauḍī* there—and with a slight difference this becomes the *Māgadhi*—is kept separate to have his usual favouritism for a particular number (six) and therefore is a separate entity; it is the ugly piece of composition so long passing under that name in the works of the earlier theorists. It is Mammaṭa, who has bridged this difference in view-point by trying to reconcile the views of Vāmana and Udbhaṭa and with a distinct bias towards the view of the latter, equates the *rītis* with the *vyrtis*, for these *rītis* are regarded as *śabdālaṅkāra* under *anuprāsa*.³ The *Gauḍī rīti* becomes the *paruṣā vyrti* and consistently with the name as far led by centrifugal course from Daṇḍin (who regards माखतौमाखा लोलाखिकखिला—*Kavyādarśa* I. 42. as an instance of *Gauḍī rīti* bearing *anuprāsa*, its favourite device) as possible, becomes the synonym of every thing that is harsh and queer—and he is copied by later writers with an earnestness and deference never to be questioned.

With Mammaṭa, the *Alaṅkāraśāstra* was complete and except in one or two stray instances we have no novel treatment of things ;

1 Chap. II. Elsewhere (chap. I.) he seems to regard *rīti* as a *śabda guṇa*. *Pāka* which is only a ramification of the old *rīti* idea, he regards as a *śabdaguṇa*; the *Māgadhi*, in his opinion, is an *ardharīti*—पूर्वरीतिरनिर्वाहे खण्डरीतिसु मागधी ।

2 Chap. X. I am indebted to Dr. K. S. Sankaran of Madras for an authentic account of the contents of this work, a Ms. of which is deposited in the Government Oriental Ms. Collection.

3 Chap. IX. अोजःप्रकाशकौस्तु परुषा... वकीषाच्चिदिता वैदर्भीप्रमुखा रीतयो मताः ।

these later works are like books on books and seldom take their stand on information other than second-hand. In their consideration of the topic there has been brought forth, however, an innovation, a change in the angle of vision—for which credit must be given to Ānandavardhana, the author of the *Dīpāṅkara*, the greatest and most powerful writer on *Alaṅkāra śāstra*, which later writers carried in some degree to its logical sequence. In that work we have a reshuffling of issues. *Ōjas*, which, *par essence*, was so long regarded as the distinguishing mark of the *Gauṣī* and implied brilliance of the sentiment (दीर्घसुखा) in the usual elastic phraseology of the earlier writers, was proved to be suitable only for particular *rasas* (*Rauṭra*, *Vīra*, *Adbhuta*).¹ It is absurd to suppose that the *Gauṣī rīti*, being acknowledged to be the replica of the style prevailing in a particular locality, had been devised only for particular *rasas* and restricted subjects; at least we have no mention of that coming from any rhetorician. It is a pity that the later writers, who acknowledge Ānanda as their leader, did not fully realise this or we would have had materials for commencing earnestly a study of literary specimens unbiased by the trammels placed on them by earlier theorists. These took the lead of Ānanda in subordinating *rīti* to *rasa* but retained the old conceptions about *rīti* which were hatched under different circumstances. This state continued in Bengal and Greater Bengal even, where the theorists should not have been blind to the tradition of composition and to the literary specimens known and available. Puruṣottama, a writer presumably on *rīti*, perhaps identical with the author of the *Bhāṣāvatī*, as quoted in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (chap. IX), says:—

बहुतरसमासयुक्ता सुमहाप्राणाक्षरा च गौडीया ।

रीतिरनुप्रासमहिमपरतन्त्राऽस्तीमवाक्या च ॥

I *Uddyota*, II. 10—तत्प्रकाशनपरः शब्दो दीर्घसमासरचनालङ्कृतं गद्यम्... The example cited there and the thing it is meant to illustrate (चञ्चलुजममित...) are just what would come under the stereotyped G.R. That the *रीति* or *vṛkṣa* school in its essence and not in its exuberance attempted to reach a high level of poetic criticism is admitted by Ānandavardhana himself *रीतिलक्षणविधायिना हि काव्यतत्त्वमेतदक्षुटतया मनाक् स्मृतमासीत्* (*Kāvya-mālā* edn., p. 231). A later writer Vidyānātha, the author of the *pratapadhyakṣa* with a leaning towards the views of Daṇḍin, attempts to reconcile the two view-points when he describes *रीति* as आकीर्तकर्मवहाः स्वभावाः of *Kāvya*.

The second epithet is the legacy of the earlier theorists, their immediate predecessors, and should be contrasted with

अत्यप्राणाचरोत्तरम् ।

शियिलं, मालतीमाला लीलालिकलिला यथा ॥

अनुप्रासधिया गौड़ी कदिष्टम्.....

of Daṇḍin. Kavikarṇapura, the author of the *Alaṅkāraustubha* (16th century), himself a skilful and brilliant writer with some pretensions to being reckoned as a real poet, follows earlier writers in thinking the *Gauḍī* to be असनयगुणा and consisting of harsh words,¹ as if the very name *Gauḍī* is to be dreaded and avoided even in the very land of its inception. His contribution towards the subject consists in thinking that the *G. R.* like the other *rītis* is intended for particular *rasas* and finds suitable expression in particular matters. The *Kāvyaacandrikā*, a useful little primer by a late Bengali writer Nyāyavāgīśa, son of Vidyānidhi Bhaṭṭācārya, much studied in the last century, thinks :

अोजःप्रसादमाशुच्यगुणवितयमेदतः ।

गौड़वैदर्भ पाञ्चालरीतयः परिकीर्त्तिताः ॥

an innocent remark in the true spirit of noncommittal, but yet an *a priori* statement which cuts at the root of real criticism.

A *resumé* of the above would show that while there were rather foreign characteristics of it introduced by some influential writers only to be copied by later writers and while an exhaustive account of it hardly appears in any writer known to us, certain characteristics stand out prominent showing the *Gauḍī rīti* in its proper form as a no mean achievement in literary composition. Summing them up as they stand in the works of the early theorists, equally as much as in works of a later period, it would appear that the fundamentals of the *G. R.* are :—

I Cf. वैदर्भी गर्भिणीव स्मरति रसमयी कामम् रुक्मिणीव गौड़ी गाढोपगृहप्रकटहठषटाग्रभर्ग-
गर्व्वं व गौरी (cited in *Kiraṇa* IX). निष्ठुराक्षरविन्यासा दीर्घवृत्तिर्यु तौजसा । गौड़ी भवेदनुप्रासबहुला
(*Karikā* 326. Varendra Reaserch Society ed.) The commentator Viśvanatha Cakravartin listing the cue of the *ṛtti* notes :—अथ वाशब्दो
विशेषयसमुच्चयबोधको न विकल्पार्थकः so as to make his chief keep company
with the older masters on the subject. A pertinent view occurs in the *ṛtti* :—तेन यस्या यस्या गुणस्यानुगुणो भवत्यनुप्रासस्तस्या बाहुल्यमेव गौड़ीरीतिसमुबध्नाति ।
एवम्—अनङ्गसङ्गरासङ्गे भङ्गिमेव स जङ्गमः । सङ्गीतरङ्गी तन्वङ्गीसङ्गी रासङ्गतो हरिः ॥ कित्त्व न गौड़ीलम् ।
वल्गुइल गुवतं समंसी...p. 8 अथ सत्यप्योजोगुणभूयिष्ठले वृत्तिबाहुल्येऽप्यर्थकौमल्यप्रसादादिभिर्वैदर्भी-
मार्गपतितं वैद्यम् ।...No, comment is necessary on the latter remark in view
of what has been said in the body of the paper.

(i) गाढवस्त्वता (बन्धुरैरिव) compactness discernible as well through *myādu* or क्लृप्तप्रकाशर words as through harsh and hard words उद्धरण, उद्धकटता, उद्धतपदता. While long compounds are often the mark of this, they are to be used with an eye to the development of *rasa* and delectation to the ear.¹

(ii) सौख्य or पाक (Bhāmaha)²; or परिपान (in the language of Maṅgala) or sweetness of expression not so much through the use of haunting words as their skilful juxtaposition varied by alliteration or *śabḍālaṅkāras* in general. This was often tolerated at the expense of the use of unfamiliar words and even at the total sacrifice of such figures of speech as उपमा, अद्यान्तरव्यास, समासोक्ति, इष्टान् etc. which charm, and heighten poetry.

(iii) प्रौढ़ि or pompous and elevated manner. On the *śabda* side this is tantamount to grandiloquence (इम्बर, आइम्बर *S. Darpaṇa*, IX.) and on the other involves प्रौढोक्ति or अतिशयोक्ति. This is the only *arthālaṅkāra* that shines to a nicety in this style.

The above conclusion is also borne out by the remarks of Māṇikyācandra, who is one of the earliest of the commentators on the *Kāvya-prākāśa* (1160 A.D.). His commentary preserves much of useful information concerning *rīti* which should have filtered down through later commentators. He is conversant with old tradition and seems to know from first hand views of earlier writers whose works have been lost to us. This is indeed the one characteristic which almost all the Jaina writers on poetics, whether of original texts or of commentaries, have in common. Their collection is marvellously prepossessing and we have in them precious bits of information which in the paucity of original sources are of supreme value. In M's *Saṅketa* there appears a reference to the views of the *Gauḍas*.³ The *Gauḍa* commentators on the *Kāvya*s do not as a rule mind these details, for with the exception of a solitary few (e.g. Vallabha, Jayamaṅgala)

1 Cf. the verse quoted in Vāmana's *Kāvya-ālaṅkāra* (III. p. 25). पदनासस्य गाढत्वं वदन्त्योजः कवीश्वराः । अनेनाभिहितः शब्दाः प्रायो श्रोतरसायनम् ॥

2 पाक (Bhāmaha II. 14), सुद्रा (of अग्निपुराण), and शब्दा, the repose of words in consonance, the unchangeableness of words. (पदानां परिहृतिवैमुख्यं शब्दा—Mallinātha in *Tarala*, commentary on the *Ekāvalī* of Vidyādhara). Vidyādhara describes it (cf. अर्थगम्भीरिणा पाकः) thus :—पाकस्तु रसोचितशब्दार्थ-निबन्धनम् । Bhoja calls it प्रौढ़ि and enumerates it as a शब्दगुण (I. 77).

3 P. 292 (Mysore ed.).

they are late and are guided by principles which make light work of *rīti*. So much about the *G. R.* as known from the works of theorists.

Considered independently, the *G. R.* would be the *rīti* of *Gauḍa* or of the *Gauḍas*. As we have seen, the theorists also avow that the *G. R.* is not a product of their imagination but took rise and flourished in *Gauḍa*.¹ That this *Gauḍa* must be the easternmost of the five *Gauḍas*² known to the *Skandapurāṇa* is attested by the epithets पौरुष्य and प्राच्य as applied to the *G. R.* by Daṇḍin.³ A mediæval Tantra work (शक्तिसङ्गमतन्त्र—८म पटल) lays down vaguely the boundaries of this *Gauḍa* country and praises it as the home of learning and

1 Kuntala in his *Vakroktiṭīvitā* apparently hurls abuse on this theory. Says he [I. 24—Dr. De's *V. J.* (2nd Edn.) p. 45]:—

चिरन्तनैर्विद्भादिदेशविशेषसमाश्रयणेन रीतयस्त्रिभिः समाज्ञाताः ।...एतच्च...

अयुक्तियुक्तम् । यस्माद् शमेदनिबन्धनत्वे रीतिभेदानामानन्त्यादसंख्यत्वं प्रसज्यते ।

The real point of his attack lies in this that like Bhāmaha and his greater (अभियुक्ततर) follower Udbhaṭa, Kuntala was an advocate of the *Alaṅkāra* school and meant to make light of the *rīti* (अलम्बनेन निःसारवस्तुपरिमलनव्यसनेन p. 46). He, however, admits in a way that these names were originally associated with the localities concerned—तदेवं निर्वचनसमाख्यामादकरणकारणत्वे देशविशेषाश्रयणस्य दधं न विवदामहे (p. 46). The main contention in the present paper is also his view, and his treatment of the कविप्रस्थानहेतु (the गिरां मार्गः of Daṇḍin and others) is one of the many topics discussed by him with a refreshing degree of reasonableness, which, it is a pity, was not taken advantage of by later writers. The older modes of division (वैदर्भी, गौड़ी, etc.)—as different from those he suggests—(सुकुमार, विचित्र and मध्यम) are certainly important to the student of the history of *Alaṅkāra* literature but they served only to grant a long lease to an almost dead controversy which should have been checked in the proper spirit of the *śāstrā*, that had ever stifled the introduction of questions, bearing directly or indirectly on what may be called 'the personal equation' (vide the article by the present writer on the *Psychological Basis of Alaṅkāra Literature* in the Sir A. Mukherji Commemoration Vols., *Orientalia*, vol. III. p. 660).

2 सारखताः कानाकुला गौड़ा मैथिलिकोत्कलाः । पञ्च गौड़ा इति ख्याता विन्धुसग्रीवरवासिनः ॥

3 Of course, the term प्राच्य is relative, denoting a quarter of the Indian continent, lying to the east of the locality where Daṇḍin flourished. प्राच्य (as understood by Pāṇini in IV. I. 178) includes and justly so, the वैदर्भीs and the पाञ्चालs as much as those dwelling in अङ्ग, वङ्ग and मगध.

culture.¹ That Gauḍa, though not known to very ancient works, was a generic name and included in the early centuries of the Christian era not only Vaṅga but also Rāḍha, Sāhma, Kālūga, Puṇḍra and even Magadha on the west and the frontier of the Kāmarūpa on the east is borne out by stray references in the inscriptional literature, in Hiuen Tsang's account, in the *Harṣacarita*, in the *Gauḍavaho* and among later works in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* and in the *Prabodhacandrodaya*.² The present state of our information relating to the history of Bengal precludes us from thinking of any great upheaval there before the days of the Guptas of Magadha, which can be instrumental in the evolving of an original style of literary composition; the tussel between Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin and the views of Bāṇabhaṭṭa about this point also point to the *G. R.* as a thing of not distant past (7th century A.D.). This would indeed lead one to the plausible surmise that the *G. R.* evolved because of the many sided progress of the country about the time of the earlier Guptas of Magadha and might have been named *Gauḷī* and not *Māgadhi* because of old associations. This surmise is lent support to by the facts that Gauḍa and Rāḍha were included in the countries ruled by the earliest of the Gupta emperors³ and that a distinct type of culture had evinced itself there through new forms of sculpture and architecture, etc. There was a continued period of activity in arts and literature in Gauḍa from this time down to the days of king Śaśāṅka (4th-7th century A.D.) which gave the *Gauḍī*

1 वङ्गदेशं समारभ्य भुवनशाल्मगं शिवे । गौड़देशः समाख्यातः सर्वविद्याविशारदः ॥

2 H. Tsang's account of the *Gauḷīya* Śaśāṅka read in connection with that of Bāṇa in the *Harṣacarita* would indicate that he ruled over Karnaśuvarṇa, Mithilā and presumably Magadha. In the *Gauḍavaho* of Vākpatirāja the lord of Gauḍa is also the lord of Magadha and is styled *Gauḷādhipa* generally. The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* while dealing with an incident of the 8th century (IV. 461) has :—

व्यधाङ्गिनापि सामर्थ्येन तत्र शक्तिं प्रकाशयन् ।

पञ्च गौड़ाधिपान्जलि शशुरं तदधीश्वरम् ॥

The *Prabodhacandrodaya* has गौड़ राष्ट्रमनुत्तमं निरूपमा तवापि राजा मता ।

3 R. D. Banerji's *Bāṅgālār Itihāsa*, vol. I, pp. 45, 56, etc. Gauḍa, Puṇḍra and Rāḍha do not figure among the countries, the lords of which are described as प्रत्यन्तवृषति in Harisena's *Prasasti* of Emperor Samudragupta.

rīti a name and fame to be continued later during the ascendancy of the Pālas to power.¹

The literary history of Bengal or Gauḍa of this period is a blank to us. The Dhanaidaha copper-plate grant, mostly illegible as it is, and those of emperor Puragupta or Budhagupta do not enlighten us much with respect to the *G. R.*, even if we take our stand, as we can well do, on the assumption that they were composed by poets who belonged to that quarter where they were found or inscribed. The Mandasor inscription of Bālāditya Narasimhagupta² as in the following verse

आ लौहिलोपकण्ठात्तलवनगह्नोपतकादा महेन्द्रा—

दा गङ्गाशिश्रसानोस्तुहिनशिखरिणः पश्चिमादा पयोधेः ।

सामन्तै र्येस्व बाहुद्रविणहतमदैः पादधोरानमद्भि-

श्चूडारवांशुराजिव्यतिकरश्रवला भूमिभागाः क्रियन्ते ॥

often evinces kinship with the *G. R.* of the theorists. In inscriptions and copper-plate grants of a later period—and here materials abound—we have the stereotyped *G. R.* in the prose portions,³ as if with a vengeance and occasionally long compounds in the verses; the generality of the inscriptions betray characteristics agreeing fairly well with those of the *G. R.* which we have reconstructed above. The Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla with its queer fondness for alliteration, the Bhagalpore grant of Nārāyaṇapāla with its preference for circumlocution, the *Garuḍastambha līpi*, which is a miniature *kāvya* with a peculiarity of expression and hyperbolic imagery, the like of which it is difficult to meet with elsewhere, Gopāladeva's short inscription of three verses, two of which may well find a place in any work on *Alaṅkāra* as apt instances of the verbose type of the *G. R.*, the

1 That the period of political upheaval (4th-7th century and later) during the Pāla ascendancy was one of all-round development.

2 For this and other inscriptions etc., the references are to Fleet's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III; *Indian Antiquary*, *Gauḍalekhamālā* (published by the V. R. Society, Rajshahi); *Epigraphia Indica*; R. D. Banerji's *Bāṅgālār Itihāsa*, vol. I.

3 स खलु भारीरथीपथप्रवर्त्तमानानाविधनीवाटसम्पादितसेतुवन्निहितशैलशिखरिणीविभ्रमात् निरतिशयघनघनाघनघटाश्लामाथमानवासरलक्षीसमारब्धसन्तजलदसमयसन्देहादुदीचीनानेकनरपतिप्राप्तौहता-
प्रमेयहयवाहिनीखरखरोत्खातधूलिधूसरितदिगन्तरालात् परमेश्वरसिवासमायाताशेषजम्बहौपभूपालानन्पादा-
तमरनमद्वनेः श्रीसुहृगिरिसमावासितजयस्तम्बावारात्...in the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla. Here there is not merely *ojas*, which is found in prose in all styles but also सौश्रव्य and प्रौढ़ि.

Deopara inscription commemorating the erection of the temple of Pradyumneśvara composed by the otherwise well-known poet Umāpatidhara¹ in the verses throughout, to name but a few, evince a type of composition which is uniformly of the same tenor and can but have evolved in a particular environment and imitated the models of greater masters, most of whose works have passed into oblivion.

The *G. R.* must have overstepped the geographical limits of its place of genesis and found favour with poets, who wanted for their topic a vigorous and forceful style, as in the works of Bhavabhūti, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa and Murāri (inspite of his open assertion to the contrary Murāri chose this *rīti*, for *Vaidarbhī* became a name to conjure with and संज्ञकतो विधीयते—Bhāmaha). Literary classics composed before Daṇḍin in Bengali are not available now. They may some day be discovered and would ultimately decide all doubts about the *G. R.* In their absence we have got to refer to contemporary inscriptions and grants, which as poetic compositions might well be regarded as third rate things. The *śleṣa* and *yamaka kāvya*s like *Hariprabodha yamaka*, *Kṛakavadhī*,² *Kappūnābhyaudaya*, *Ghaṭa-*

1 तस्मां श्रीधर्मपालः समजनि सुजनसूयमानावदानः
स्वामी भूमीपतीनामखिलवसुमतीमण्डलं शासदेकः ।
चत्वारक्षीरभञ्जत्कृत्वागणचरणनयस्तमुद्राः समुद्रा
यावां यस्य चमन्ते विभुवनपरिखा विश्वगाशा जिगीषोः ॥

Khalimpur Grant.

उत्कलितोत्कलकुलं हतङ्गणगर्वं खर्वीक्षद्रविङ्गुर्गैरनाघदर्पम् ।
भूपीठसन्धिरश्नाभरणं बुभोज गौर्द्ध्वरथिरमुपास्य धियं यदोयाम् ॥
स्वयमपहृतविज्ञानार्थिनी योजुमेने द्विषदि मुहुरि चासीन्निर्विवेको यदात्मा ।
भवजलधिनिपाते यस्य भीम तपा च परिस्रितकषाथो यः परे धात्वि रेमे ॥

Garuḍastambhalipi.

व'शे तस्यामरस्त्रीविततरतकलासाक्षिणी दाक्षिणात्य-
चौषीन्द्रैर्वीरसेनप्रभृतिभिरभितः कीर्त्तिमद्भिर्बभूव ।
यच्चारितानुचिन्तापरिचयशुचयः सृक्तिमाध्वीकधाराः
पाराश्रथ्येण विश्वश्रवणपरिसरप्रीत्यनाय प्रणीताः ॥

Deopara Inscription.

2 Dr. S. K. De, who has undertaken to edit this work from manuscripts for the Dacca University, is of opinion that the style could not be regarded as the *Vaidarbhī* or *Gauḍī* either. However even in *yamaka* and *śleṣa kāvya*s there were peculiarities prevailing differently in different localities,

karpara,¹ so profusely quoted in the *Tīkāsarvasva* of Vandyaghaṭṭiya Sarvānanda, only serve to show that the *G. R.* was diverted into a new channel in a new age with a marked predilection for innovation in *śabdālankāras*. The *Rāmācarita* of Sandhyākara Nandin,² a historical *kāvya* of the eleventh century, is, in many respects, a critical poem illustrative at once of the *Gauḍī* mode of composition with its eccentricities and hobbies during the decadent days of the Pāla ascendancy (9th-11th century).

The name of Kṣemīśvara who flourished under king Mahīpāla, the reputed author of the drama *Caṇḍakaśika*, replete with action and episode, force and fury, completes the list of the known writers who distinguished themselves with the rise of the Pālas to power. In that drama there is much of compactness and occasionally sweet expression—compounds and avoidance of commonplace being as prominent as ever. But we must say that the tide had turned—a general tendency to softness of expression was gaining ground more and more. It is likely that the other drama *Naiṣadhūnanda* of the author dealing with the life of Nala and Damayanti, which is known in Mss.,³ when published, would reveal this tendency in a better form. This favouritism for sweetness (सौम्य in another way) marks the literary outburst of the next period—the Sena ascendancy—which has been called the Augustan age of Sanskrit learning and culture in Bengal. Umāpātidhara, who, besides being the author of the Deopara Inscription noted above, is known from anthologies to have been the author of verse gems and is believed to have written the *Candracūḍācarita*—

1 Is it from the pen of Vararuci, a name or pseudonym of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, king of Bengal, who was regarded as the Vikramāditya of Bengal, as would appear from a verse of the *Pavanadūtā*, the latter half of which is quoted in the anthology *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa (1205 A.D.):—

ख्यातो यश्च श्रुतिधरतया विक्रमादिलगोष्ठी-
विद्याभर्तुः खलु वररुचिरासमाद प्रतिष्ठाम् ॥

This age has been called the Augustan age. There were also nine gems in his court.

2 Edited by M. M. Haraprasād Śāstrī in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. III. It must be noted that a liking for *śleṣa* and *virolha* (figures of speech) appears in several inscriptions also.

3 Sten Konow's *Gesichte der dramatischen litteratur* (Grundriss).

Kāvya,¹ Govardhana, the author of the *Āryasūtrasāhā*, Dhoyī or Dhoyika, author of the charming *Khaṇḍānīya*, *Pavanādūta*,² and Jayadeva, the nightingale of Bengal, the author of the *Gītagovinda*, a work which was idolised and copied by later writers, reveal each in his own way a harmonious combination of pompousness, sweetness and softness, difficult to be met with elsewhere in Sanskrit literature. In Śrīharsa, a many-sided genius, the author of the *Naiṣadha-carita*, the biggest and most ambitious (कविकुलादृष्टाव्यास्यं महाकाव्यं चतुष्टयि—VIII, 109) of the *Bṛhatṭrayī* of the *mahākāvya*s, this predilection for sweet and sonorous language was coupled on the one side with an indirectness of expression and on the other with an atmosphere of hyperbole which has been the wonder and envy of many. The fondness for *śabḍalāṅkāras*, particularly *anuprāsa*, of different varieties has almost surpassed itself, so much so that his own statement (यत्काव्यं मधुवर्षि) and the eulogy of critics (नेष्वेव पदालिख्यम्) can be taken to be literally true. That other characteristic of the *Gauḥī rīti* viz. गद्गदव्यक्त्यः,—we are apt to miss in him as in Jayadeva because of the other preponderating *guṇa*, and it would be hazardous to regard his style as *Vaidarbhī*,³ because the *sine qua non*

1 Known in Mss. Some of these verse gems are found utilised in the anthology *Saduktikarṇāmrta*.

2 His verses are found quoted in the *Saduktikarṇāmrta*, *Śārngadhara-paddhati*. Most of these have been collected in one place by the late Manomohan Chakravarti who edited the *Pavanādūta* in the *JASB.* (1905). Dhoyī, however, in his पवनदूत shows a preference for the *Vaidarbhī rīti* and his statement in verse 102 गोष्ठोदयः सकलकविभिर्वाचि वैदर्भीरीतिः is not a misrepresentation of facts. The *Gauḥī rīti*, with its *śauśabḍya* and *bandhī* is very aptly represented in the following verse of his, quoted in the *सदुक्तिकर्णामृत* (Mss. in Sans. College Library, Calcutta)—

दरविगलितदूर्वादूर्वालासङ्गलेखां स्तपयति न यदस्याः आसज्जन्ता इत्याशः ।

स खलु सुभग मनो लोचनद्वन्द्वारामविरतपटुधारावाहिनीनां प्रभावः ॥

3 The verse धनासि वैदर्भी गुणैरुदारैः (III. 116) must not be stretched too far to prove the poet's preference in practice for the *V. R.* His own statement यन्मय्यिरिह क्वचिद् क्वचिदपि नासि प्रयत्नाभ्या प्राज्ञसन्नामना हृतेन पठितो माऽस्मिन् खलः खलु (XXII) must dispel all doubts in the matter as much as his own practice as typified in verses like

चकासि बिन्दुच्युतकालिचातुरी धनाशुबिन्दुश्रुतिकैतवास्तव ।

मन्त्रताराणि संसारमात्मना करोषि संसारमसंशयं यतः ॥

of that style *prasāda* is mostly non-existent; to call it *Pāñcālī* either is at best a subterfuge for which there is not much of justification.

The next great landmark in the history of Sanskrit literature of Bengal is the Renaissance during the early half of the sixteenth century, a movement that was almost coeval with the heyday of *Navya Nyāya* and the religious reformation heralded by Caitanya. The apostles of the great teacher together with their disciples included a few, who had the grit and talent of a poet in them and it was in their writings, spread over a period sufficiently long that a type of literary composition grew up, which inspite of the decadent atmosphere in the midst of which it took its rise, tried to imitate and emulate the best models of the previous period. Rūpa Gosvāmin,¹ a prolific writer together with his illustrious nephew, Jiva, Kavi Kaṇṇapūra,² who, if Vaiṣṇava tradition is believed, lisped in numbers as numbers came, Rāmānanda Rāya, Murāri Gupta, to mention only a few, while retaining the ग़दबन्धता and सीशब्द and शब्दालङ्कारs of the earlier periods, imported into it, after the model of the writers of other parts, specially of South India like Lilāśuka,

अभिन्नुं सुनीनामपि मोहमूढे. Whether Śrīharṣa was a Bengali or hailed from Mithilā does not affect our conclusions in any way.

1 See his dramas and lyrics, particularly the *Uddhavadūtā* and the devotional lyric, *Mukundamuktāvalī*, which is a short *Kāvya* in the *bhakti-rasa* of the Vaiṣṇavas.

2 The *Ānandavṛndāvana-campū* as a whole, and the following verses, taken at random from his verse compositions would, indicate the preferential treatment he had given to the famous *G. R.* as known from the practice of earlier writers of Bengal :—

नवजलधरधामा कोटिकामावतारः प्रणयरसयशोरः श्रीयशोदाकिशोरः ।

अरुणदरुणदीर्घापाङ्गभङ्गा कुरङ्गीरिव निखिलकृष्णाङ्गी रङ्गिणि लं कं यासि ॥

मां धवो यदि निहन्ति हनतां बान्धवो यदि जहाति ह्रीयताम् ।

साधवो यदि हंसानि हंसतां साधवः स्वयसुरीकृतो मया ॥

लीलाविलासमहुरिमगरिमा आहीरअकुमारिआयं ।

कण्ठाशुराअगरुणा विअङ्गभावं पढाइदो भक्ति ॥

आशामाते विलसदुदयः पद्मिनीचक्रवर्तुः सिद्धाभोगः सततमनिशामोदमैत्रिकषायः ।

राधाश्रीषादिषु निरवधिव्यापृतः शेषपादो रोचिःपूरैर्हरतु भजतां शीततां कृष्णचन्द्रः ।

The वृत्तगन्धि *Gadya* as per (pp. 41-43-44-45—जय जय गोपीरतिरत्नरोपी)... exhibits our poet's preference for the *G. R.*

an amount of grace and ease which linked the literary activities of Bengal in a line with those of other provinces and gave to it a continental outlook. The charge that is often levelled against the *Āṭya* style of this period, that it verges on effeminacy is more pertinent when it is levelled against the vernacular literature, which however, be it marked, is unsurpassed in many other respects and has taken in view the devotional fervour and lyric impulse that accompany it. Henceforward the vernacular literature proved supreme and the best geniuses of the country, just in keeping with the spirit of the time, were attracted to it; though, all through even up till now there have been poets who have kept the old torch still ablaze maintaining the time-honoured traditions of the *Gauḍī rīti* and preserving for it life through *vicchitti* (beauty) and *vaiçitrya* (speciality).

Thus the *Gauḍī rīti* in practice had its excellences and recommendations and deserved well of the theorists, who were led away from it, because of the bias of earlier writers, whose antiquity gave to them an unchallenged support. It might have been the angularities of the individual Gauḍa writers that brought on their heads abuse and reproach; while their good points, of which hints are available from the works of the great theorists as reconstructed in the *resumé* in the earlier part of the paper, were intrinsic and indigenous and thrived well in the soil of Gauḍa. There is a point of caution to be noted here. It would be preposterous to think that the great writers, particularly the very best of them, were led by tenets of a type of composition prevalent there or imported from abroad. Even the theorists do not go so far. Rājasekhara in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*,¹ mentions the *saṃskṛita* as one of eight varieties of poets. Not unlikely, these were the lesser poets whom practice (यत्न or अभियोग in the language of Daṇḍin,² or अभ्यास in the opinion of the Jaina writers on *Kaviśikṣā*) in a particular line brought into limelight.

This leads us to remark on that one draw-back in Indian poetics, like that of several other departments of Indian learning and culture,

1 Chap. V. In many cases these *saṃskṛita* were masters of a particular style and were highly esteemed. It is not unlikely that some characteristic verses of these poets have survived in the anthologies.

2 *Kāvya-darśa* I.

अमन्दश्रमिणीऽस्याः कारणं काव्यसम्पदः ॥

श्रुतेन यत्नेन च वागुपासिता भ्रवं करोत्येव कामप्रयुषणम् ॥

which has been brought into relief by the above discussion. What had once constituted as the *forte* of the *śāstra* tended to grow useless, out of a stifling of independent thinking and became its gravest defect in the matter of serving as an aid to literary venture.¹ It was deemed a sacrilege to raise up an old question in a new form ;—all ways were blocked for pouring old wine into new bottles. The *Gauḍī rīti* became a *rūḍhi* or grew stereotyped in the works of the theorists long before it had been given a chance of chastening its over-efforts and any consideration of this was nothing more than a dead issue. Unlike what has happened in the West, the Indian critic has not kept himself abreast of the spirit reigning in his time on all matters and has thus deprived himself and the general reader of the opportunity of checking and helping in the creation of good literature which is the *motif* of all sound criticism.

SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA

1 Cf. लब्धान्निका सती रुदिर्भवेद् योगापहारिणी—a dictum which served as a ruling on the formal manner and content of thought.

MISCELLANY

A note on the *Avantisundarī-kathā* in relation to Bhāravi and Daṇḍin

In my article on *Bhāravi and Daṇḍin* in *IHQ.*, vol. i, pp. 316, I made an attempt to shew that the data furnished by Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi in his edition of the prose *Avantisundarī-kathā*, attributed to Daṇḍin, and its anonymous metrical summary *Avantisundarī-kathā-sāra* (referred to below as *Kathā* and *Kathā-sāra* respectively) are not conclusive with regard to his theory of the relationship of Bhāravi and Daṇḍin. The only place where Bhāravi is directly mentioned in the printed texts is in a verse in the *Kathā-sāra*, which runs thus :

sa medhātī kavir vīratān bhāratīṃ prabhavo gīrām
anurudhyākaron maitrīṃ narendre viṣṇuvardhane

I have already pointed out that this verse does not appear plausible in its readings and is therefore of doubtful import. The corresponding prose passage in the *Kathā*,¹ as printed by Mr. Kavi, is also hopelessly fragmentary and not at all clear. The name of Bhāravi, at least, does occur, in it so that a statement or theory, which is based upon this solitary and doubtful verse in an admittedly late metrical summary and which is not supported by anything in the prose original, could not be accepted as authoritative or conclusive.

I am glad to find that my doubts are confirmed, and further light thrown upon this question by G. Harihara Śāstrī, who has succeeded in obtaining an extract of the passage in question from another palm-leaf MS. of the prose *Kathā* in the collection of the Department for Publication of Sanskrit MSS. at Trivandrum, and who has contributed a short paper on this subject to the Allahabad Oriental Conference, held in November, 1926. In the summary of his paper, printed by the Conference (p. 45),² he has given the passage in question, which, as we have already noted, is fragmentary in Mr. Kavi's edition of the text. I give here an extract from it relevant to our discussion :

1 The passage reads thus : *yataḥ kauśi.....va*
pūṇya-karmaṇi viṣṇuvardhanūkkhye rāja-sūtau praṇayam anvabadhnāt.

2 After this article was sent for publication, I found that Mr. G. Harihara Śāstrī had printed his Conference paper (to which I wanted to draw attention) in *IHQ.*, vol. iii, no. 1, pp. 169f.

*Yataḥ kauśika-kumāro (= Dāmodaraḥ) mahāśaivaṃ mahā-prabhāvaṃ
pradīpta-bhāsaṃ bhāraviṃ ravim ivēndur anuruddhya darśa i va puṇya-
karmaṇi viṣṇuvardhanāḥkhye rāja-sūnau prapayam anuvadhnōt.*

It is clear that the author of the metrical summary must have been summarising this prose passage in the verse quoted above, as closely as possible ; but his quotation also makes it clear that some emendations are necessary in this verse (as given in the printed text) to make it consistent and intelligible. The verb *anuruddhya* in the verse stands—somewhat strangely—without an object, but this quotation makes it likely that we should read *bhāraviṃ* and *prabhavaṃ girāṃ* in the first line and construe them as the missing object to this verb. Let me now quote G. Harihara Śāstrī's remarks in this connexion : "It is evident, therefore, that the words *bhāraviḥ* and *prabhavaḥ* ending in *visarga*, which in the verse being construed as referring to *saḥ* (Dāmodara) has led Mr. Kavi to infer that Bhāravi and Dāmodara were identical, should be read as *bhāraviṃ* and *prabhavam*. What we learn from the prose and metrical quotations is that Bhāravi was a Śaivite (*mahā-śaiva*) and a great poet (*girāṃ prabhavaḥ*) attached to the Prince Viṣṇuvardhana, and that Dāmodara, who was also endowed with poetical gifts of a high order, secured the friendship of the Prince through the medium of Bhāravi."

On the evidence of the MS., all these conclusions with regard to Bhāravi may be accepted as plausible. And Bhāravi may further be assigned to the commencement of the 7th century A.D. The narrative in the *Kathā* mentions Simhaviṣṇu, the Pallava king of Kāñcī, and Durvīṇita, the Gaṅga king as contemporaries of Viṣṇuvardhana. G. Harihara Śāstrī points out that three kings of the same name are revealed by the inscriptions as rulers of various provinces of the Dekkan in the beginning of the 7th century. On the other hand, the probable date of Bhāravi, who appears to have been already famous in the Aihole Inscription of 634 A.D., would roughly coincide with the dates of these rulers, with one of whom he is actually associated in this MS. If Bhāravi thus belongs roughly to the end of the 6th and beginning of the 7th century, the date of Daṇḍin, the supposed author of the *Kathā*, who is given as fourth in descent from Bhāravi's contemporary Dāmodara, would approximately fall towards the close of the 7th and beginning of the 8th century. But Mr. Kavi's bold conjecture that Bhāravi was the great-grandfather of Daṇḍin vanishes into thin air !

But the question still remains as to whether this Daṇḍin is the same as the author of the *Daśa-kumāra-carita*, who also bore the

same name. Of course, the name of the author cannot be discovered anywhere in the printed text of the *Kathā*, but taking into consideration the probability that the *Kathā-sūtra* is a faithful summary of the original, there is no reason to doubt that in the original prose *Kathā*, one Daṇḍin was presented as the narrator of the story. The question, therefore, naturally arises as to whether this Daṇḍin is identical with the Daṇḍin of the *Daśa-kumāra-carita* (hereafter referred to as *Dēś*); and if so, what relation this newly discovered *Kathā* bears to *Dēś*, which also contains in the Prelude the story of Avantisundarī.

It is well known that the *Dēś*, as now extant, shares with Bāṇa's two romances the peculiarity of having been left unfinished; but it also lacks an authentic beginning. The end is usually supplied by a supplement often called *Uttara-pūṭhikā* or *Śeṣa*, which is now known to be the work of a late Dekkan author, Caṅkrapāṇi Dīkṣita, and with which we are not concerned here. The beginning is found in a *Pūrva-pūṭhikā* or Prelude, which is believed on good grounds to be the work of some other hand and not composed by Daṇḍin. The title *Daśa-kumāra-carita* indicates that we are to expect accounts of the adventure of ten princes; but Daṇḍin's work proper (excluding the Prelude and the Supplement) gives us eight of these in eight Uchchvāsas. The *Pūrva-pūṭhikā*, therefore, was intended to supply the framework as well as the history of two more princes, while the *Uttara-pūṭhikā* undertakes to conclude the story of Viśruta left incomplete at the last chapter of Daṇḍin's work. It is to be noted, however, that the *Pūrva-pūṭhikā* is extant in various forms, and the details of the tales do not agree in all versions. Of these, the version which begins with the verse *brahmāṇḍa-ccatṛa-daṇḍaḥ* and narrates the story of Puṣpodbhava and Somadatta (along with that of Rājavāhana and Avantisundarī) in five Uchchvāsas, is the usually accepted one, found in most MSS. and printed editions. We shall refer to it below as the usual Prelude.¹ In this usual Prelude, there are, however, definite divergences

1 It is remarkable that the usual metrical *namaskriyā* required by theory at the beginning of a *kathā* is not present in this Prelude, but it plunges into the narrative at once with the solitary verse referred to above. This verse *brahmāṇḍa-ccatṛa*² is quoted anonymously by Bhoja in his *Sarasvatī-kapthābharaṇa* (ed. Borooah, 1884, p.114); and this fact would indicate that the Prelude must have been prefixed at a very early time, at least some time before the 11th century A. D.

in respect of some matters of fact from the main text of Daṇḍin ; and as Mr. Kavi himself points out, the main text is written in good style, compared with which the style of the Prelude is "stale". These and other reasons, which we need not detail here¹, have led scholars to doubt the authenticity of the usual Prelude. Wilson ventured the conjecture that the Prelude might be regarded as the work of one of Daṇḍin's disciples ; but in view of the various forms in which it is now known to exist, this conjecture must either be discarded or modified to the extent of presuming more than one disciple of Daṇḍin's, each of whom must be supposed to have tried his hand, according to his own fancy and literary ability, to complete the master's incomplete masterpiece. At any rate, it will be enough for our purpose to presume that the original *Pūrva-pūṭhikā*, composed by Daṇḍin himself, must have been, for some reason or other, lost ; and attempts were made to supply the deficiency by later ambitious authors, who might or might not have been Daṇḍin's pupils.

Now, Mr. Kavi seems to suggest that the prose *Avantisundarī-kathā*, discovered by him and attributed to Daṇḍin is the lost *Pūrva-pūṭhikā* of the *Dāśa-kumāra-carita*.

Unfortunately, the extent of the work, as now recovered, is too slight and its character too fragmentary to give us a definite and convincing solution to the question. For its contents (even of the slight portion recovered) we have to depend entirely on the metrical *Kathā-sāra*, presuming it to be a faithful, if late, summary of the original. But certain features presented even by this hopeless fragment of 25 pages seem to throw doubt on Mr. Kavi's supposition, in support of which no other argument except the presence of a common theme and a supposed common authorship has been brought forward.

One of the main grounds on which a critic of Sanskrit literature would object to accept the *Kathā* as the lost Prelude to the *Dāk* is the extraordinary divergence of style between the two works, a point which cannot fail to strike even the most careless reader. If they are indeed by the same author and formed parts of the same work, one should expect an evenness of style in the two, unless it is presumed without good grounds that the author intended a more elaborate and florid

¹ For the arguments, see Agashe's Introd. to *Dāśakumāra*° (ed. Bomb. Sansk. Series).

style for the Prelude and a simpler and more vigorous style for the work itself. The twenty-five pages of the fragment of the *Kathā* that have been printed are taken up (leaving aside the metrical *namaskṛiyā* and the introductory prose account of the narrator himself) entirely with the account of the parents of Rājavāhana, king Rājahansa of Magadha and his queen Vasumatī, their union and amorous sports. In the usual Prelude, this topic is dismissed, in proper imitation of Daṇḍin's usual method and style, in a few lines. The metrical summary devotes some sixteen verses to this erotic topic, which was thus undoubtedly an elaborate affair in the original *Kathā*, as this conclusion is also indicated by the recovered fragmentary portion of the *Kathā* itself which devotes several pages to it. Judging from the extent of this episode and the leisurely way of proceeding with the story, one should think that the lost *Kathā* was probably an independent composition, enormous in bulk, and could not have been intended as a Prelude to the *Dh̥c*. The erotic elaboration is in the right orthodox style of the later *kāvya*s; but such extended scale of elaborate descriptive writing is more suited to the romances of the type of *Kādambarī* than to *Dh̥c*, the prose style and treatment of which are saved from this tendency to over-elaboration, and are reasonably simple, direct and elegant. We have in this part of the *Kathā*, as in the *Kādambarī* or *Harṣa-carita*, the same love for long rolling compounds, the same stringing of epithets and similes, the same weakness for the jingling of alliterative sounds, for complex puns, for involved constructions, for sesquipedalian sentences having one subject and one verb either at the beginning or at the end, but beaten out with a generous supply of epithetic clauses upon clauses, which cease only when the author's ingenuity has for the moment exhausted itself. Mr. Kavi himself admits that "the *Avantisundarī-kathā* in style resembles *Kādambarī*, but it is less monotonous and more difficult"; he might have added that it least resembles the *Dh̥c* in this respect. No doubt, the author of the *Dh̥c* possesses descriptive power in a high degree, and one may quite pertinently refer to such passages as the description of the sleeping Ambālikā, where he indulges in this trick of florid description. But even here he never goes beyond moderate limits; and such descriptions occur only rarely in *Dh̥c* and never ranges over more than a few lines or even one printed page. He attempts a brilliant *tour de force* (as in Ucchvāsa VII), but wisely limits himself to a sparing use of it, only when it is happily motified; and his employment of alliteration, chiming

and other verbal tricks are not so free and cloying as we find it in the works of Subandhu and Bāṇa. It is not maintained that the author of the *Dk̄c* makes no pretension to ornament, but in the main his use of it is effective, limited and pretty, and not recondite, incessant and tiresome. In the published *Kathū*, which affiliates itself in style and method to elaborate poetic romances like the *Kūdambarī*, one fails to find those characteristics which give a distinction to the *Dk̄c* and make it a unique masterpiece in Sanskrit prose literature.

Turning to the story itself, the *Kathū* does not help us, for the portion recovered and printed breaks off with the union of Rājahansa and his queen Vasumatī, and the hero Rājavāhana himself is not yet born. But taking the *Kathī-sūtra* as giving us a faithful summary of the incompletely recovered original, we can profitably compare its method of story-telling with that pursued in the *Dk̄c*. In the usual Prelude, the preliminary story of Rājavāhana and Avantisundarī is given in five Uchhvāsas, but this includes also the adventures of Somadatta and Puṣpodbhava after their separation from Rājavāhana. This trend of the story is followed, but the *Kathū-sūtra* gives it in seven chapters (which probably indicates that the original *Kathī* had about the same number of Uchhvāsas), but even with this extent it breaks off without completing the story. The sequence of the constituent tales and incidents are also not the same. Rājavāhana's adventure in the underworld is told in ch. v, while ch. vi and vii relate the adventures of Puṣpodbhava and Somadatta respectively; in the usual Prelude, the adventures of these two princes are given in the reverse order in Uchhvāsas iii and iv respectively while that of Rājavāhana is told in Uchhvāsa ii. Nothing, of course, can be concluded from this change of order, for the various versions differ from each other in this respect, as well as in respect of some details of names and incidents. But when we take into consideration the *manner* of story-telling, we perceive a marked difference. It is noteworthy that we find in the *Kūthū* what we do not find in the *Dk̄c*, viz., a tendency towards beating out the main story with numerous episodes, repetition of old legends, side-stories and digressions. No doubt, the episodic method of story-telling is very old in Indian literature and obtains from the time of the *Bṛhatkathū* or even earlier; but in the *Dk̄c* itself, such subsidiary tales never hamper or hold up the main thread of the narrative, in such a way as we find in the *Kathū*. In ch. iv of the *Kathū* (as summarised in the *Kathū-sūtra*), for instance, the king begins to narrate previous history in

detail to his queen, and the interpolation of episodic stories like those of Vararuci, Vyāḍi, king Mahāpadma, Cāṇakya and so forth makes us believe that the work was written after the manner and model of the *Bṛhatkathā*, in which also most of these stories occurred (as we know from Somadeva's and Kāśemendra's Sanskrit versions). In the same way, the legends of Śūdraka, Śaunaka, Mūladeva and Samudradatta are brought in to embellish the main story. All the stories cannot strictly be taken as relevant, but in some of them, the object in introducing heroes and heroines of old is to maintain, in the form of rebirth, an intimate connexion between these ancient heroes and the chief characters of the story. In the Prelude to *Dk.* this device is employed only once where Rājavāhana alludes to the curse pronounced on him in a former birth when Avantisundarī was also his wife, but this incident is skilfully interwoven into the plot itself. It seems, therefore, that the author of the *Kathā* (whoever he was) carried this trick to its utmost possibilities and introduced in imitation a large number of stories of reborn heroes and heroines. It is also remarkable that the whole of the story of *Kūdambarī*, as set forth up to the end of Bāṇa's portion of the work, is interpolated in ch. v of the *Kathā-sāra*. In ch. iii, again, it is predicted that Rājavāhana would have a brother, named Hamsavāhana, who would conquer the three worlds; possibly the author had also the intention of narrating his exploits or bringing him in as a character. This manner of story-telling and the enclosing of narrative within narrative as well as the leisurely and extended scale of descriptive writing that is adopted in the *Kathā*, would make one legitimately suspect that the work was probably an independent treatment of the story of Avantisundarī with a large infusion of relevant or irrelevant episodic tales, derived from other sources, and could not possibly have been the lost Prelude to *Dk.*

If this conclusion is accepted, explanation of the common theme, viz., the story of Rājavāhana and Avantisundarī, does not present any difficulty. Nor should the fact of a common theme urge us to accept this *Kathā* as the lost Prelude to the *Dk.* It is probable that some later author, ambitious of writing a romance in the approved vein of Bāṇa's works (with which he appears to have been well acquainted), simply took this story of Avantisundarī from the original lost Prelude of the *Dk.* and embellished it in the approved fashion. It is not at all clear from the texts that the actual authorship of the *Kathā* itself is attributed to Daṇḍin or even belonged to him, but rather the anonymous author of the *Kathā* gives us at the beginning a story, half

biographical and half fanciful, of Daṇḍin, who was the author of the original source of the *Kathā*, introducing him as the narrator of the main story and setting forth his motives of narration. Otherwise, the presence of supernatural elements in this part of the *Kathā* is hard to explain; for it does not stand to reason that Daṇḍin himself introduced the supernatural incident in his own biographical account in connection with himself. It is also noteworthy that no trace of such biographical and supernatural stories is to be found in any known version of the Prelude to *Dk.* The common theme and the supposed common authorship may thus be reasonably explained; and if this is agreed to, there is no other ground on which the *Kathā* can be taken as the lost Prelude to the *Dk.*

It may also be pointed out that the *Avantisundarī-kathā* commences with 26 introductory stanzas in the *śloka* or *anuṣṭubh* metre concluding this preliminary part with a verse in *ūryū*. These verses contain an obeisance (*namaskṛiyū*) to Iṣāna and homage to Vyāsa and Vālmiki, and then dwell upon poets and poetry generally, incidentally praising great poets and poems of the past and mentioning the author's motive in composing his work. After this comes the prose story, the preliminary part of which gives us an account of Daṇḍin and his family, making him the narrator of the main story, which is said to have been related by him to his friends. If we take the *Harṣa-carita* as a typical surviving specimen of the later *ākhyāyikā*, it will be seen at once that our so-called *Kathā* really conforms to the established tradition and requirements of an *ākhyāyikā* and not of a *kathā*. In the *Harṣa-carita*, we have a similar metrical obeisance to Śiva and Pārvatī and homage to Vyāsa, followed by several verses in praise of older poets and poems (all in the *śloka* or *anuṣṭubh* metre) and concluding in a *jagatī* verse which praises Harṣa, devotion to whom supplies the motive of Bāṇa's literary venture. In the preliminary prose part of the *Harṣa-carita*, again, we have also a rather lengthy account of the poet's youth, his reception at the court of Harṣa, his return to his native country and the relation of the story to his relatives. From this it is clear that the author of the *Avantisundarī-kathā* very closely follows the model of the *Harṣa-carita*, which however is designated an *ākhyāyikā* and not a *kathā*. No doubt, a *kathā* has an introductory metrical *namaskṛiyū* of a different kind to *devas* and *gurus*, a statement of the author's family and his motives of authorship, and all these elements are to be found in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*. But in a *kathā* there is no metrical praise of older poets and poems, and the preliminary prose portion does not contain any

biographical account of the poet but plunges directly into the narrative.

It is well known that Daṇḍin, the author of the *Kāvya-darśa*, refuses to admit the fine distinctions made by theorists between a *kathā* and an *ākhyāyikā* : but his own definition of these two species of prose composition is entirely negative and does not help us in fixing his conception of them. It is not until we come to Rudraṭa, who has accepted and generalised the characteristics of Bāṇa's two works into universal rules governing the composition of the *kathā* and the *ākhyāyikā* respectively, that we find these two species entirely stereotyped in theory¹. It is possible, therefore, that the *Avantisundarī-kathā* was composed before this fixing of characteristics in Rudraṭa's time ; and this would explain the apparent confusion of the characteristics of a *kathā* and an *ākhyāyikā* made by its author. But he could not have been very far from the time of the author of the *Dhṛ*, whose work he utilises and whose biographical details were not yet entirely lost in his time.

S. K. Dē

Where did Prince Vijaya come from ?

Prince Vijaya of Rāḍha (vulgarised in the Sinhalese language into Lāḷa) who afterwards became the first Kṣatriya king of Ceylon, it will be seen, belonged to the Sengar clan of Rajputs.

In spite of a number of ruling families of non-Kṣatriya origin, and not overwhelmingly large alien hordes *en masse*, having in the past here and there intermarried with and eventually merged indistinguishably into the vastly multitudinous Kṣatriya community now represented chiefly by the Rajputs, the one predominant racial element among the Rajputs of the present day is essentially the ancient Kṣatriya element.

The Rajputs are found all over Northern India but are by far the most numerous in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Many of

1 On this question, see my article on *The Kathā and the Ākhyāyikā* in the *Bulletin of the London School of Oriental Studies*, 1924, vol. iii, pp. 507-17.

the old Rajput traditions, including some of all-India importance, have either been lost or are on the brink of being lost irrevocably and the old tradition about the Sengar Rajputs having in ancient times established a kingdom in Ceylon is one of them.

The Sengar Rajputs formed "a powerful clan"¹ numbering about 80,000 souls and "are recognised as one of the thirty-six royal clans."² They are "naturally warlike and turbulent"³ and possess "very good qualifications as soldiers."⁴ "Their history is remarkable, for at all times they were renowned for their strength and courage."⁵ Even in the early years of British rule when the East India Company held only the eastern districts of the United Provinces, "the Sengars were considered the most independent and troublesome of all the subjects of the Company."⁶ They claim descent from the great sage Ṛṣyaśṛṅga or Ekaśṛṅga, popularly known as Śṛṅgī Ṛṣi, who figures so prominently in the story of the birth of the famous king Rāma of Ayodhyā, whose sister he had married. He had his hermitage on the river Kauśikī, in Aṅga,⁷ somewhere near the site where the ancient shrine of Śṛṅgeśvara⁸ now stands. His son Caturaṅga succeeded his maternal grandfather, Romapāda, the (Lunar race) king of Aṅga, as the latter's adopted son. The Ṛṣyaśṛṅga Jātaka is one of the oldest Jātaka stories, and medallions bearing scenes therefrom have been found among the sculptures of the first or second century B.C. at Bhārhut and Sāñci.

Karṇa (Kaunteya)⁹ of Mahābhārata fame, the most powerful ally

1 Ethnographical Handbook for N. W. P. and Oudh, by Crooke.

2 Gazetteer of Jalaun District, U. P.

3 Ibid.

4 Bingley's "Rajputs"

5 Gazetteer of Ballia District, U. P.

6 Ibid.

7 The country round Bhagalpur, adjacent to Rāḍha. Some Sengars are still found there.

8 The name must originally have been 'Ṛṣyaśṛṅgeśvara. Ṛṣyaśṛṅga literally means 'a deer's horn' and the legend (Varāha Purāṇa, II, 207-10) about the foundation of the Shrine preserves this name in this way that Śiva once became a deer, Viṣṇu caught hold of his horns, Śiva thereupon disappeared leaving a horn in the hands of Viṣṇu who then set it up there with his own hands for worship as a Śivaliṅga.

9 His descendants are now known as Bisens after his son Vṛṣasena. King Rāma Vaiṣṇava of Śṛṅgaverapura, the patron and disciple of Nāgeśa (Nagoji) l'haṭṭa, was a Bisen-Kṣatriya.

of the Kauravas, was a cadet of the royal house of Aṅga and belonged to a junior branch of the descendants of Caturaṅga. He usurped the throne of Aṅga to the exclusion of king Karṇa's¹ son's (king Vikarṇa's) one hundred sons, the 'Śata-Karṇas'. Some of the latter thereupon took possession of the adjacent country of Rāḍha and made Burdwan their capital and some migrated south-west and carved out, in Cedi, a kingdom which came to be known by the name of Dāhala after its first great Sengar king Dahala Deva.

About seventy years ago Hume came to know of an old tradition among the Sengar Rajputs to the effect that one of their ancestors had, in ancient times, migrated to Ceylon and established an independent kingdom there. From the valley of the Ganges in the North to far off Ceylon in the South appeared to him, however, to be too far a cry and in a memorandum that he subsequently wrote on the history and ethnology of the district of Etawah² he referred to the tradition in the following words:—

"Claiming, like the Gautam Rajputs, to be descended from Shringhi Rishi, they (the Sengar Rajputs) pretend that their own immediate ancestor, Puran Deo, migrated southward, and established an independent kingdom in the Deccan, or as most will have it in Ceylon.³ The constant allusion to a monarchy of Rajputs in Ceylon which haunts us at every turn of their old traditions may embalm some long-forgotten reality, but nothing as yet discovered warrants our treating it as anything but a pure myth." (N. W. P. Census Report, 1865, I, App. B.).

At the time Hume wrote these lines he had obviously no know-

1 King Karṇa, father of king Vikarṇa (of the senior branch), is not to be confused with king Karṇa (Kaunteya) of the junior branch.

2 Etawah formed part of the tract of country ceded to the East India Company by the Nawab Vazir of Oudh in the year 1801. "In the new country were several Zemindars who, as usual under native governments, had enjoyed a sort of sovereignty and of whom little more was exacted than an annual tribute, and sometimes the use of their troops in war." (Mill's History of British India). Many of these sovereign princes were Sengar Rajputs.

3 Hume here blundered in mixing up two independent traditions, i.e., one about Ceylon and the other about the Deccan, together.

ledge of the corresponding Sinhalese tradition as preserved in the *Mahāvamsa* about Prince Vijaya's advent in Ceylon from North-East India in the fifth or sixth century B.C. or he would have opined quite differently.

The tradition among the Sengar Rajputs has been that an ancestor of theirs, Bhoja¹ by name, who was, according to some genealogists, a son of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga and according to others a distant descendant of the sage—and this seems more reasonable because Ṛṣyaśṛṅga was a contemporary of Daśaratha and Rāma and thus lived at a time too remote for Bhoja to have been his son²—migrated from Burdwan in Rāḍha to Ceylon and became the first Sengar king of that island, that he was succeeded by his younger brother Padma Deva (or, according to a few genealogists, Padma Deva's son Pūrṇa Deva)³ who had subsequently followed him there and that the latter, after reigning there for some time, placed his son on the throne of Ceylon and himself came back to India.

Rāḍha is the "ancient name of a portion of Bengal west of the Bhāgīrathī river." It "corresponded roughly with the kingdom of Karṇa-Suvarṇa⁴ and with the modern districts of Burdwan, Bankura, Western Murshidabad and Hooghly." (Imp. Gaz. of India, 1908, vol. xxi).

The Gangarides of ancient Greek writers must have been the Sengars of Rāḍha because "Burdwan (the ancient capital of the Sengars of Rāḍha) has been identified as the Parthalis or Portalis which according to Greek geographers was the royal city of the Gangarides." (Imp. Gaz. of India 1908, vol. ix, pp. 92).

1 Some genealogists give the name as 'Vijaya Ṛṣi, son of Śṛṅgi Ṛṣi.' Other variants are Bhojarāja, Vijayarāja and Bhoja Ṛṣi. Bhoja is however the name more commonly met with.

2 Moreover we know from the Purāṇas that the name of the son of Śṛṅgi Ṛṣi (Ṛṣyaśṛṅga) was Caturaṅga and not Bhoja. The genealogists have obviously confused Śṛṅgi Ṛṣi with his descendant Siṃha, father of Siṃhabāhu.

3 But most genealogists make Pūrṇa Deva the first great Sengar King of the Deccan, and not a King of Ceylon.

4 The country of Rāḍha may have got the name 'Karṇa-Suvarṇa' after king Karṇa, or his son Vikarṇa, or the latter's 100 sons, the Śata-Karṇas.

The tradition among the Sengar Rājputs that they once ruled at Burdwan in Rāḍha is corroborated by a tradition among other Rajput clans also. The Chauhan Rajputs, for instance, claim that their king Īśvara who lived 35 generations before Pṛthvīrāja, the last independent Hindu king of Delhi, was a son-in-law of the Sengar king Śaṅkara of Burdwan. (Vide *Vaṃśa-bhāskara* by Kavirāja Sūryamalla of Bundi, 1899, Jodhpur edition, p. 1262).

There is not, so far as I am aware, anything in Sinhalese tradition to corroborate the alleged return of Padma Deva or Pūrṇa Deva to India but all the other important details are practically identical.

"The members of the clan to which Vijaya belonged, appear to have been called *Sihālā*,¹ the 'Lion-men'." (Dr. Geiger, *I. H. Q.*, II, 7), and in India the family bard of the Sengar Rajputs while singing the eulogies of his forefathers reminds him of Sengars having once ruled in *Siṃhala-dvīpa* and in doing so calls him a *Singhel* (*Siṃhella*)² down to the present day.

As regards the original home of Vijaya the Sinhalese tradition as preserved in the *Mahāvamsa* is strikingly identical with the old tradition of the Sengar Rajputs in India. The *Mahāvamsa* states that the mother of Vijaya's father *Siṃhabāhu* was a daughter of the king of *Vaṅga* and grand-daughter of the king of *Kaliṅga* and that it was in *Lāḷa*, on the road from *Vaṅga* to *Magadha*, that she gave birth to *Siṃhabāhu*. *Dīpavamsa* also mentions *Vaṅga* as the home of *Siṃhabāhu*'s mother *Susīmā*. All these facts point unmistakably to *Lāḷa* (*Rāḍha*) in North East India, and not to *Lāḷa* in Western India as some scholars will have it, as the original home of Vijaya and his forefathers. What is most important is that the *Mahāvamsa* definitely locates *Lāḷa* on the road from *Vaṅga* to *Magadha* and this condition is literally fulfilled by *Rāḍha* which is, moreover, surrounded by *Vaṅga*, *Kaliṅga* and *Magadha*, the three countries mentioned in the story of Vijaya as preserved in Ceylonese annals.

The *Lāḷa* theory is an erroneous and impossible theory based on nothing beyond the fanciful adoption by the annalists of Ceylon of the names of the two Indian West coast seaport towns—*Bharukaccha*

1 Sanskrit '*Siṃhala*' (whence *Siṃhala-dvīpa*) and an inscription of 1134 A.C. gives the name of the Sengar clan as *Siṅgara*' (*E. I.*, IV, p. 131).

2 Literally Lion-born. From *Siṃha*, as *Chandel* (*Candella*) from *Candra*; *Baghel* from *Bāgh* (Skt. *Vyāghra*) and so on.

(Broach) and Suppāraka (Sopara)—as falling on Vijaya's route to Ceylon. The authors of the 'Dīpavaṃsa' and the 'Mahāvāṃsa' lived about 800-1000 years after Vijaya. They knew that the original home of the Prince was Lāla (Rāḍha) in India and that he came to Ceylon by sea-route but did not know that the only route connecting Rāḍha with Ceylon by boat lay along the East coast of India. They, therefore, groped in the dark and caught hold of the much-frequented and well-known Indo-Ceylonese trade route along the West coast, via Bharukaccha and Suppāraka which appealed to their fancy as the least hazardous and, therefore, the most probable route to have been taken by Vijaya on his adventurous voyage from Lāla (Rāḍha) to Ceylon.

KUNWAR SHIVNATH SINGH SENGAR

“Śrī Magaradhvaजा Yogi 700 ”

The name Magaradhvaजा with a mysterious number 700 almost invariably attached to it was found by various archæologists inscribed on temples and idols scattered over a vast area lying between Baijnath close to the Ganges in the North and Bhairamgarh in the Bastar State bordering on the Godāvarī in the South and Chittorgarh in the North-west to Cuttak in the East, covering the whole of the Central Provinces and parts of Bihar, Orissa, Central India and Rajputana. It occurs on temples at Mārkaṇḍa and Chural in the Chanda District, Potinar and Bhairamgarh in the Bastar State, Khurda near Cuttak, Baijnath in Bihar, Pali in the Bilaspur District, Boramdeo and Kankali in the Kawardha State, Dewarbija in Khaīragarh State, Amarakantaka and Chandrehe in Baghelkhand, Khajuraha in Bundelkhand, Bilhari in the Jubbulpore District, Hindoria in the Damoh District, Barahata in the Narsinghpur District, Kelod in the Nagpur District, Mandhata in the Nimar District, and Chittorgarh in Rajputana. In all these places whether they be the walls of temples, pillars or idols, the figure “700” invariably accompanies the name. Sir Alexander Cunningham with his Assistants took it to be the year of some era when this Yogin visited all those sacred places. He first tried to fit in with Cedi or Kalācūri era and later on with the Harṣa era, but

it would fit in with none. Judging from the formation of characters Sir Alexander Cunningham accorded his opinion that they were not older than the 12th or 13th Century.¹ Thus every time the name was found, it offered a riddle to the archæological officers to solve with reference to other circumstances of the locality. The question remained unsolved till 1904 A.D. when Mr. Cousens, Superintendent of Archæology, met me at Raipur and suddenly sprang the question as to the meaning of the figure. The explanation given to him was considered satisfactory and he recorded it in his Progress Report for 1904. Magaradhvaja measured his importance by the size of his following. He was the leader of 700 disciples. This is supported by the fact that the inscription is not in the same handwriting in each case, as one should expect it to be, were it written by one solitary Yogin wandering from shrine to shrine. The name was no doubt engraved by some ones of his many disciples, but not always by the same man.

Till then I had never thought of this Yogin at all and although according to Mr. Cousens I had solved the mystery of the figure, which had puzzled Sir Alexander Cunningham and his officers, my curiosity was excited as to who this Yogin could be. Whenever I visited any ancient remains, I tried to search for the name of this ubiquitous Yogin and found it where the archæologist's eyes had failed to catch it. The latter had seen it in about ten places and my curiosity brought to light as many more. In the Kawardha State and in the Damoh District, I found it inscribed on even the pedestal of the Viṣṇu idols enshrined in the old temples now reduced to ruins and in the Khairagarh State and Raipur District I found the name carved on huge *līṅgams*. It may be permissible to inscribe a name on walls and pillars but one must be extremely holy and extraordinarily popular before he could be allowed to have his name inscribed on the object of the worship itself. Garrick² rightly conceived the importance of this Yogin, when he said that this pilgrim was no common mendicant. He must have commanded considerable resources to have enabled him to visit the numerous places at vast distances from each other at which his name remains inscribed. This too at a time when travelling was very expensive and seldom

undertaken without a due number of elephants, camels and attendants. What this number might have been 6 or 7 hundred years ago can be judged from the present day paraphernalia of the Jagadgurus of the Śaṅkara maṭhas, who move about with a tremendous following accompanied with a variety of vehicles from carts to cars, yet I do not think that they are considered sufficiently holy to have their names carved on the sacred images and liṅgams they worship. A Yogin is usually a Śivite and may well be highly honoured by the followers of that sect, but we find Magaradhvaja equally revered by the Viṣṇuites, as the inscribing of his name on Viṣṇuite idols indicates. The natural conclusion is that he must have been looked upon something like a Śaṅkarācārya. This further sharpened the craving for finding out his native place and I am glad to say that a manuscript history of Ratanpur kings was finally found, which recorded the existence of a Maṭha of Magaradhvaja with 700 *celās* at Ratanpur during the reign of Jājalladeva. The latter flourished about 1114 A.D., the period to which the characters of the pilgrim record belong. The Haihayas of Ratanpur were Śivites. They were a branch of the Tripuri house, which created an empire for itself comprising almost the whole of India within it, at least in the times of Karṇa Daharia, who unfortunately has not received full justice at the hands of the writers of Indian History. Mr. Jayaswal rightly calls him an Indian Napoleon, a title which Vincent Smith has conferred on Samudra Gupta. The Tripuri kings belonged to the Kālāmukha branch of the Pāśupata sect of the Śivites and were very liberal to their priests. One of them had in fact made a gift of 3 lakhs of villages to the high priest Sadbhāva Śambhu, who did not keep the estate to himself, but with its income founded what was called Golaki Maṭha, of which branches spread even to the Madras Presidency as the Malkapuram inscription indicates, Nearer home there were branches at Gorgi and Chandrehe in the Rewa State and Khajuraha in Bundelkhand. What wonder that a branch of the same institution was established at Ratanpur, a place known as Devikhol before King Ratnadeva gave his name to it. The oldest shrine at this place is that of Mahāmāyā, (female energy), the object of special worship by the Pāśupata Śivites. Magaradhvaja lived at a time when the Tripuri house had decayed and the Ratanpur house was ascendant, having become independent of the former. The grandeur of the Ratanpur Maṭha must have consequently much increased over that of other branches or even the original Golaki Maṭha, which according to my

view was located at Bheraghāt on the Narmadā river in the Jubbulpore District. It is quite close to Tripuri (present Tewar) and was apparently included in that town when it was founded. I am aware of the grandeur of the ancient remains at Gorgi, 11 miles from Rewa, this and the inscriptions found there, describing the maṭha as a very prosperous institution, set up a rival claim further strengthened by the name of Gorgi which is merely a natural corruption of Golaki, still the vicinity of the capital Tripuri to the Causaṭ Yoginī shrine, a round cloister situated on a round hill Golagiri, of which Golaki itself is a corruption. These lead me to stick to the first identification.

On the strength of the peculiarity of names ending in *dhvaja*, a question arises whether the traditional kings of Ratanpur were really mahāntas of the maṭhas. The local tradition avers that the first king was Mayūradhvaja, a descendant of the great Kārtavīrya who ruled at Māhiṣmatī, the present Māndhātā in the Nimar District. His successors are mentioned as follows:—Tāmradvaja, Citradvaja, Viśvadvaja, Candradhvaja, Makhapāladhvaja, and a host of others without *dhvaja* endings.

Tāmradvaja has been identified with the Haihaya king of that name mentioned in the Mahābhārata as having been defeated by Arjuna, whose sacrificial horse he had captured and tied at a tank at Ratanpur still called Ghuḍabandhā tank. On the face of it this story is absurd, as Ratanpur had not been founded then. If the names noted above were those of real personages I am inclined to take them as predecessors of Makaradvaja on the religious *gaddi* of Devikhol, to which the name of Ratanpur was given when the kings began to live there as stated before. On the back of the Mārkaṇḍa temple there is an inscription of Ratnadvaja dated in the saṃvat year 1519 or 1462 A.D. Although an isolated record, I take it to be very suggestive. Apparently the Yogin received his name from the Ratanpur Maṭha when he became its head. Probably the traditions of Magaradvaja's visit to that renowned shrine carried him to Mārkaṇḍa where seeing his predecessor's name inscribed at the door, he carved his own on the back of the temple. Of course this is highly conjectural, but so far as Magaradvaja is concerned I think it is now well established that he was the Śivite head of the Ratanpur maṭha and had a following of 700 celās. That also explains why in shrines close to Ratanpur he enjoyed the privilege of inscribing his name on idols. In remoter places we do not find that honour extended to him.

HIRALAL

The Malla Era

With reference to Mahāmahopādhyāy Dr. Haraprasād Śāstrī's note on the Malla Era of Viṣṇupur in *IHQ.*, vol. iii, no. I, pp. 180, 181, I am in a position to confirm, from another independent ms. Mm. Śāstrī's indication that 616 *śaka* was the initial year of this era. The manuscript is a commentary composed by Sarvānanda-nāga on the *Kīcaka-vadha-kāvya* of Nītivarmaṇ and was lent to me several months back by Mm. Śāstrī himself for my edition of this poem. The scribe of this ms., who calls himself Rāma-śaraṇa Śarmaṇ, writes at the end of the ms.,

टीकेयं लिखिता.....¹ रामशरणशर्मणा ।

पञ्चवेदरसचौणीयुक्शक्रे पाठहेतुका ॥

मल्लाब्दे रसयुग्माशयुजि टीकेयमालिपत् ।

युक्ते शनौ नवाहे सा (?) पूर्वाङ्गे पाठहेतवे ॥

This gives us *śaka* 1642 and *mallābda* 1026 as the date of the writing of the ms. The initial year of the Malla Era would therefore be *śaka* 616.

S. K. DE

Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna Works known to Nāgārjuna

Nāgārjuna, if not the founder, was the chief exponent of Mahāyāna Buddhism and may well claim the credit as a great systematiser of Mahāyāna Buddhism. This will be evident if we critically look to his mighty works like *Prajñāpāramitā-Śāstra*² and *Daśabhūmivibhāṣā-*

1 The two *akṣaras* here are indistinct ; but the metre appears to be irregular as in the next line we read श्रीरामशरण° which would give us one redundant *akṣara*.

2 This is a commentary compiled by Nāgārjuna on the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*. It was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva during the period A.D. 402-405, of the Later Tsin Dynasty (A.D. 384-417). The original work has not yet been discovered. It consists of 100 fasciculi. This work is so important and deals with so many subjects that it may be regarded as an encyclopædia of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

*Śāstras*¹. The former is the commentary on *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-Sūtra* and the latter on the first two of the ten Bhūmis of the *Daśabhūmi-Sūtra* of the Avataṃsaka class.

In these two Śāstras the author incidently mentions both Mahāyānic and Hīnayānic Sūtras.

(1) Those mentioned in the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* are as follows :—

Names of the Sūtras and Śāstras	Nos. of the Fasciculi in which they are mentioned.
1 Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 137)	7, 9, 10, 26, 30, 32, 33, 38, 46, 50, 57, 79, 84, 88, 93, 100
*2 Māyājāla-Sūtra	6
3 Vimalakīrti-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 146)	9, 15, 17, 28, 30, 65, 85, 88, 92, 95
4 Buddhasaṅgīti-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 401)	9
5 Sūraṅgamasamādhi-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 399)	10, 26, 29, 33, 34, 40, 75
6 Amitāyur-vyūha-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. Nos. 26 & 27)	9, 22
*7 Acintyamukti-Sūtra (one of the Avataṃsaka-Sūtras)	33, 50, 73, 100
8 Bhadrakalpika-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 403)	29, 46
9 Pratyutpanna-Buddhasammukhavāsthita-Samādhisūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 72)	29
*10 Saṅgīty-artha-Sūtra	1
11 Puṣṭapāṣṭha-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 425 ?)	33, 46, 101
12 Megha-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 187 & 188)	33, 46, 100
*13 Jñānaprasthāna-Sūtra	2
14 Sūtra on making gradually complete all wisdom and virtue or Daśabhūmika-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 110)	29
*15 Dharmamegha-Sūtra	33, 46
16 Brahmajāla-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 1087)	5, 18
17 Mahāmegha-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. 244)	33, 46, 100
18 Śatpāramitā-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 1004 ?)	33, 46
19 Śrīmatīstrīparipṛcchā-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 343 ?)	5, 18

1 This commentary also was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva about A.D. 405 of Later Tsin Dynasty (A.D. 384-417). It consists of 15 fasciculi divided into 35 chapters. The original work has not yet been discovered. •

Names of the Sūtras and Śāstras		Nos. of the Fasciculi in which they are mentioned.	
20	Maitreyapariṣcchā-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 42 ?)		46
*21	Nagaraupamya-Sūtra		80
22	Kālākāla-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 750)		1
23	Madhyamāgama-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 542)	1, 33,	50
24	Guhyapadavajra-Sūtra [Nanjio cat. No. 23 (3)]	1, 9, 10, 26,	57, 88
25	Samyuktapiṭaka-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 676)		5
26	Dirghāgama-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 545)		9
27	Samyuktāgama-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 547)	7, 9, 10, 32,	54
*28	Bahugotra-Sūtra		24
29	Dhammapada (Nanjio cat. No. 1321, 1353, 1365, 1439)		1
30	Sūtra on the well-coming king Binsā (Bimbisāra) (Nanjio cat. No. 900 ?)		1, 18
*31	Viśuddha-Sūtra		24
*32	Buddhadverātri-Sūtra		1
*33	Vaśīkṛtabahumithyā-Sūtra		1
*34	Sārīputrajātaka-Nidāna		1
*35	Kalāvadāna Sūtra	1, 31,	55
36	Devapariṣcchā-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 753)	1,	26
*37	Śakradevānām-Indramukta-Sūtra		2
*38	Sīlamukta-Sūtra		2
*39	Nadhakātyāyana-Sūtra		2
*40	Avadāna-Sūtra or Sūtra on 'Leking caws go' (Nanjio cat. No. 627 ?)		2
*41	Nandavaradanāgarājavaśīkṛta-Sūtra		3
42	Pūrṇa-Sūtra [Nanjio cat. No. 23 (17) ?]		3
*43	Śubhadaparivrajaka-Sūtra		3
*44	Pārayāṇa-Sūtra	3, 4,	31
*45	Karaṇḍaka-Sūtra		3
46	Candanāvadāna-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. 778 ?)		3
47	Avadāna-Sūtra (do 735 ?)		11
48	Catur-mahārāja-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 722)		13
49	Sūtra on the origin of Heaven and Earth		13
*50	Sudarsanarāja-Sūtra		14
*51	Nīlotpalabhikṣujātaka-Nidāna		13
*52	Bodhisattvamūlagotra-Sūtra	16, 33,	93
*53	Rāhulamātājātaka-Nidāna		17
54	Karmavibhāga-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 699 ?)		14

Names of the Sūtras and Śāstras		Nos. of the fasciculi in which they are mentioned.	
*55	Samādhi-Sūtra	...	17, 22, 24, 28, 91
56	Saṅgītidharma-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 426 ?)	...	2
*57	Sarvāśravāvarana-Sūtra	...	50
*58	Sundarī (Saundarānda ?)-Sūtra	...	25
*59	Sarvānācāra-Sūtra	...	26
*60	Samghahita-Sūtra	...	27, 31
61	Dirghanakhaparivrājaka-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 734 ?)	...	25
*62	Vidyājālabodhisattva-Sūtra	...	20, 28
*63	Tathaikajātaka-nidāna-Sūtra	...	28
*64	Hṛdayādhāra-Sūtra	...	27, 32, 66, 77, 81
*65	Preta-Sūtra	...	30
*66	Samyuktāgamamahāpāśa-Sūtra	...	18, 31
	Samyuktāgamaśāliputrasiṃhanāda-Sūtra	...	32
	Trayastrimśaparivarta-Sūtra	...	32
*69	Udāna-Sūtra	...	33
*70	Dirghāgamāpādāna-vivaraṇa-śatadvepañcadaśa- vinayasūtra (sūtra on the two hundred fifty vinaya as explanation of apādāna of Dirghāgama)	...	33, 74
*71	Buddhanidāna-Sūtra	...	33, 46, 100
*72	Trayadharma-Sūtra	...	34
*73	Saptarathāvadāna-Sūtra (one of Madhyamāgama-Sūtra)	...	46
*74	Sarvabahujanasamdeha-Sūtra	...	46
*75	Bodhisattvanidāna-Sūtra	...	38
*76	Satadvepañcadaśavinaya-Sūtra (or Sūtra on two hundred fifty vinaya)	...	33
77	Buddhabhāṣitajātaka-nidāna-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 669 ?)	...	49
78	Akṣaramatinirdeśa-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 74 & 77)	...	53
79	Dharmacakrapravartana-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 92&657)	...	2, 33
*80	Vāṣpa-Sūtra	...	93
81	Jñānamudrā-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 255 ? & 1014 ?)	...	98
82	Mahākaraṇḍapūṇḍarīka-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 117)	...	100
*83	Upāyakaūśalya-Sūtra	...	100
84	Nāgarājaparipṛcchā-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 456)	...	100
*85	Asuraparipṛcchā-Sūtra	...	100
86	Avadāna-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 735 ?)	...	97
*87	Pratyekabuddhaparipṛcchā-Sūtra	...	20, 81
*88	Sarvadevaparipṛcchā-Sūtra	...	5, 90
*89	Vinavana(?)rāja-Sūtra	...	5

Names of the Sūtras and Śāstras				Nos. of the fasciculi in which they are mentioned.
*90	Bahūdhara-Sūtra	...	...	9
*91	Jātakāvādāna-Sūtra	...	...	11
92	Ekottarāgama-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 543)	...	...	20
93	Romakūpajāta-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 954 ?)	...	...	24
94	Akṣaramatinirdeśa-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 77 ?)	...	...	27
*95	Ratnoṣṇīṣa-Sūtra	...	...	28
*96	Daśabalā-Sūtra	...	...	31
97	Pātragamayāt-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 183)	...	...	38
*98	Nāgarāja-Sūtra	...	...	51
*99	Sarvabahujanahita-Sūtra	...	...	28
*100	Sāṅkhya-Sūtra	...	...	70
*101	Sarvabuddhanidāna-Sūtra	...	...	100
102	Mahāprajñāpāramitā-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 1			100
103	Mādhyaṃika-Śāstra (Nanjio cat. No. 1179)		1, 19, 25, 38	
104	Daśabhūmika-Śāstra (Nanjio cat. No. 1194)	...	...	49
*105	Ṣaṭpadābhidharma-Śāstra	...	68, 49, 100	
*106	Abhidharma-Sūtra	...	...	73
*107	Abhidharmavibhāṣā Śāstra (Nanjio cat. No. 1264)	...	4, 6, 29, 39	

Those Hinayānic and Mahāyānic Sūtras which have been mentioned in the *Daśabhūmivibhāṣā-Śāstra* are as follows :—

Names of the Sūtras				Nos. of Fasciculi in which they occur.
*1	Suddhavinaya-Sūtra	...	...	2, 15
2	Daśabhūmi-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 103)	...	...	1, 16
*3	Raurava-naraka Sūtra	...	...	2
4	Ārydharmamudrā-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 652)	...	...	1, 2
*5	Mahottamabuddhadharma-Sūtra	...	...	2
*6	Sahāyamārga-Sūtra	...	...	1, 5, 13
7	Mahāyānaratnacandrakumārāparipṛcchādharmā-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 826)	...	...	5
8	Mahāprajñāpāramitā-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 4)	...	...	5, 6, 7
*9	Prāparimāṇa-Sūtra	...	...	10
*10	Trayāṅga-Sūtra	...	...	6
*11	Maharddhi-Sūtra	...	...	10
*12	Mahāyānanīścitarāja-Sūtra	...	...	7, 8, 16
13	Mahāyānamahāparinirvāṇa-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 113)	...	...	1, 11
14	Sarvadharmapravṛttinirdeśa-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 164)	...	...	8
*15	Mahāyāna-Sūtra	...	...	8

Names of the Sūtras	Nos. of Fasciculi in which they occur.
*16 Ekottarāgamakālī-Sūtra (Kālī-upāsikā-Sūtra of A. N., Vol. V, xxvi pp. 46?)	11
*17 Ekottarāgamabāla-Sūtra (Bālavagga of A. N. Vol. I. pp. 59?)	11
*18 Abhayarājakumāra-Sūtra	11
*19 Sarvatathāgatagatīṃgatanyāya-Sūtra	11
*20 Bhodyuttora-Sūtra	11
*21 Mahāprajñā-Sūtra	15
*22 Kāśyapa-Sūtra	10
*23 Viśuddhagaṇa-Sūtra	17
*24 Saptopāyakaśālyā-Sūtra	10
*25 Karma-Sūtra	6
*26 Kūpajataromaparidhāna-Sūtra	24
*27 Lokāyata-Sūtra	9
*28 Buddhabhāṣitavibhaktābhaya-Sūtra	16
29 Tathāgatajñānamudrā-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 1014)	6
30 Karmavibhāga-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 697)	11
*31 Kolāupamana-Sūtra	11
32 Pratyutpannabuddhasaṃmukhāvasthitasamādhi-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 73)	11
*33 Sarvadevanirdeśa-Sūtra	11
84 Dharmapada (See Nanjio cat. No. 1304)	13

The above facts sufficiently convince us that long before the time of Nāgārjuna many Mahāyānic Sūtras were in existence. So it may be definitely asserted that both Mādhyamika and Yogācāra schools are based upon these Mahāyāna Sūtras and that Nāgārjuna, Maitreya-nāth, Asaṅga, and Vasubandhu established there respective schools in order to systematize these doctrines.

R. KIMURA

*Those marked with asterisk are author's own restoration from Chinese while all others are Nanjio's.

Rohitagiri in the Plate of Śrī Candra

I am thankful to my friend Mr. Haridas Mitra, M.A., for criticising my reading of the Kedārpur plate of Śrī Candra Deva in I. H. Q., vol. II, no. 2. But much of my young friend's long article is but fighting with a shadow. Students of antiquarian studies in Bengal may remember that my first hurried reading of the Belaba plate of Bhojavarman appeared in the *Dacca Review* of 1912 and Prof. Basak easily made some improvements upon the readings and his reading, again, was improved in one or two particulars by Mr. R. D. Banerjee. In my first hurried reading of the Kedārpur plate published in the *Pratibhā* and the *Dacca Review*, there were undoubtedly some defects; but they were easily removed on a revised reading published by myself in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XVII, p. 188. Mr. Mitra in his long dissertation has not been able to suggest a single improvement, which I myself had not already made in my article in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The only substantial points on which we differ are two in number.

(i) Are the adjectives in *śloka* 3 to apply to Suvarṇa Candra or to his father Pūrṇa Candra? I have taken them to apply to the father and interpreted accordingly, as there are many adjectives in the next *śloka* that apply to Suvarṇa Candra.

(ii) In the 6th *śloka* Mr. Mitra reads *Pīta* while I read *Pīna*. There is not much use in breaking each other's head in discussing whether the letter is *ta* or *na*. To me the letter looks like *na*. Mr. Mitra is inclined to take it as *ta* and I gave him all opportunity to satisfy himself from the original plate when he came over to Dacca.

As regards Rohitā-giri fresh light is forthcoming from a new plate of Śrī Candra found two years ago at Dhullā in the Manikganj Sub-Division of Dacca District and acquired for the Dacca Museum. The name Rohitā-giri is clear on this new plate. I think with Mr. Mitra that possibly this is some hill-range of East Bengal and I still think that this may be the Lalmāi Hills near Comilla. I have a close personal acquaintance with the topography of this hill and I have no doubt that the plateaus at the top were thickly inhabited and studded with Buddhist and Brahmanical temples in pre-Muhammadan days.

The Tibetan Translation of the *Sādhanaṃālā*: A Rejoinder

In this Quarterly (vol. II, pp. 628 ff.) I made an attempt to show the readings of the two *sādhana*s of the *Sādhanaṃālā* as could be suggested from its Tibetan version in the Tanjur. In the same journal (vol. III, pp. 160 ff.) Pandit K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, Śiromaṇi, Śruta Paṇḍita of the Central Library, Baroda (=RS) from which the work is published in the GOS under the editorship of Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, has written a reply to it lacking in scholarly restraint and not appearing to show its author's love for truth. Truth can never be realized until and unless one's mind is free from all sorts of passion. It is, therefore, not to him but to the lovers of truth that I want to write the following few lines about what I think of the reply given by him.

At the very outset I should like to say that I never consider myself infallible. I want to be corrected and I am thankful to any one who may correct me in the discussion, as, in fact, I am, I frankly confess, to RS on two or three points mentioned below.

RS misrepresents me when he says that my conclusion is "that *only* the Tibetan translation has preserved the true readings and *not* the Sanskrit Mss." (Italics are mine.) What I actually said is that "it is Tibetan and not Sanskrit that has preserved the true readings in *many* cases, and that the former helps us in understanding many obscure points in those Sanskrit works which are extant." This is my considered opinion which I still hold after having perused what RS has written against me. I never think that the Tibetan translator is right in *every* case; it is impossible. Man is liable to mistake, and, in fact, I myself pointed out his defects or wrong readings in my paper. In most cases RS has identified me with the Tibetan translator subjecting me to strong languages. But why? Certainly I am not responsible for whatever the latter might have written. Of course, with others I must hold myself responsible for mistakes I might have made in showing the readings in Sanskrit as suggested by him. But RS is silent on this point. I am responsible also for the comments stating which of the two readings, Sanskrit or Tibetan, is better or wrong.

It appears to me from his paper that RS could not read my paper dispassionately or he has been actuated by a strong *śiḍ*, and consequently he could not understand my position. Or it may also be possible that I could not express myself as clearly as I should have

done. Moreover, he seems not to be acquainted with Tibetan ; otherwise, in all likelihood his attitude would have been quite a different one. He could easily understand what I meant to say.

I should like to point out one thing specially and it is this: I wanted to show in Sanskrit *all* the different readings suggested from Tibetan not meaning thereby that *every one* of them is good or better than the corresponding one in the Sanskrit text. Nor did I ask the editor, as RS charges me with having done, to adopt them *all*. On the contrary, I myself pointed out some wrong or bad readings, as has already been said. One other point RS seems to have missed altogether and it is that I attempted to reconcile some obscure readings suggested from Tibetan with the Sanskrit ones, and indeed in some cases I had to meet great difficulties. It may be true, as RS implies, in all the cases or in a large number of them I could not achieve success. Why then does he not come forward as a scholar with his new suggestions so that we might be certain about the readings coming from the Tibetan sources? It is a common cause, no doubt. He discards the Tibetan translator altogether, but I cannot, for I have my own reasons to believe that in most cases he understood the text far better than a man of my calibre to whom, unlike the former Buddhism, or its literature is almost nothing but a dead thing or a thing of mere curiosity. Whatever may be said by RS in defence of the present edition of the *Sāadhanamālā*, I have not the least hesitation in saying that by wholly ignoring the materials from the Tibetan sources, it can in no way claim to be absolutely reliable.

Let me now say a few words about my mistakes pointed out by RS. I shall, however, purposely refrain from discussing every thing said by him against me, as it will serve no purpose.

P. 15, verse 1.

In *a, samata*, as it is in the Sanskrit text, does not give any sense unless it is taken for *samatā*, as RS wants to do, while *samati-* (prefixes *sam* and *ati*) suggested by T gives a clear meaning. The following line from the *Lalitavistara*, ed. S. Lefmann, 1902, p. 436, may, however, be cited in favour of RS:—

Samatādharmānirdeśaṃ dharmacakram pravartitam/

In deciding the case one should also take into consideration that obscure and difficult readings are often found simplified in some Mss. Let the readers now decide as to which of them is acceptable or preferable.

In *c* I preferred T *asamāna* (*mñan-med*) to Sanskrit *asamanta*- thinking that as the Bodhisattvas are *asama* 'without equals', so is *asamāna* (= *asama*), the *sarvagūṇasiddhi* which they grant. As regards the meaning of *asamanta* it may be said that one cannot support °*parā-samantini* in verse 3, *c*, as done by me, without knowing what the word actually means. Nowhere did I strain my "imagination by explaining Tibetan *asamāna* by *amūrta*." What I wrote with reference to verse 2 is as follows: "In *d* for *asamanta*° T appears to read *samanta*° (*ma lus pa = nikhila = samanta*, lit. *amūrta*)." The Tibetan phrase *ma lus pa* literally means *āśarīra* and thus *amūrta* (*lu can ma yin pa*). See *Nyūyapraṇēśa*, §§ 42, 43. It also means *nikhila* (S. C. Das: Tibetan-English Dictionary, p. 951), *niravaśeṣa* (*Madhyamaka-karikā*, X. 15), 'all.'

In *d* RS wants to interpret *sama* by *samata* or *samatā*. This can hardly be defended. Nor can it be accepted that "in *d* the concluding word *samavarāgadharmīpaḥ* is only a repetition." Their difference is very clear. In defence of T *asama*- (*mtshuris med*) for Sanskrit *sama*, it may be observed that the author seems here also to say that as the Bodhisattvas are *asama*, so *asama* is their *dharma* too. I do not think that the suggested compound is "meaningless."

Verse 2.

On his comment on what I wrote with regard to the reading in *a*, I have nothing new to add simply asking one to think over the case as presented by us both.

RS writes: "Strangely enough, the critic is not in favour of the reading *asīmike* and therefore changes it to *asīmake* and goes so far as to dub the Sanskrit reading as ungrammatical." Then he goes on writing a grammatical note in defence of *asīmike*. This comment is on my following sentence: "T fully supports *b*, but there is nothing, as cannot be expected, in favour of the reading *asīmike* for *asīmake*." I did not mean hereby that *asīmike* is ungrammatical. What I meant is that whether it was *asīmike* or *asīmake* cannot be ascertained from T. And it is a fact.

In *c* I maintained and still maintain that the actual reading as supported by T must be *sada sattvadhātū*° and not *sadasattvadhātū*° as edited in the present edition. In defending the latter RS observes: "We have seen in many instances in Buddhist Sanskrit the omission of *ākāra* in compounds but *never* have we come across a *single* example where the *ā* of short *avyayaḥ* has been dropped." (Italics in English

words are mine.) It may be so, but my reading is different as the following lines from the *Lalitavistara* will show :

(I) *yatha* for *yathā*.

- (1) suvidita sugaṇita *yatha* tahi kiṣalā, p. 166.
- (2) bhramati bhramaro *yatha* kumbhagato, p. 173.
- (3) vrajatāyu jage *yatha* vidyu nabhe, p. 176.
- (4) *Yatha* munja pratiya balbajaṃ, p. 176; quoted in the *Sikṣā-samuccya* p. 238.
- (5) araṇiṃ *yatha* cottarāraṇiṃ, p. 177; quoted in the *Sikṣās*°, 240; and *Mādyamakavṛtti*, p. 216.
- (6) *yatha* tantra pratiya dāru ca, p. 199; quoted in the *Sikṣā*°, p. 241.

(II) *tatha* for *tathā*.

- (1) *tatha* kāma ime vititā viduṣāṃ,
- (2) *tatha* kāma ime viditāryajanañh,
- (3) *tatha* svapnasamā viditā°,
- (4) *tatha* māyamarīcisamā alikā, p. 174.

(III) *yada* for *yadā*.

- (1) māya *yada* gṛhāto nirgata, p. 80.
- (2) *yada* puna pramudita ratikara pramada, p. 164.
- (3) *yada* nārigaṇa, p. 173.
- (4) *yada* nārigaṇa prahaṣito, p. 195.

(IV) *tada* for *tadā*.

- (1) mūrdha *tada* phaleyā, p. 81.
- (2) paryaṅkabandu *tada* dhyāyatu, p. 134.
- (3) tyaji *tada* pramaditu, p. 165.
- (4) labhi *tada* dhanamaṇi, p. 166.

The list can easily be made a very long one. Even the very word *sada* for *sadā* is also found in use as in the following lines of the same work :

(V) *sada* for *sadā*.

- (1) eṣa *sada* kṣāntivādī,
- (2) eṣa *sada* vīryavanto,
- (3) eṣa *sada* dhyānādhyāyī, p. 223.
- (4) eṣa *sada* maitracitto, p. 224.
- (5) te na gopī *sada* roditavyakāḥ, p. 237.

RS says: "The S. *sadasatta* evidently means both *sattva* and *asattva* and gives quite a good sense." But what is that "good sense?" What do the words *sattva* and *asattva* mean here? Do they mean 'existence and non-existence', or 'a sentient being and a non-sentient being' (*jīva* and *ajīva*) respectively? I think, neither of them is tenable. In the first case, I do not know how to construe the sentence. The same difficulty arises also in the second case. Besides, the form in compound of the two words would have been *sattvūsttava* and not *sadasattva*. The fact is that in the line under discussion the first word is *sada* for *sadā* as shown before, and the next word is *sattvadhātu*, here *sattva* meaning 'jīva' as in the following line in Candrakīrti's commentary on the *Catuhśataka* of Āryadeva, VIII. 189 (*Memoirs of ASB.*, vol. III, no. 8, 1914, p. 477): "trividho (Tibetan *vividho*, *rnam pa sna tshogs*) hi *sattvadhātuḥ* hinamadhyamottamabhedāt." The Tib. phrase for *sattvadhātu* there (*sems can gyi kham*) is actually the same as in the Tib. version of the *Sūdhanamālā* (*sems can kham*). The following sentence from the *Sūdhanamālā* itself (p. 57 ll. 15-16) may be cited here: "agādhāpārasaṃsārasāgaramadhye patitam anantasattvadhātum samuddharāmiti." See also p. 26, l. 9: *yaḥ kaścit sattvadhātuḥ*.

Verse 4.

RS writes: "In *ḥ* the critic quite contrary to his habit of justifying the metre breaks it mercilessly by suggesting *Triloki vrajate* instead of S. *vrajate triloki*." I did not suggest it. Here are my words: "In *ḥ triloki* is compounded with *vara*°, but according to T it is evidently used as locative, *triloke*, *e* in classical Sanskrit being changed to *i* in Buddhist Sanskrit." I think, it does not imply what RS says. As regards the last line I do not know if it can come from my writing, as RS thinks that the Tibetan translator gives the sense in prose. It is the present writer who gave the prose line under discussion. A mere glance at the Tib. text printed with my paper would clearly show that the translator composed it in verse. It is perfectly clear in my paper that it is in accordance with Tib. and not Sanskrit that *su* cannot be taken with *dharmatā*. For such is the Tib. syntax. What could I do? I did not ask any one to accept the prose line *aho tatra dharmatā*°. I gave the line in prose, for otherwise the meaning might have been more obscure.

Verse 5.

With reference to my observation on *a* RS writes: "That San-

skrit is quite right can be understood even by a school boy when the line is explained as *varadāḥ* (Bodhisattvāḥ or Nāthāḥ) *Trisamaye agrasiddhi(m) me dadantu.*" Quite so. But I said why I could not do so. Throughout, my attempt was at giving and understanding the reading we can get from the Tib. version. As shown, T reads *agrasiddhivaradā(h)*, and as indicated, the object of the verb *dadantu* is *varadāna* in the next line taking it for *varadānāni* as suggested by T. In my last paper, read *tū* for *te* which is a mistake. Thus for Sanskrit *varadānatū* as in the present edition T appears to have been taken *varadāna tū* meaning *varadānāni tūm*. Here is a question: How could the Tib. translator explain *tū* in the sense of *tāni*? We may overcome the difficulty by taking it as a Vedic use which sanctions both *tū* and *tāni*. It need not be noted that Buddhist Sanskrit like Pali and Prakrit gives ample evidence for Vedic uses. Of course, this is a mere suggestion for understanding the Tib. translator.

Following the strict order of T (*rtaḡ tu legs par gsol*) I suggested the reading *sadā suvṛtāḥ* not recommending thereby a change for *agragatitūṃ gatāḥ sadā*. Taking T reading as it stands in the Xylograph first, I suggested the reading given above; then being not satisfied with it and discussing as to whether the Skt. reading could in any way be defended, I proposed to emend T *gsol* to *soṅ*. And thus I supported the Skt. reading under discussion. (Read *sugatitūṃ gatāḥ* for *sugatūṃ*° which is a misprint.) Therefore, my Tib. cannot seem "to be very fertile, so that one Ms can produce many readings for one and the same passage."

P. 16.

For *sakalās triloki*° I suggested that "according to T *triloki* is to be taken separately for its classical form *triloke* as in the preceding verse." Then having quoted the actual T words, I wrote the meaning in prose, "Skt. *triloki* (e) *sakalāḥ* or *sakala triloke*." I do not know how by this T readings become "worthless" and "a beautiful grammatical passage is disturbed."

Lines 3 and 4.

With regard to my comment on the prose line, I am utterly misunderstood. When I said that "the prose line is put in T in verse etc.," obviously I meant that the corresponding T is put in verse. But RS is absolutely free to accuse and ridicule me by composing a

“beautiful stanza for examination by the impartial readers,” or in any way he may like. Here one is referred to the printed Tib. text (p. 635, verse 6).

P. 17, verse 15.

I wrote : “In *b* for *mudrādiṣu gauravam* which is evidently wrong T has *mudrāyām* or *mudrādiṣu agauravam* (*phyag rgya mi gus*).” In order to support the reading *gauravam* by refuting my suggestion RS quotes from a different work a stanza which condemns the practice of *mudrā*, *mantra*, *maṇḍala*, etc. and he writes “Now the readers should judge for themselves whether *gaurava* or *agaurava* should be shown to the *mudrās* and to the opinion of the critic.” It follows from his remarks that according to the *Sādhnamālā*, *mudrās*, *mantras*, and the like are to be discarded. If so, what are we to understand from the very work which prescribes various kinds of *mudrās* and *mantras* from the beginning? For instance,

- P. 1. (1) *sahasraṃ japet* |
 (2) *vajramudrāṃ baddhvā trir uccārayet* |
 (3) *mantraḥ* | Om hara hara° |
 P. 4. (4) *saṃyamamudrāṃ baddhvā* |
 (5) *mantraḥ* | namaḥ° |
 (6) *vajramudrāṃ baddhvā*° anusmaret |
 (7) *uṣṇīṣamudrāṃ śirasi nyaset* |
 (8) *mantraḥ* | namaḥ sarva° |
 (9) *mantrakavacanamudrayā*° kavacaṃ kuryāt |
 (10) *mantraḥ namaḥ* |
 (11) *Vajramanḍalapamudrayā*° adhiṣṭhet |

See also pp. 6, 8, 12, 31, 34, 36, 37, 41, etc., and the preface (p. xvi) of the editor himself.

Apart from this the *Trisamayarajasādhana* itself supports the reading *agauravam* when it says (verse 13) :—

na svayaṃ mantramudrās ca kāryā nāśyūs ca natva tāḥ||

Besides, the reading supplied by the Ms A, viz. *mudrādiṣ ca* for *mudrādiṣu* in other Mss, as shown in the foot note, clearly suggests the reading *mudrādiṣu agauravam*, °*diṣ ca* in A being either wrongly written by the scribe or wrongly read by the editor himself for °*diṣva*°.

Verse 18.

The question with regard to *a* is as to whether *ājīvamalam* in the Skt. text is *ājīva-malam* or *ājīvam-alam*. Neither of them is

quite satisfactory. The former may be explained as meaning that livelihood by wickedness is impurity or sin. The latter is very difficult to explain. RS wants to take *alam* in the sense of *adhika*. But it cannot be appropriately construed with *a* or *b*. He appears to construe *a* and *b* with *antarāyakarū dharmāḥ* (verse 19). But in that case one would expect *ratih* instead of *ratim* in *b*. It is, however, clear. As shown in my first paper, according to it *a* would literally read *kauṛtyasahitūjīvo na kāryaḥ*; and *b* as emended by me would give us *ratih saṅgaṇikāsu* (=lit. *gaṇakathāsu*) *nānujñeyā*. It is to be noted that in my former paper I gave the reading: *ratim gaṇakathāsu ca*. But it was not exactly literal. The reading *ratih saṅgaṇikāsu*° may also be put in active voice, there being no difference in Tib. between the two voices, active and passive. It is difficult in Skt. to put the above two lines (*kauṛtya sahitū*° and *ratih saṅga*°) in the metre in which the following two lines are done. The following may, however, be suggested, the verb *kuryāt* being understood:

na kauṛtyānvitājīvaṃ ratim saṅgaṇikāsu ca//

It is perfectly clear from Tib. that leaving out the first two lines, *a* and *b* of this verse, the last two, *c* and *d*, are to be taken with the following verse. If *kauṛtya* is explained somehow or other as an adjective of *ājīva*, as RS wants to do, and *a* and *b* together with *c* and *d* are taken with *antarāyakarū dharmāḥ*, is it not that *kauṛtya* and *ājīva* in *a* as well as *ratih* in *b* should be put in the first case-ending? As for myself, in order to reconcile Tib. with Skt. as found in the edition, I had to twist the text; yet, I am fully aware, it could not give me satisfaction. Nor does RS help me on this point.

As regards the meaning of *saṅgaṇikā*, I see no reason to modify my opinion. A single example showing that it means *gaṇikā* 'courtesan' can easily decide the case.

With reference to *bhūri* in *c* I myself now say with RS that I "do not quite understand why the word" "which means 'much' was "beyond" my "comprehension." Indeed, I was blind! Here is then at least one instance of the remarks of RS that I am "enamoured of the Tibetan translation" (p. 161). In re-examining the Xylograph I see there is no mistake in copying the readings. In Tib. there is no objective whatever of *pariśkāraparigrahaḥ* (*d*). For Skt. *bhūri* which is a very reasonable reading here we have in Tib. *mañ po* (*Amarakośa*, Tib. version, BI, 1912. p. 276, v. 13). Evidently it is left out in the Tib. text through mistake.

Verse 21.

As noted in my previous paper, verses 20-21 are put in prose in Tib. which literally reads *a* and *b* of the last verse: *trisaṃmayoktena sādhanena ʾpsitū siddhir bhavet* (*dam tshig gsum las gsums paḥi sgrub thabs kyi chags ḥlod paḥi dios grub du ḥgyur ro!*) In order to reconcile Skt. with Tib. we shall have to accept here either a wrong metre with the reading *sādhaneṇepsitū*, or a grammatically defective reading *sādhaneṇepsitū* somehow or other construing *trisaṃmayoktena* with *sādhana* (*sādhaneṇa*). In rejecting the reading *sādhaneṇepsitū*, a compound of *sādhaneṇa ʾpsitū*, the objection of RS is of a different kind. Obviously he takes here the third case-ending as denoting the agent (*kartari tṛtīyā*). But, I hope, he does not explain *vidhinā* in the same way, though both the cases are same. The fact is that the third case-ending is to be taken here instrumentally (*karāṇe tṛtīyā*).

P. 20, ll. 5-6.

RS says: "the critic objects to the reading *utsaṃgasthitam* because its T equivalent means, in his opinion, *uttānasthitam*" and goes on supporting the first reading. No; I did not object. I simply said that "for *utsaṃga*^o T reads *uttāna*^o (*gan kyal du*; in the paper *khal* is a misprint for *kyal*)" observing that it is "quite right."

The most important point in the passage is the meaning of the words *śaṅḡa* and *avaśaṅḡa* and I thankfully accept the interpretation given by RS. One thing that I may point out here in favour of Tib. version is that in such cases Tib. helps us more in understanding the text than Skt. which employs ambiguous terms.

L. 9.

With a view to support the view that a *cāmara* can be taken in the left hand RS rightly refers to a plate (XIII)¹ in Dr. B. Bhattacharyya's *Buddhist Iconography* where a picture of a stone image of Vajrāsana (Indian Museum) with his two attendant deities, Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara, is reproduced; it will be seen that Maitreya carries the *cāmara* in the left hand while Avalokiteśvara holds it in the right." He adds that this arrangement seems to be logical, "otherwise, the purpose for which the *cāmaras* are given will be

¹ At least there are two other figures known to me in which the *cāmara* is held in the left hand by the attendant on the right side. But these are sporadic cases and can be explained in various ways.

frustrated in case the attendant to the right holds the same in the right hand."

Here arise two questions the first of which is as follows: Is the image of Vajrāsana referred to made strictly in accordance with the description found in authoritative works? If so, as regards authority what place is to be assigned to the *Sādhana-mālā* in which, as shown in my first paper from the Tib. version, and apparently accepted by RS, both the attendants of Vajrāsana, Maitreya and Lokeśvara (= Avalokiteśvara), are mentioned as carrying a *cāmara* in the right hand and not in the left? Let me quote the passages:

(i) tato Bhagavato dakṣiṇe Maitreyaṃ° savyagr̥hitacāmararatnam°
tathā vāme Lokeśvaram° dakṣiṇe gr̥hitacāmararatnam°/ p. 2c.

(ii) tasya Bhagavato dakṣiṇe Maitreyabodhisttvaṃ° savyakareṇa
cāmararatnadhāriṇaṃ tathā vāmato Lokeśvaraṃ° dakṣiṇakareṇa cā-
maradharaṃ°/ p. 24.

The second question is: If that arrangement (i.e. carrying a *cāmara* in the left hand by an attendant on the right side) is held to be logical, are we to understand that the other arrangement (i.e. holding a *cāmara* in the right hand by an attendant on the right side) in such figures as referred to below is illogical and the purpose of holding a *cāmara* is frustrated? See plates XXIII and XXVI in the *Beginnings of Buddhist Art* by Foricher; XVII (Ajanta cave in *Cave Temples of India* by Fergusson and Burgess; Fig. of Mahāparinirvāṇa of Buddha in *Buddhist Art in India* by Grünwedel; Fig. 123, p. 178, in *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylone* by V. Smith.

RS is silent on some readings discussed by me; considering his remarks on p. 162, it may be said that they are all "obvious mistakes" or "immaterial points." However, I wish he had discussed at least the following three points which seem to me very important:

(1) p. 16, verse 9. For *śuddhamamogharājaṃ T siddhāmogha-
rājaṃ* (= Amoghasiddharājaṃ).

(2) p. 17, verse 16. In *b* for *suśīlānāparādhayoh* which has hardly any sense T *suśīle nāparādhayet*.

(3) In *c* for *na kāryaṃ karaṇīyaṃ* which cannot be defended T *nākāryaṃ kara*°.

In conclusion, I should like to suggest that it will be very interesting if the editor of the work, Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, himself will now deliver his judgment in the case after having heard both the sides as presented by RS and myself, for as editor, he is expected to have studied the text far better than any body else.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

"Outlines of the History of Buddhism in Indo-China."

In a valuable article on the above subject contributed by the distinguished Professor L. Finot in vol. II of this Journal (pp.673-689), the writer traces the existence of Buddhism in Campā up to the end of the twelfth century, and then remarks :

"Afterwards we have no more document. Nevertheless, a fragment which seems to date from the second half of the thirteenth century begins with the invocation "*om namo Buddhāya*" which at least proves that Buddhism was not yet extinct in that time."

This statement must be due to an oversight on the part of the learned scholar. For the Kim Choua Inscription of Jaya Parameśvaravarman [Journal Asiatique, 1888 (1) pp. 92-93, no. 411] contains the names of Buddhist divinities such as Śrī Jina, Śrī Jina Vṛddheśvarī, Śrī Jina Lokeśvara, Śrī Saugatadeveśvara and Śrī Jinadevadevī. The reign of Jaya Parameśvaravarman has to be placed in the second quarter of the 13th century A. D.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

Recent Progress in Archæology in South India and the Deccan

The *Report* of the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, for the year 1924-25 (that for the year ending March, 1924 was reviewed in our *Journal* for June, 1926, pp. 410-12) contains notices of three interesting Śālaṅkāyana copper plate grants, the first two of which were found buried underground in Kanteru in the Guntur District. The first two of these, both being records of grants of land issued from the prosperous city of Vengi were published by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao in the *Vizianagram Maharaja's College Magazine* for October, 1922. The third grant found underground in the village of Pedda-Vigi threw clear light on the otherwise indefinite genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyanas; and it "gives confirmation to the suggestion made by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao that Hastivarman, the king of Vengi whom Samudragupta defeated must have been Śālaṅkāyana." This record begins with Hastivarman who is regarded as the founder of the family by Mr. Lakshmana Rao. There is some difficulty about the assignment of kings Vijayadevavarman, Vijayanandivarman and Yuvarāja Buddhavarman of the Prakrit grants to a period subsequent to Samudragupta whose inscription is

in classical Sanskrit and it is suggested that these three might have been the predecessors of Hastivarman.

A copper-plate dated Śaka 1034 coming from Korni in the Ganjam District (No. 7) gives the genealogy of the Eastern Gaṅga kings of Kalinga and the lengths of their reigns down to Anantavarman Coḍa Gaṅga who claims to have established the king of Vengi in the west, and to have settled the Utkala ruler in his own kingdom.

The Coḍa inscriptions of the year do not afford any information except that a few of them record the practice of selling women to temples, and one records a gift of land to a professional actor staging themes from the Sanskrit *Purāṇas* and still another proclaims the royal order that mischievous people in the village would be punished with heavy fines and made liable to the forfeiture of their lands.

Vijayaṅga Cokkanātha, a ruler of the Nāyaka line of the Madma is known from a grant which he gave to a certain Yatirājasvāmin of Śrīperumbudur; he was of a religious and charitable bent of mind; and statues of himself and of several members of his family are preserved in the Srirangam Temple. There are also noticed records connected with the famous Ragunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore and with his son Vijayarāghava the last Nāyaka ruler of that place.

Six inscriptions in Tamil verse copied during the period are of literary interest as they refer to the chief Sadaian of Pudeevai, the patron of the famous Kamban, the author of the Tamil version of the Rāmāyaṇa, and his son Pillai-Perumal. In Mysore, where the *Anunal Report* for the year ending June, 1925 was recently published (the previous year's report having been reviewed in our *Journal* for March, 1926, pp. 188-191), besides the work of survey and protection of monuments like the Jain *Basti* at Markuli, the Harihareśvara temple at Hariharapura, and Kempe Gauda's *Nilepattana* near Savandurga Hill. Among the manuscripts studied by the Department are 3 important Sanskrit works which narrate the stories of the 63 Śaiva Nāyanmārs in the Purāṇic style and some works in Kannada, both prose and verse. The Report discusses the question of the chronology of some of the more important among these saints, describes the methods employed by them for rooting out the rival Jaina and Bauddha religions and fixes the dates of Dabhrabhakta (Siruttarda Nāyanār), of Kūn Pāṇḍya and Gnānasambandar and of Sundaranambinayanar. The date for Kūn Pāṇḍya and Gnānasambandar is suggested to be the epoch between A.D. 770 and 820, somewhat later by nearly a century than the epoch usually assigned to them.

Among the epigraphical finds of the year the most important are the Hebbata grant of the Kadamba king Viṣṇuvarman and the Bedirur Grant of the Western Gaṅga king Bhūvikrama. This Kadamba ruler was installed on the throne by a Pallava ruler Sāntivarman and was thus a feudatory of the Pallavas from whom Mayūraśarman, the first Kadamba king wrested his dominion. The Gaṅga grant mentions the name of Karikāla Coḍa as having caused the construction of the banks of the Kaverī.

The Archæological Department of H. E. H. The Nizam's Government recently published their Reports for the years 1921-24 and for 1924-25. These give a fairly good record of work well done. Three important forts, Elgandal, Qandhar and Parenda, were surveyed and their military architecture studied—especially that of Parenda should be noted, as its defences are extremely ingenious. Some old buildings in the suburbs of Hyderabad the Bārādāri of Tāra Mati, the Mosque of Pema Mati, and some of the monuments of Golconda have been repaired. The Kailāsa Temple at Ellora has been also repaired, with a view to prevent the disintegration of the decayed roof. In Ajanta which was first taken over for restoration by Prof. Cecconi and Count Orsini and is now under the hands of an Indian mechanic, the deterioration of the frescoes has been stopped for at least a century to come, and attempts are being made by the process of three-colour photography to produce faithful copies of the original paintings. The frescoes in Cave no. XIII have been cleaned and fixed; and the second Report includes coloured illustrations of the figures of Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi found in Cave no. I, the great Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi in Cave no. I and two scenes from Cave no. XVII.

Besides other work of conservation, the Department has published two monographs, the Bodhan Stone Inscription of Trailokyamalla Someśvara I (A.D. 1056) edited by Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhacharya and the Kotagiri Plates of the Kakateya Queen Rudramba (A.D. 1273) edited by Prof. S. Hanumantha Rao with the help of Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Sastri. Some Persian inscriptions have been unearthed, two referring to Mohammad bin Tughlaq and one Ghias-ud-din Tughlaq. Coins have been abundantly acquired—among them being some *padmatankas* of the later Yādava kings of Devagiri, one gold coin of king Muhammad Adil Khan, a coin of Haider Ali and a very rare Sinhalese Jayabāhu *fanam*. The Hyderabad Archæological Society has been recently revived; while a *Guide to the Ajanta Frescoes* has been also published. The mingled wealth of Hindu and

Moslem antiquities for which the State has been noted is now actively beginning to be quarried and is bound to afford us new accessions to our knowledge from year to year.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

Imprecatory Verses in Copper-plate Grant

At the end of almost every Copper-plate grant three or four imprecatory verses are found; they are said to be taken from Vyāsa. But as yet they have not been identified either in the Mahābhārata or anywhere else. It is curious to note that exactly these verses occur in a work of Smṛti which however cannot in any way be considered to be older than all the inscriptions which contain these verses—they are seen in copper-plates even of the fifth century A. D. It is the Brhaspati-smṛti, one of the innumerable later metrical smṛtis, consisting of about 80 verses altogether. The verses 26-27 and 28-29 of this smṛti as published from Calcutta (san 1296) under the title *Brhaspati-saṃhitā* are the two well-known imprecatory verses—*Bahubhir vasudhā dattā rājābhīḥ sagarādibhīḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis tasya tasya tadā phalam || Svadattāṃ paradattāṃ vū yo hareta vasundharām | Svaviṣṭhīyāṃ kṛmir bhūtū pīṭybhīḥ saha pacyate ||* This smṛti although belonging to the latest phase of the *smṛta* literature must be older than Hemādri (thirteenth century), for the latter quotes from it several verses (see Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 25). It may thus roughly be dated in the 11th or the 12th century.

It is all the more interesting because the *Brhaspatidharmaśāstra* as quoted by Mitra Miśra (seventeenth century) in his *Vṛanitrodaya* (p. 192) contains in a slightly different form these very ślokas. It may therefore be taken for certain that the last *Brhaspatidharmaśāstra* contained these verses, though even that cannot be regarded as the original source from which the copper-plates borrowed. The original source without doubt was a recension of the Mahābhārata now lost to us, drawn upon by the authors of the copper-plates as well as by Brhaspati.

REVIEWS

THE ŚĀTAPATHA BRĀHMAṆA IN THE KĀṆVIYA RECENSION edited for the first time by Dr. W. Caland, Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Utrecht. Vol. I, containing Introduction and part of the text. The Punjab Sanskrit Series, no. x, Lahore, 1926.

The Mādhyandina recension of the Śātapatha Brāhmaṇa is well-known to Sanskrit scholars from the critical edition of Weber (Berlin 1855 : Reprint, Leipzig, 1924) as well as from its admirable translation by Eggeling in the S. B. E. series. It has also been printed in India several times (Calcutta, 1903, Bibl. Indica ed. with Sāyaṇa's commentary ; Ajmeer, 1902 etc.). Of the Kāṇva text of this great Brāhmaṇa, however, very little has been hitherto known. Prof. Eggeling, who made use of it in his translation of the Mādhyandina version, had at one time the intention of editing this recension ; but as the manuscript material at his disposal was not adequate for a critical edition, he made over all his materials later on to Prof. Caland in the hope that the latter might in time be able to secure the necessary additional materials for a scholarly edition. Prof. Caland has now ably succeeded in carrying out the hopes of his predecessor and has with his philological equipment and his unrivalled knowledge of Vedic ritualistic texts, prepared for publication Bks. I-II (corresponding to I-V of the Mādhyandina) of the Kāṇva text, of which the first instalment (up to II, ii, 4; 16) is now published. Of the rest of the work (VIII-XVI, corresponding to VI-XIV of the Mādhyandina), which agrees on the whole in the two recensions, it has been thought sufficient to give only a list of distinctive readings of the Kāṇva text, so that when the work is completed the whole Kāṇva text will be made available to scholars.

It is not necessary to dilate upon the importance of the Śātapatha Brāhmaṇa, which has been long recognised ; but the Kāṇviya recension, now edited for the first time by Prof. Caland with a skill and scholarship worthy of his predecessors in the field, has many interesting features of its own, which justify a separate critical edition. With regard to its matter it agrees, in general, with the Mādhyandina version, but it differs in respect of its arrangement of parts and in respect of some of its traditions. Its linguistic and lexical peculiarities are also remarkable and worthy of detailed study. The relation

of the two recensions to each other and to the cognate Yajurvedic and non-Yajurvedic Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras has been made the subject of a careful and detailed investigation in the masterly Introduction which prefaces this edition. Prof. Caland comes to the cautious conclusion that "from the beginning there existed two independent recensions of a Vājasaneyi-Brāhmaṇa, comprising the materials of K. 1-7 and M. 1-5, closely related to one another, one of which, the Kāṇva, has been influenced in some way by the other". There is no doubt that the Kāṇva text preserves some of the older traditions and original archaisms and presents the impression of having been older than the Mādhyandina text, but there are also other features which point to undoubted Mādhyandina influence on it and indicate a later date. All these peculiarities of the Kāṇva text, as regards grammar, phonology, morphology and lexicography are set out and discussed with an overwhelming wealth of detail in the Introduction ; and every Vedic scholar will be especially grateful for Prof. Caland's valuable and much needed study of its accentuation.

While one does not fail to appreciate the enterprise of the publishers in undertaking this edition, one must point out that the typography and printing (inspite of four pages of Corrigenda) are not such as could be desired for this erudite edition. Let us hope that the future volumes will contain lesser number of vexatious misprints, and that the edition will be completed as speedily as possible.

S. K. DE

2. THE RELATION BETWEEN THE ART OF INDIA AND JAVA—by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel. (A Chapter from "The Influences of Indian Art"). London: The India Society, 1925.

In this well-written little book of 54 pages, Prof. Vogel gives us, in an interesting and popular way, an account of the Javanese art of the Hindu-Buddhist period of Javanese history, and of the cultural and artistic influence of India on Java. The splendid monuments of Javanese architecture still bear the impress of Indian (especially South Indian) influence, but in most cases primitive Javanese (or rather old Malay-Polynesian) ideas react upon and modify purely Indian motifs and legends with a unique result. In this little book which contains ten good illustrations, the author gives us a skilful history of what the national genius of Java has been able to produce in the past with the inspiration derived from Indian ideals.

S. K. DE

BHAGAVADAJJUKIYAM—A Prahāsana edited with an old commentary, critical notes and Introduction by P. Anujan Achan. Hony. Curator, Paliyam Mss. Library, Jayantamangalam, with a preface by Prof. M. Winternitz of the University of Prague, Czechoslovakia. Published from the office of Paliyam Mss. Library, Jayantamangalam, 1925.

This is a small drama of the Prahāsana type with the manifold points of interest and importance. And as such even before it had the fortune of seeing the light it had attracted the attention of scholars. The different problems that it gives rise to have from time to time been dealt with by various scholars in different oriental journals. The present edition of this important work will therefore be welcomed by all who are interested in the fascinating history of Sanskrit drama.

It was previously edited from two manuscripts by Dr. A. Banerji Sastri in the pages of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society (March—June, 1924). Mr. Achan's edition, however, has had the advantage of being based on more manuscripts—six in number, including that of one commentary, in addition to this printed edition, from which also he has taken help in determining correct readings. He has taken much trouble in noting down variants profusely. But in spite of the pains taken by the learned editor, the variants suffer from one great disadvantage to which we would think it our duty to draw his attention. He has not given any description of the manuscripts from which he notes the various readings. And in the absence of such descriptions the variants are necessarily of very little use as their respective value is not possible to be judged. And we do not understand what principle he has laid down for himself in preferring one reading to another. Neither has he always incorporated in his text the readings found in the two manuscripts (A, C) on which, he says, 'this edition is chiefly based.' Thus at page 25 he adds वा after अहीअग्नि and इति after स तम् though their omission as in A, C. and A respectively (cf. f. n. 24, 25) would have undoubtedly been better and more idiomatic. Any insistence on the adoption of better readings would surely have led him to accept अत्रोच्य in place of अवार्थ्य (verse 14, p. 47), उन्मसदि in place of उन्मसन्ती (p. 67, f. n. 72), भवति वषट्-वृहे for वषट्-वृहे (p. 80, l. 1). At p. 79 the words षण्पद्मदिव्या जह instead of being allotted to the 'mother' should better have been given as continuation of the previous speech spoken by the Ceṭīs is reasonably done in Ms. A (cf. f. n. 86), for these words bring very little sense

if detached from एसा अन्न आसत्या चिट्ठुड which is spoken by the Ceṭi. The reading given at f. n. 100 is decidedly better than what is given in text (p. 95. l. 1).

His reference to the edition of the Nāgānanda, a verse of the *bharatavākya* of which occurs in one of the Mss. of his book, as simply 'Bombay edition', is vague and not worthy of a critical edition, as more than one edition of the Nāgānanda were published from Bombay from time to time.

But in spite of these minor defects, the edition has got many things that reflect credit on the editor. He has spared no pains to make it useful, critical and learned. In the Introduction he has discussed most of the important problems presented by the book. But curiously enough even here he has not taken note of all points that were discussed by scholars before the publication of the book.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

SAMARĀṄGANASŪTRADHĀRA.—By King Bhojadeva, vols. I, II, edited by Mahamahopadhyaya T. Ganapati Sastri. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, nos. xxv, xxxii, Central Library, Baroda.

In recent years we have witnessed the publication of some valuable technical Sanskrit treatises on Śilpaśāstra (art of architecture and sculpture and allied topics). Among the works of this class may be mentioned the Vāstuvidyā, the Mayamatam and the Śilpa-ratnam, all published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series under the able editorship of Ganapati Sastri. The two sumptuous volumes under notice consisting of 290 and 324 pages respectively constitute a very important addition to this list. The task of the editor appears to have been one of uncommon difficulty especially in the second volume, when he had to depend upon only one faulty manuscript requiring frequent substitutions and emendations on his part which are wisely connected with interrogatory remarks or consigned to the footnotes. The name of the editor is a guarantee that the task has been done with consummate skill and learning. The work abruptly closes in the middle of the 83rd chapter (it is not clear why the learned editor in his English preface to the first volume mentions his only available manuscript as coming down only up to the 82nd adhyāya). Regarding the authorship of this work the editor cautiously attributes it to the famous King Bhoja of Dhāra, the reputed author

of numerous Sanskrit works, who reigned in the early part of the 11th century, or more precisely between 1018 and 1060 A.D. Of the varied contents of the present treatise it is impossible to give here even a bare outline. Suffice it to say that the editor's claim to the effect that the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* describes the construction of cities, palaces and mansions etc., with greater clearness of expression and wealth of detail than any other available work of *śilpasastra* is abundantly justified by facts. We may mention without comments the description of various classes of grounds suited for the foundation of realms, forts, towers etc., (pp. 23-36), the rules for the foundation of towns, including high roads, ramparts, ditches, coping stones (pp. 39-40), the rules relating to the foundation of king's palace (pp. 61-65) and the festival of Indra's banner (pp. 70-86). Of particular interest is the chapter on various kinds of designations (pp. 86-91), such as those of *nagara*, *janapada*, *rāṣṭra*, *gṛha*, *śālā* and *prāsāda*; it is noticeable in this connection as bearing on a recent controversy that *janapada* is defined as including the whole realm except the *nagara*. We have next (chs. 19-23) elaborate accounts of different types of buildings (*Catuṣśālā*, *triśālā*, *dviśālā*, and *ekaśālā*), which are followed by descriptions of bedsteads and seats of different kinds. Of very special interest, as the editor rightly points out in the prefaces to his two volumes, is the chapter on mechanical contrivances (*yantra*), some of which as described by the author are sufficiently striking. Such are the mechanical elephants (we would suggest this translation of *yantrahastin* for the editor's 'elephant machine'), the mechanical birds singing and dancing according to time, birdlike machines propelled by men which fly in the air and machines doing the duties of servants, doorkeepers as well as watchmen at night. Then follow accounts of sheds for elephants (*gajaśālā*) and for horses (*aśvaśālā*) (pp. 188-195). The second volume opens with an elaborate account of palaces (*prāsādas*) of various specified kinds. Of special interest is the description of *prāsādas* sacred to various specified deities, such as Viṣṇu, Brahman, the Sun, *Caṇḍikā* (*Durgā*), Gaṇesa and Lakṣmī. There are also chapters on painting (pp. 252ff.), the construction of images with full accounts of measures and the forms of various deities (pp. 266-276) etc.

The value of the publication is greatly enhanced by the addition of a very full analytical table of contents at the beginning of each volume.

U. N. G.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Indian Antiquary, March, 1927

R. R. HALDER.—*Dhārāvārṣa Paramāra of Ābu and his Inscriptions.*

UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE.—*Brahmavidyā and Sufism.* The author discusses in this continued article the opinions of the European scholars regarding the source of Sufism, and doubts the conclusiveness of the theory of Kremer and others holding that Sufism owes its origin mainly to the Vedānta school of Indian Philosophy.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. II (N. S.), no. 2

V. A. GADGIL.—*The Village in Sanskrit Literature.* The writer of this article opposes the arguments of scholars who hold the view that the ancient Indian villages had an autonomous form of government. In support of his proposition he adduces evidences from Sanskrit literature to prove that the king himself used to exercise his supreme authority in the administration of a village.

Journal of Oriental Research, April, 1927

M. HIRIYANNA.—*Prapañcavilayavāda—a doctrine of Pre-Śaṅkara Vedānta.* The *Prapañca-vilaya-vāda*, referred to by Śaṅkara, Sureśvara, Rāmānuja and others is based on the doctrine that the Self or Brahman is *nīṣprapañca* or *nirguṇa* which has been taken to imply the theory of *māyā*. One aspect of the view has been pointed out to be that it finds in ritualistic passages of the Veda a two-fold import—metaphysical as well as ritualistic, and holds karmakāṇḍa as subsidiary to jñānakāṇḍa.

K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI.—*Forgotten Kārikās of Kumārila.* The writer of this article points out that Kamala-śīla in his commentary on the *Tattvasaṅgraha* attributes many of the kārikās in that work to Kumārila, and that a number of those Kārikās is ascribed to the same authorship in some Jaina works. As the Kārikās cannot be traced in any of the extant works of Kumārila, it has been suggested that he had another work not yet discovered.

From the nature of the topics dealt with in the Kārikās, it has also been inferred that the *Ślokavārtika* is an abridged form of that missing work which, perhaps, was entitled *Byhattīkū* mentioned in the *Nyāyaratnākara* of Pārthasārathi Miśra.

- T. R. CHINTAMANI.—*A Note on the Date of Śrīkaṇṭha*. From statements found in Appayya Dikṣita's commentary on the *Śaiva-bhāṣya* of Śrīkaṇṭha, the latter has been assigned a date much posterior to that of Śaṅkara.
- K. G. SUBRAHMANYAM.—*Pāṇini and Yāska*. This is an attempt to prove Pāṇini's priority to Yāska.

**Quarterly Journal of the Andhara Historical Research
Society, January, 1927**

- S. K. RAMANATH SHASTRIAR.—*Bhavabhūti and his Identity* (translated from Sanskrit by M. Ramakrishna Kavi). This is an attempt to identify the poet Bhavabhūti with Umbeka, who, according to the writer, is also called Sureśvara and Viśvarūpa. The question of the identification of Sureśvara with Maṇḍana has been left open.
- M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI.—*Tāpasavatsarāja*. *Tāpasavatsarāja* is a Sanskrit drama in six Acts (still in manuscript). It has been given a high place by Bhoja, Kuntalaka, Hemacandra, Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta in their rhetorical works. Its plot, similar to that of the *Svapnavāsavadattā* has been outlined in the article. Mātrarāja also known as Anaṅgaharṣa, the author of the drama, has been identified with Māyurāja or Māurāja and assigned a date towards the end of the sixth century A.C.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, April, 1927

- H. HERAS.—*Aśoka's Dharma and Religion*. The paper detailing, on the basis of the contemporary documents, the nature of Aśoka's dharma with the exposition of its principal precepts and tenets, describes his activities for their propagation. The writer supports the opinion that Aśoka's inscriptions contain nothing to prove that he was a Buddhist, his religion being based on Hinduism and largely influenced by Jainism.
- I. L. SUNDARĀ RAM.—*The Sanctity of the Cow in India*.

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THE Indian Historical Quarterly

Vol. III

SEPTEMBER 1927

No. 3

The Upaniṣadic Scholar

The very extent of the Śruti literature itself is an indication of the fact that very few indeed could be found even in ancient times to have actually mastered the whole of it. The mastery of the whole was no doubt the ideal to which all devout Brahmins aspired ; but in actual practice the ideal seems to have remained unattained as a rule. *Manu* iii, 2 ("vedān adhītya vedau vā vedam vā'pi yathākramam" etc.) along with similar passages elsewhere, indicates the general rule on the subject. It is clear from this that an endeavour was to be made to master all the Vedas, but failing that as much of the literature as possible was to be studied. This led to a fourfold division of Brahmins according to the particular Veda which they professed. The division has continued to the present day, though the reading of the Vedas has become almost a thing of the past.

A further limitation of study, coupled with difference in religious practices, led to the division into Śākhās of the various Vedas. These divisions were not without importance ; and every orthodox Brahmin was expected to know what his Veda was and to which of its Śākhās he belonged : this was an indication of his social position and rank. Besides this, in plenty of places, we find references to particular portions of the Vedas in which men specialised and which occupied a position of peculiar importance in the eyes of men

of those times. Thus, we hear of men who were experts in a certain portion of the Sāma Veda, e.g. Jyestha-sāma (Bodhāyana Dharma-Sūtra, ii. 8. 2).

Bodhāyana ii. 8 discusses the question as to who should be invited to a feast in connection with a *Śrāddha* ceremony. The best Brahmins in this connection are called *pañkti-pāvana*. The list of such Brahmins as given by *Bodhāyana* in ii, 8, 2 is almost identical with that of other writers (cf. *Gotama*, xv, 28). To this category of Brahmins belong those who have either mastered some special branches of Śruti literature or who have specialised in the performance of certain ceremonies.

In the next Sūtra (ii. 8. 3), Bodhāyana says : "*tadabhāve rahasyavid*" ; which literally ought to mean : 'in their absence a *rahasyavid*, i.e. one who knows the Upaniṣads (*rahasya*) should be invited'. This apparent meaning would suggest that the Upaniṣadic scholar was to be invited to a *Śrāddha*, only *when* the other people enumerated in Sūtra 2 were *not* available.

But curiously enough, the commentator *Govindasvāmin* gives a rather strained interpretation on this Sūtra. He says that the classes of Brahmins enumerated in Sūtra 2 were to be invited only when a *rahasyavid* was not available. The difference between the apparent meaning and *Govindasvāmin*'s interpretation is obvious : according to the first, the *rahasyavid* or the Upaniṣadic scholar comes after the other classes ; but according to the second, he comes first and the others were to be invited only when he was not available. He is given the place of honour—the very first place. And it was only as his substitutes that the other Brahmins might be thought of.

Whatever interpretation we may accept, it is quite apparent that the various Brahmins who were considered particularly holy and, therefore, deserving of invitation to an holy function, included the Upaniṣadic scholar also. He also was one of the experts and specialists in Vedic lore. He was

considered to occupy a high social and spiritual rank. Not only this, but he was already a distinct class of Vedic scholar. He, too, was a specialist and his subject, viz., the Upaniṣads, also had already come to occupy the position of a special study. Among the various branches of Vedic literature which claimed special attention, the Upaniṣads constituted an important branch; and there were men who made a special study of this branch, more or less in exclusion of the other branches, and who were a class of scholars occupying high position in society.

This conclusion is borne out by some other considerations also. Bodhāyana in i. 4. 10 quotes the decision of the *Brahmavādins* with regard to a particular question and says: 'this is how the *Brahmavādins* decide it'. Such references to the *Brahmavādins* and their decisions in controversial matters are frequent enough. Sāyaṇa in his commentaries on the *Brāhmaṇas* also quotes their opinions on several occasions, (e.g. Ait. Br., i. 3. etc.). The *Saḍviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* iv. 5. 1 (both text and Sāyaṇa's commentary on the same) refers to *Brahmavādins*: '*Brahmavādinō vadanti*, etc.' And the question under discussion there is: '*kā ca sandhyā, kaś-ca-sandhyāyāḥ kālāḥ*' etc. If the term 'Brahmavādin' in these contexts meant merely a Vedic scholar and not a special kind of thinker, Sāyaṇa would not have repeated the term but would certainly have used some other synonym to explain it in his commentary.

The term 'Brahmavādin', therefore, cannot be understood as meaning any Vedic scholar in general; on the contrary, the way, in which their opinion is quoted, clearly indicates that they were a special, well-marked class of thinkers and interpreters. If they were only ordinary Vedic scholars, that is to say, if any Vedic scholar was entitled to the name, the special mention of the name 'Brahmavādin' would be meaningless. To mean scholars generally, other terms as well, such as 'ācārya' etc. might be used, or no specific term need be used at all. Thus in *Bodh.* i. 4. 10 the

omission of the term *Brahmavādin* also would give a meaning; the *Sūtra* in that case would mean 'this is how the question is decided'. The expression '*by the Brahmavādins*' would be redundant, unless it be a special class of scholars to whom reference is intended. No doubt, the author of the *Sūtras* quotes this opinion of the *Brahmavādins* approvingly and offers it for acceptance by his followers; but that cannot mean that the term '*Brahmavādin*' did not refer to a special class of scholars. We accept the opinion of medical men knowing full well that we ourselves are not such and very often we quote their opinion with the remark that 'this is what the doctors say'. In the same way, the acceptance of the opinion of the *Brahmavādins* by other schools of thinkers, does not imply that they all belonged to the same class. The use of a specific name must imply the existence of a specific class. The *Brahmavādin*, therefore, was a specific class of Vedic scholars. Every scholar was not so called; and he, too, did not know everything. What kind of scholar, then, was he?

It is interesting to note that in the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Dharma-sūtras*, he is referred to in connection with questions of rites and practices and not in connection with what is specifically called *Brahma-vidyā* in the *Upaniṣads*. For instance, *Bodhāyana* i. 4. 10 quotes the decision of the *Brahmavādins* about the controversy as to whether water for certain holy rites could be collected after sunset or not.

In the *Upaniṣads* also, we meet with the *Brahmavādins*. Thus: *Śvet.*, i. 1, Ch., ii. 24. 1, etc. refer to the opinions of these thinkers. An examination of these instances will show that the *Brahmavādin* comes in always when there is some disputed point; his opinion is cited generally to silence a controversy and his decision is always treated with respect and consideration. No doubt, he is very often found wasting his labours upon unphilosophical questions also. But nevertheless he is a thinker. He raises problems and attempts to solve them. Now, these are just the marks of an incipient

philosophy. In a Brahmovādin, therefore, we may easily trace the beginnings of the philosophy which in later times became so important but which still bore the stamp of his name and was called *Brahmavidyā*.

The use of the name 'Brahmovādin' even by the Upaniṣads clearly shows that it did not mean only a man who knew the Upaniṣads. The Brahmovādin appears to have been in existence even *before* the Upaniṣads and of course continued along with them. He was not merely a student of the Upaniṣads. Originally he was the scholar whose opinions and thoughts find expression in the Upaniṣads, and who in later times continued the same pursuit *with* the aid of the Upaniṣads. He was of a class of scholars who were in existence before the Upaniṣads and who pursued and developed the trend of thought of which the Upaniṣads embody a particular phase and certainly an important stage. The Brahmovādin, it seems, was a scholar who watched a Vedic ceremony and observed the customs of the time and tried to find a reason for the same. He thought over these and founded a school of thought. During one stage of this thought-movement and as an embodiment of it, the Upaniṣads sprang into existence. At later stages of development, other books also came into existence. But the Brahmovādin was essentially a thinker and debater who knew the quintessence of the Vedas.

The use of the term '*Brahma*' to mean the Vedas as also the eternal Reality of the Upaniṣads, clearly suggests that the men who tried to discover the inner significance of the Vedas and all that they stood for, eventually landed upon the conception of Brahma of the Upaniṣads. Obviously, before the birth of the Upaniṣads, such men could not possibly be called *Upaniṣadic* scholars ; but the Upaniṣadic scholar was a direct descendant of these men.

The social position of these men in the days of the Dharmasūtras is indicated by *Bodh.* ii. 8. 3, which suggests that he was one of those men who deserved invitation on a Śrāddha

day. It is an indication also of the life that he lived. He was not altogether unconnected with the performance of the religious rites of the time; and his presence in these ceremonies was deemed holy.

The importance of the subject-matter of his study i.e. of the Upaniṣads, is also indicated in *Bodhāyana* iii. 10. 11, *Gotama* xix. 13, etc. where the Upaniṣads head the list of holy texts—portions of Vedic literature—by reading which one might expect to attain special holiness or the atonement of sins.

But this position the Upaniṣadic scholar could not retain throughout. In *Śaṅkara-digvijaya* by Vidyāraṇya (viii. 14), we are told that when Śaṅkara presented himself before the assembly of Brahmins in Maṇḍana's house where a Śrāddha was being performed, the very sight of him was irritating to Maṇḍana. Śaṅkara was undoubtedly a great Upaniṣadic scholar and in earlier times the presence of such a man was covetable at such an assembly. But in the 7th century after Christ, the Upaniṣadic scholar was an unwelcome visitor at a Śrāddha ceremony.

The explanation also is not wanting. If the Brahmvādīn to whom the Brāhmaṇas, the Upaniṣads and the commentaries on these make such frequent references, was really the Upaniṣadic scholar, then, it would appear that he was not only an expert in Upaniṣadic lore, but also devoted his intellectual energies to a right understanding of Vedic ceremonies. In fact, he evolved his philosophy out of an attempt to grasp the spiritual significance of such ceremonies. In *Ait. Br.*, i. 1., we learn from Sāyaṇa that the Brahmvādīns had their own theory as to which of the gods the sacrificial cake (puroḍāśa) in a particular ceremony belonged to. And in the same book (i. 6), we are again told that, though absolute truthfulness was enjoined upon the sacrificer after he was initiated, according to the Brahmvādīns it was an exceedingly difficult task for man, and gods alone were fit for it. In *Saṁvīmśa Brāhmaṇa* (iv. 5. 1.), we find the Brahma-vādīns discussing the significance of certain prayers called *Sandhyā*.

All these show that in the beginning, the Brahmvādin or the Upaniṣadic scholar was not a rebel against the Vedic religious rites. He specialised in the Upaniṣadic portion of the Vedas, but had no disdain, on that account, for the rest of them. He was a Brahmin and followed the routine life of a Brāhmaṇa according to the practices of the time. He condemned neither the Vedas nor the life according to the Vedas; he practised the ceremonies and was invited to them; and in certain ceremonies the place of honour was his.

But when we come to the time of Śaṅkara, we find that the Upaniṣadic scholar, of whom Śaṅkara was a towering specimen, had strayed away from the life of Vedic rituals and entertained nothing but contempt for those who still adhered to them. Naturally enough, the feeling was reciprocated: the orthodox Vedic Brahmin like Maṇḍana would have nothing to do with the renegades of the Śaṅkara type. The difference between the two ideals of life was sharp and often led to mutual recriminations. And the one class of Brahmins professed little community of faith with the other.

To what was this cleavage due? It was an example of a great schism and parallel examples are available in the histories of other religions also. The rise of Protestantism against the old Catholic creed illustrates the same tendency of the human mind. Between the Christianity of Jesus and the Papacy of the 15th century, many things had happened; and Protestantism took up arms against the accumulations of these centuries and claimed the right to go back straight to the original source, viz., the Bible. This brought about a cleavage within the fold of the same religion, which is well-known to history.

Within the fold of Hinduism itself, similar movements have taken place frequently enough. Among the latest are the rise of the Brāhma Samāj and the Ārya Samāj. Both these movements base themselves exclusively on what

in ancient times was called Śruti—the Āryya Samāj accepting the whole of the Vedas, while the Brāhma Samāj, like the Śaṅkarites of earlier times, takes its stand on the Upaniṣads. Both of these movements, however, tend to brush aside the undesirable accumulations of the centuries between the Vedas and now.

The split in the camp of Vedic religion as illustrated in the opposition between the school of Śaṅkara and that of Maṇḍana, was due, among other causes, to the rise and spread of Buddhism and the establishment of well-organised monastic orders. The protest against the sacrificial cult, which was emphasised by Buddha, continued even after him; and no school of reform could possibly ignore it. And the establishment of organised monasteries on an extensive scale, showed the possibility of an ethico-social life free from scrupulous adherence to the crowded programme of Vedic ceremonies. Fortunately for the reformers, there was a section of Vedic literature which could be so understood as to discountenance the old form of sacrificial religion. And the reformers were not slow to realise the importance of the opportunity offered by this possibility of an interpretation of sacred texts that was favourable to them. The protest which was never dead, was accentuated and the Brahmins arrayed themselves into two opposing camps. From that time onward, there were two forms of Vedic religion—one of Karma and the other of Jñāna. And though attempts at synthesis were also frequently made, these two opposing tendencies were never afterwards completely reconciled in Hindu life and thought.

But modern historians often misjudge the later split and regard it as the very source and origin of the Upaniṣads and the Upaniṣadic scholar. According to them, the split had been effected first and then those who had seceded from the ancient religion, produced another kind of Śruti literature viz., the Upaniṣads; and the Upaniṣadic scholar was the harbinger of this schism: he brought it about and was responsible for all the consequences that followed in its train.

As a matter of fact, however, the Upaniṣadic thinker was also one of those very Brahmins who performed Vedic sacrifices: he, too, took an active part in them. But he did more: he bestowed his thought on them; he meditated about their significance and was thus the father of a school of philosophy. To begin with, the Upaniṣadic scholar and those who were learned in the other branches of the Vedas, were not so diametrically opposed to each other as to justify us in thinking that they belonged to rival camps altogether. It was only when the religion of Karma was found incorrigible even after several reform movements that a more or less permanent breach was effected between the two sections of Brahmins and we have even the spectacle of a strife between them. Originally, however, the Upaniṣadic scholar also was, after all, a Vedic scholar and took rank with him, though the obstinate questionings that lead to philosophy had already been aroused in his mind.

UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE

Observations on the Cognomen Bahmani

There is a great controversy among scholars as to why the dynasty founded by Alauddin Hasan came to be known as the Bahmani dynasty. Some are of opinion that it is so called, because Alauddin Hasan named it as such out of deference and gratitude to the Gangu Pandit, his former master, who was a Brahmin, and to whom he ascribed his success. Some others, again, say that Alauddin Hasan was a descendant of Bahman and Isfandiyar, the famous Samani kings of Persia, and so it is called as such.

Now, first of all, let us see what the Muhammadan historians say on the subject and by a comparative study of these authorities let us arrive at a right conclusion.

The *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* says that Hasan was once a servant

of Gangu Pandit, a Brahmin astrologer, who was in high favour with the prince Md. Tughlak and one day when he was ploughing a piece of land, his plough struck an iron chain. On digging it out he found a copper vessel full of gold which he immediately took to his master ; his master being highly pleased with his honesty and integrity introduced him to Md. Tughlak through whose favour he was appointed as a commander of one hundred horses. Shortly after this appointment, Gangu prophesied to him that he would once become a sovereign and "made him promise" that when his prophecy would be fulfilled, he would "assume the name of Gangu" and would also make him his finance minister—"a request with which he readily complied" and translated it into action when he became the sovereign of the Deccan.

Ferishta further adds that some historians say that Hasan was a descendant of the Samani kings of Persia but "according to my opinion," says Ferishta, "this pedigree is too obscure to be reliable and it was drawn up by flatterers after his accession to the throne." The pedigree given by him is as follows:—Alauddin Hasan Kanku-i-Bahmani, the son of Kaikaus, the son of Muhammad, the son of Ali, the son of Hasan, the son of Saham, the son of Simun, the son of Salam, the son of Ibrahim, the son of Nasir, the son of Munsūr, the son of Rustum, the son of Kaiqubad, the son of Minuchihr, the son of Namdar, the son of Isfandiyar, the son of Kaiyumars, the son of Khurshid, the son of Sasa, the son of Faghfur, the son of Farrukh, the son of Shahryar, the son of Amir, the son of Suhaid, the son of Malik Daud, the son of Hushang, the son of Nik Kardar, the son of Firoz Bakht, the son of Nuh, the son of Sani who was a descendant of Bahram Gur, the Samani, who was again a descendant of Bahman, the son of Isfandiyar.

Next let us take into consideration the account given by *Burhan-i-Maasir* which is as follows :—Hasan went to Delhi during the reign of Muhammad Tughlak and without disclosing to any body the fact of his illustrious descent from

Kaiyumars, he entered the service of Md. Tughlak. While he was thus engaged, Shaikh Nizamuddin of Delhi "gave a sumptuous feast to Md. Tughlak." After the feast was over Md. Tughlak went away but shortly after his departure, "Hasan arrived at his door" when he (the Shaikh) said to his servant, "To-day one king has gone out and another king is at the door; let him come in"¹ The servant then went to Hasan and brought him to his presence. The Shaikh received him with kindness and prophesied to him that he would once become a king. On hearing this good news Hasan "became hopeful and began to cherish in his mind the idea of sovereignty and conquest."

The pedigree as given by him is as follows :—

Sultan Alauddin Waad-Dunya Hasan Bahman Shah, the son of Kaiqaus Muhammad, the son of Ali, the son of Hasan, the son of Bahtam, the son of Simun, the son of Salam, the son of Nuh, the son of Ibrahim, the son of Nasir, the son of Mansur, the son of Nuh, the son of Sani, the son of Bahram, the son of Shahrin, the son of S'ad, the son of Nusin, the son of Daud, the son of Bahram Gur. About the authenticity of this genealogy he is rather doubtful, as he says, "God the Most High alone knows the truth of matters!"²

The *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk* relates strange stories about Hasan. It says that one day, as he was sleeping under the shade of a tree, a cobra came to him and holding a green grass in its mouth was driving away the flies from his body but when he awoke the serpent lowered its head like a servant and went away. Gangu Pandit (not said to be his master) who was passing by that way witnessed these things and said to Hasan, "A great dignity is in store for you." He then related to him everything that had happened during his sleep and requested him, when he would become a king, to give him a post under him and also to "combine his name with his own

1 Mr. J. S. King's History of the Bahmani Kingdom, p. 1.

2 Ibid., p. 2.

(Hasan's) and sign their firmans with the word 'Bahmani.' These Hasan did when he was crowned king.

But according to the said work, it was through the favour of Shaikh Muhammad Shiraz Junaidi, whose servant he (Hasan) was, that he obtained the sovereignty of the Deccan, because it was he who advised him to collect an army, wage a religious war against the infidels and it was through his favour that he got sufficient money to carry out his project. It then relates queer stories about the victories of Hassan.

The *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk* is rather inconsistent in what it says and reproduces only the bazar gossips. If Hasan would really wage holy war to deliver the country from the infidels, it was simply impossible that he would give a Hindu title to his kingdom.

In the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* also the name Gangu Pandit appears. It also says that the prophecy that Hasan would once become a sovereign was made by a Brahman named Gangu but it does not say that this Gangu was his master.

Kafi Khan merely reproduces what Ferishta says on the subject.

From the above accounts we can say that Gangu was a historic personage who made the prediction about Hasan's greatness and who enjoyed high favour with him (Hasan) (*Burhan-i-Maasir* alone is silent on the matter) but this does not necessarily mean that the cognomen Bahmani was given to this kingdom for these reasons.

The titles of Alauddin Hasan as given in various histories are:—In the *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*—Alauddin Hasan Kanku-i-Bahmani, in the *Muntakhabu-l-Lubab* of Kafi Khan—Alauddin Kanku-i-Bahmani, *urf* Hassan, in the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*—Alauddin Hasan Shah, in the *Burhan-i-Maasir*—Alauddin Hasan Gangu-i-Bahmani, in the *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk*—Alauddin Bahman Shah and in the *Muntakhabut-Tawarikh*—Alauddin Bahman Shah.

So, nowhere do we find the word "Brahman" or the word "Brahmani." In the second volume p. 297 of Briggs' *Ferishta*

this sentence occurs: "The appellation of Bahmani he (Hasan) certainly took out of compliment to his master Gangu, the Brahman, a word often pronounced 'bahman'." Here Mr. Briggs says (it does not occur in the original Ferishta) that the word "Brahman" is often pronounced as "Bahman." But this is not so, at least, in Persian, which is the medium of our Muhammadan authorities on the subject; even if we take it for granted that "Brahman" is often pronounced as "Bahman," we would find in the histories above mentioned the word "Brahman" or "Bahmani" at least in some places, but nowhere do we come across such an instance. If Hasan would assume the title Bahmani out of gratitude to his master, the original word (Brahman or Bahmani) would be found in them at least once or twice, if not more. It cannot be that the original word would totally disappear from all these histories! The origin of the cognomen "Bahmani" must therefore be sought elsewhere.

Besides, it is also improbable that a Muhammadan king would use this epithet even out of gratitude to his benefactor; utmost, he might have given him a good post under him and this Hasan did. But to give such a Hindu title to a Muhammadan kingdom at a time when the whole atmosphere was saturated with intolerance and persecution was out of the question and it would certainly create a strong excitement in the country, the effect of which might be fatal to the infant kingdom. Hasan did certainly realize this. Although he himself was not of a very intolerant disposition, he did not certainly venture to wound the feeling of his Muslim subjects by giving a Hindu epithet to his kingdom. From the accounts given by Ferishta and Ali bin Tabataba in the *Burhan-i-Maasir*, it is clear that Hasan claimed his descent from Bahman and Isfandiyar but the pedigree as given by the former is different from that given by the latter (as we have seen above). The only two authorities who give the pedigree thus differ considerably in their versions and so how can we believe that he was the descendant of Bahman Shah?

Moreover, Ali bin Tabataba is doubtful about the authenticity of the pedigree when he says, "God the Most High alone knows the truth of matters." Ferishta distinctly says that it was drawn up by flatterers after his accession to the throne. So, the weight is on the negative side and our conclusion is that Hasan's claim to be a descendant of Bahman Shah is no better than a fiction. But although the genealogy is fictitious we cannot ignore the fact that he brought forward such a claim ; otherwise we would not have seen such pedigrees referred to by both Ferishta and Ali bin Tabataba and it was for this reason that the dynasty founded by him came to be known as the Bahmani dynasty.

Hasan used the epithet Bahman and some of the historians referred to it just as it was (as in Tazkirat-ul-Mulk and Muntakhabut Tawarikh) while others, again, like Ferishta, Kafi Khan and Ali bin Tabataba etc. made it Bahmani. (In Persian the word Bahman may very easily be changed into Bahmani).

Numismatic evidence also points to the fact that the epithet assumed by the sovereigns of this dynasty is Bahman and not Bahmani. The title of the book *Bahman-namah*, a versified history of the Bahmani dynasty, composed by Shaikh Azuri, also shows that the title assumed by Hasan and his descendants was Bahman. This book was written long before Ferishta and Ali bin Tabataba wrote their histories and so it is of greater value than either Tarikh-i-Ferishta or Burhan-i-Maasir. If Hasan would assume the title Bahmani, the title of the book would be *Bahmani-namah* instead of *Bahman-namah*.

So, we conclude that the dynasty is known as the Bahmani dynasty not because Hasan was really a descendant of Bahman Shah but because *he claimed such descent* ; the title assumed by its sovereigns is not "Bahmani" but "Bahman" and the popular belief that Hasan gave a Hindu epithet (which is said to be used in the corrupted form "Bahman") to his kingdom is falsified by facts as well as by historical evidence.

Oxinden Embassy

Of all the embassies sent by the English East India Company's officers to Shivaji's court perhaps the most important was that led by Henry Oxinden. The short narrative of his journey to Rairi and his activities there was published by Dr. John Fryer as early as 1698 but other papers relating to that embassy have not yet seen the light and I need not offer any apology for making them available to students interested in Maratha history now. I should draw their attention to one point only. It does not appear from Narayan Shenvi's letter that he derived his information about Ananda Rao's appointment to succeed Pratap Rao Gujar from any of Shivaji's ministers as Prof. Jadunath Sarkar suggests. I feel convinced that he made a mistake about the name of the new Sarnobat and it will be rash to reject the unanimous evidence of the *Bakhars*. Henry Oxinden's letters give much fuller details of his embassy than the short narrative published so long ago by Fryer and recently by Mr. Payne. I hope to place them before my fellow students before long.

Narayan Shenvi's Letter. (F. R. Surat, vol. 88, fols. 78-83.)

Honourable Sir,

I arrived at Rairy on Tewdsday of the last weeke which was the 24th March and on the same day I went to Banchar to visitt Naragy Punditt which place is at the mountaines ffoot, and enquireing for him I encountred with his eldest sonne Parlad Punditt who advised me that his father Naragy Punditt was at the mountaines head and made me waite the Rajah Sevagys order to goe up upon which I sent one of my servants to give the Rajah notice of my arrivall, who returned the same day with order from Neragy Punditt

that I should remaine in his house untill the time of mourning was over for the death of the Rajah Sevajees wife ; which I did resting there five dayes without operating anything, in the interim came Naragy Punditt to his habitation to celebrate the Jentues New yeares day and the next day carried me up the hill with him and enordered me a good entertainment in a large house where I remained five days more.

Yesterday at noone being the third of Aprill Naragy Punditt accompanied me up to the Rajahs court and brought mee before him who received me with much courtesye, gave me a seat very neare him enquiring of Your Honours good health of which I gave him an account and recipocall returned his complement ; at which letting (or setting) I entered on the Rajapore business, and Naragy Pundett according to his accustomed favour in our behalfe demonstrated the matter better then I expected to his master the Rajah on which Savejee presently enordered his scrivans to passe orders concerning this affaire, viz. to pay the Rajapore money at three payments to witt 2500 Pagotas of the Rajapore customes 2500 to be paid the first monsoone comencing the first September next, and 5000 to be paid two yeares space to make which writings and orders 3 or foure dayes will be requisite, which being effected I will send them to Your Honour by Adall the Moody who is now with me, who arriving in safety to Your Honour will acquaint more clearly of all passages here, I intend to have sente Sevagys writings and orders by this bearer but seeing it would cost some time before they were finished, and Your Honour enordering me to send you a daily express is the reason I so suddenly dispatch this man ; and the reason I wrote Your Honour not before is because Naragy Punditt desired me not to write untill I had spoke with Sevaje for which fault I desire Your Honours pardon.

I cannot advise Your Honour particularly of what newse here stirring having not sufficient time, but it seems unreason-

able I should totally decline it, Sevajee is making a throne very magnificent on which he spends much gold and Jewells intending to be crowned in June next being the beginning of the new year, to this coronation he has invited many learned Bramines, and will liberally bestow on them many elephants, horses and money but it is not known whether he will be crowned in person or some other prince for it is reported he hath a prince of the Nisamshahy race in his custody.

By other conighances Your Honour will have received newse of the proceedings of Sevajeess army nevertheless I cannot be excused without giving you some account; Bhadur Caun desire to descend into Concan but understanding that the Rajah Sevajee hath stopt the passages by breaking the wayes, and advances twixt the hills, and keeping a constant guard there where the passages were most difficult; he returned from whence he came.

The Rajah Sevajee intended to proceed for Currall to give new orders to his army, and to create a new generall of his horse in the roome of Partab Ray who fell in the encounter of Sevajeess army with Bullooll Ckaun in a narrow passage betwixt two hills who with six horsemen more were slaine being not succoured by the rest of the army so that Bullooll Ckaun remained victorious but Anand Ray his Lieutenant sent Sevajee word that he should not resent his Generalls death he remaying in his stead, on which Sevajee enordered Anand Ray to succeed him in quality and pay; and not to return alive without being victorious against his enemys and Anand Ray being a valliant person on his masters order mooved with the whole body of his horse farr into the enemys country in search of Bullooll Ckaun; but it happened that Dilleel Ckaun understanding of Partap Ray's death fell in with his army to succour Bullooll Ckaun; making great haste to fight with Anand Ray but he seeing two such valiant enemys before him durst not fight them, and thereupon tooke his way towards Cannara journeying 15 leagues per diem,

he before and the two nobles following him but after many days march not daring to effect any thing Dilleell Ckaun went under Panalla to besiege it but stayed there but five days and returned to his former station, and Bullooll Ckaun went to Collapore Anand Ray passing much inland robbed a citty called Pench eight leagues from Bancapcre which citty belongs to Bullooll Ckaun jaghere, from whence he returned well laden with 3000 oxen laden with goods, which Bullooll Ckaun and Quider Ckaun understanding they intended to intercept him with their whole army encountring neare Bancapore, where happened a desperate battell fell a brother of Quider Ckaun cousen of Bullooll Ckauns and Anand Ray robbed the whole army and brought 500 horse and two ellephants and other things, Bullooll Ckaun and Quidher Ckaun flying away; Anand Ray on his return leaving his booty with Sevagee is gone againe to Ballagatte to robbe more townes.

I have discoursed with Naragy Punditt concerning the peace you desired might be concluded with the Sidy Foote Ckaun he answered with many comparison shewing that Sevagee had no inclination thereunto whereupon I never talkt more about that affaire of which Naragy Punditt will himself write you.

I shall give Your Honour what news I have heard of Siddy Sambole in a few words, he engaged with Daulett Ckauns navy in Satouly River where there was slaine above one hundred men of the Siddys and 44 of Daulett Ckauns who gaines the victory but is wounded with an arrow and it is reported that Siddy Sambole is likewise wounded, and his hands burnt, he not meeting with good success in the afore-said river is gone to Haresser neare Cessing this news Sevajee told me himselfe, now I desire Your Honour not to licence the Siddy to enter into your port nor his men to come on shoare for if you should not thinke convenient to refuse him it would cause great difference to arrise betwixt us and Sevajee for soe much he declared to me at first meeting.

Now I desire Your Honour to send Mr. Henry Oxinden immediately with a good present, because I cannot stay long here by reason of the unwholesome waters of the hills. Concerning the present Naragy Punditt enquired of me and I answered him that Mr. Henry Oxinden would bring an Arab horse with him of considerable vallue who desired me to write to Your Honour not to send any because the Rajah had told him he had not occasion of any but in lieu there of you would please to send him some precious stones either pearles or diamonds which may be worth his wearing at his coronation wherefore I desire Your Honour to send some rings of precious stones or pearles or some chaines of pearles which the Jentues wear on their shashes, because these people thinke that the English cannot want pearles and other jewells being merchants that trade in shipping. Naragy Punditt enorders me to write to Your Honour that if you should send a horse the Rajah would never ride on him but give him some of his servants or souldiers because he hath many horses as well Arabbs as Turkish which considering Your Honour may please to doe as to you seemes best ; Your Honour hath already wrote to Naragy Punditt that you would send an Englishman of your Council which he hath made known to the Rajah wherefore it is convenient that Mr. Henry Oxinden comes with a considerable present in conformity to his quality which may be about 1000 or 1200 Rs. It is also reasonable that you present the Rajah with something at the time of his coronation but this present you now send will serve for all. I likewise advertise Your Honour to mind Girderdas to send 25 ordinary thurmas to Naragy Punditt for which he often persecutes me and Girder promised to send them just after my departure ; God preserve Your Honour is the prayer of

Rairy 4th April 1674
(translated out of the
Portuguese original). •

Your humble servant
NARAN SINAY.

PRESENTS FOR SHIVAJI

*F. R., vol. 87. (Surat) Surat to Bombay, the 18th April, 1674,
fols. 153 & 154.*

We are now in answer of yours of the 9th current inclosing us a translate of Narrandas Sinas letter by which wee preceive you are likely to come to a speedy accomodation with Sevajee on the condicons that you were the last yeare treating about of paying you 10,000 Pagoths in full satisfaction of the Honourable Companys and their servants losses in Rajapore and we may consequently inferr that the Companys late loss at Hubely must be included, your sending Mr. Oxinden on that employ wee hope will make some addition by his procur- ing us further priviledges for our trade in his country, the present which you desire may be sent with all speed to accom- pany him, wee have been collecting these two dayes as near as wee cann in such particulars as you desire from us, what is wanting, as the rubie for the ear jewell, and the rubie ring of such value which are not at present procurable, wee have supplied with a dagger of a neat worke, which wee thinke may be as acceptable to him as any of the other, the parti- culars which wee send you are as followes :

Rutt

2 Pearle weighing	10 $\frac{1}{10}$	cost . 500 Rups
4 ditto weighing	18 $\frac{9}{10}$	cost 750
1 diamond ring a rose cutt		cost 450
1 ditto		cost 325
1 ditto a table		cost 130
1 head jewell like a feather		cost 680
2 bracelets		cost 450

3285

Insurance

29 $\frac{1}{4}$

3314 $\frac{1}{4}$

all with particulars wee have to Moar Drumdas and Vlup

Lickmedas sheroffs to send you, which they do by a cossett that accompanyes your cooly the bearer hereof.

That Sevajee is much offended at your favouring the Siddee in permitting his vessells to winter att your island, and hath expresst soe much to Narrandas Sinay wee have reason to believe and you may doe noe less of the other interest here, for when the Governor here or the Kings Generall near you there, shall come to understand (as certainly they will) this your embassage, and conclusion of a peace with the Kings enemy, together with your denyall of their ffleett to harbour with you, you must needs conclude that the Mogull will take us for none of his friends, and that wee must be exposed to many injuryes if the Company doe not alsoe suffer in their trade. But you having soe often manifested to us how much the good and well being of the island both for provissions and traffique depends upon an accomodacon with Sevajee together with the trade that wee expect to have by the settlement of factoryes in his country, that wee shall patiently endure what these people may impose on us, rather then declyne the interest and benefitt of the Company in their island.

As Narran Sinay doth give you litle hope of procureing peace between Sevajee and Siddee of Danda Rajpore, soe wee think it not a business soe facile to be effected, for a warr soe many yeares standing, to be suddenly accomodated, thus wee have given answer to your letter and haveing nothing here of newes that offers wee must conclude and subscribe.

A post script which forms part of the letter in another copy :—

Whereas wee intended to send you a dagger the man that ownes it stands on such high termes for it that we thought it not necessary to buy it at soe extravagant a rate.

Instructions given by us the Governor and Council for affaires of the Honourable Company on the Island Bombay unto our loving friend Mr. Henry Oxinden to be observed by him in the negotiation of treaty with Seuage Rajah
(O. C., vol. 35, no. 3963).

Mr. Henry Oxinden,

The expereince you have had of all the affaires of moment and overtures which have ocured betwixt Seuage and us relating to this treaty by means of your daily assistance of us in the council where the matter hath been largely debated may excuse the trouble of our furthe [r] animadversions thereon in this paper, but that we may not be wholly wanting to our duty we thinke good to recomend the foll [ow] ing instructions for your observation.

The former difference between the Honourable Company and Seuag [e] at Rajapore being for the present accomodated by a mutuall agrement and contract between us with the particulers whereof you are thoroughly acquainted, our next worke is to endeauour the establishment of a secure and advantageous course of traide betwixt this Island and the countreyes under his jurisdiction, which we trust in God may tend very much to our Honourable Masters interest for the better effecting whereof we have thought good to send you to the said Sevagees court at the castle of Raire that you may in person treat with him touching the confirmation of those articles which we herewith deliver unto you and for that the evill custome of these easterne ports puts the Company to an indispenible necssity of presents in such cases, there being nothing to be done in these parts of the world without them.

We judge it necessary and prudent in this conjuncture to be som [e] what more free handed then otherwise we should be, and that wee may the better prevaile with him and his ministers of state to gr[a]tifie the Company in their reasonable demand and to procure the better esteeme and endearment of our nation, and traid amongst them, where-

fore at your arrivall when you observe a convenient time you are to present to Seuage, his mother, son and those jewells and rarities which are appointed in consultation for them which we hope will be very acceptable seeing as Naran Sinay informe us they are more desirous of such jewells then any other thing we can present them, which therefore will be more proper and necessary in regard Sevage is designing to make himself a king.

In the contract signed by Seuage wherein he promiseth the payment of 10000 kings pagothas for satisfaction of the Companys losse sustained at Rajapore, there are somethings mentioned, which are more then we agreed to in our treaty with his Envoy viz. That in the first payment of 2500 Pagoths worth of goods, which we are to buy of him and so consequently in the rest of the payments which was not resolved upon or agreed to positively by us, but rather that we were to receive it in ready money which you are to press him unto but in case he declares he cannot spare ready money, and that he will force goods upon us, you are to be carefull that you doe not take any old and unmerchantable goods and that they be not ouerprized, to the end neither the company nor the interested be the losers, thereby, and if you can possibly procure pepper, Dungarees, percollas, or any sort of callicoes proper for Europe it will be much the better provided the prices are reasonable, wherein you must regulate yourself according to the list of prices which you will carry along with you and for that we observe Seuage Rajah hath a percoll of old cannekins which he is desirous to dispose of we would have you to please him, and for formallity sake looke upon them, but not to medle with them except you find the Company will be gainers by them and not losers.

Secondly, in that clause wherein he admits the English liberty to setle factories in any part of his dominions we find that Negotanna and Penn are not expressly included, wherefore we would have you make that one of the articles

that we may settle and build warehouses in any of these parts, declaring that it will be a great conveniency to his owne occasions, and a meanes to bring downe traide to that part of the country.

Thirdly, in the last clause he limitts the English that they shall buy and sell only inports and not transport any goods in the inland countryes, this you may tell him is a great inconveniency and discouragement to traide; and that which no king or prince ever hitherto imposed upon us, for in all Indostan, Decan, Persia Arabia and the South Sea's and other parts where we traide we have liberty to transport goods paying custome at port only. Wherefore, you might press him by all resonable argument to make an alteration of that clause, and to grant us the same preuiledg[e] which we enjoy in other parts, otherwise we shall be very much discouraged, and not traide so much as otherwise we shall doe.

Wee reasonably presume that Seuage will be much offended at the Sidyes wintering his fleet in this bay, but when he hath understood what endeauers we have used to turne him out and how roughly we have treated his men, the perticulers whereof you are to manifest unto him, haveing been witness of the transactions here, and when you have represented unto him and made him sensible of the indispenible ingagements that we have in the Mogulls country by meanes of traide and settling of factories in his dominions, we doubt not but he will in his wisdom be fully satisfied of our integrity, and the full desire, we have to keep a good understanding with him, that he also hath vessells wintering here as they and we could not in reason and prudence deny the Sidy the same kindness, though it be very much against our will and inclination.

Amongst Seuagees chiefest Ministers of state you must per[tic]ularly apply yourselfe to Naragy Punditt who hath expressed extraordinary kindness and affection to the Companys interest and theirefo[re] you are to communicate

unto him all our desires and proposalls, before they be presented to Seuagee, that you may take his advise and approbation, therein, desiring him to interceed and mediate with Siuagee Rajah for the speedy conclusion thereof. You are also to pay all civill respects to his Peshwa or second minister of state Moropunt and likewise to Annagee Punditt with whom we may have frequent occasions of corispondence, so that the nearer intimacy you gaine with him the better.

Seeing that the present warr betwixt Seuagee and the Sidy of Dan[da] Rajpore causeth a great obstruction and insecurity to traide w[e] hold it consistent with the Companys intrest and becomeing our duty so farr as in us lyes, to endeauour an accomodation of peace between them, for if they two were friends, the King of India's fleet now sent to assist the said Sidy would be called home and not molest these parts any more, wherefore we desire that when you see a fit oppertunity, you the matter seriously with Naragee Punditt, representing the advantages of such a peace together with the charges and misery of the warr, and that it is like long to continue at least so long as this King lives, except he makes peace with the Sidy Futtu Chaun, which war if continued may prove a greater prejudice to Seuage then the taking of Danda Rajpo[re] will advantage him, whereunto you may add some other arguments which the President hath in private communicated unto you which we hope will preuaile with him as tending to his owne advantage, but if you find him auerse to it, you may disist from mouing of it to the Rajah declaring that what the President designs is only the office of a good neighbour and friends to them both, for he desires only to keep peace one with another.

In the agrement made with Seuagees Envoy Bimagee Punditt touching the satisfaction to be paide the Company for theire losse at Rajpore in regard Neragee Pundit whom we have before recomended unto you did proue the only mediator to bring Seuagee to so fair and accomodation, we

thought good to promise for his encouragement 500 Pagoths to be paid him out of the said money, thereby to oblige him the more to doe the Company further service in their traide hereafter, and we promised to Bimagee Pundit the Envoy for his effectual service therein 100 Pagoths wherefore in case they desire the said money you may confirme our promise ; but endeauour to put it off to the second or third payment, but if they earnestly press to have it made good out of the first, you are not to deny them, for it is necessary for us to keep them our friends.

You are to discourse with Naragee Punditt touching the opening of a way for the merchants to convey goods betwixt Ballagatt and the inland mart townes of Decan and Negottanna and the maine over against Bombay, declaring unto him that it will be a great meanes to enrich his country and secure those parts when our traid is once settled there we shall be better able to assist him in the strengthening these parts against any enemy wherefore we desire you to press him earnestly thereunto for that it will be a notable advantage to his country.

You are also to advise Naragee Punditt that he use his interest to persuaide Seuagee to encourage all merchants to traide and bring downe goods from the neighbouring parts of Decan to which end it is necessary that he causeth his officers to use them with great kindness in moderate customes and freedome from unjust exactions for nothing doth more advance traid then that and he will find his revenue to encrease more by such a way then hitherto he hath taken.

Wee hope the management of this affaire will not require much time, and for that we know not how emergencies may fall out we cannot limit the time of your stay, but refer it to you for we would not have you return without some good effect of your business which we presume may be completed in one month or 40 dayes at most, but wee desire you to advise us constantly of all passages on receipt where-



Revanta, from Ghatnagar, District Dinajpur

of we shall give you such further directions as are necessary and so we committ you to the Almightyes protection and remaine

Bombay, May 11th, 1674.

Your Loving Friends.

SURENDRA NATH SEN

A New type of Revanta from the Dinajpur District

The so-called 'Kalki' statues in the Indian Museum from Bihar, representing a figure on horse-back with attendants forming a hunting party, were identified as images of Revanta by Pandit Binod Behari Bidyabinod,¹ who pointed out that Revanta was described as such in Varāhamihira's *Brhat-saṃhitā*²; this view has since been accepted by scholars.³ The Viṣṇu and the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas are at one with regard to the origin of Revanta, who, according to them, was the son of Sūrya by his wife Saṃjñā and also the king of the Guhyakas, a class of demigods.⁴ The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa further adds that Revanta is the god that delivers people from the 'terrors of forests and other lonely places, of great conflagrations, of enemies and robbers' and bestows upon his worshippers comfort, intelligence, happiness, kingship, perfect health, fame and exalted position.⁵ Raghunandana in the

1 JASB, N. S., vol. V, 1909, pp. 391-92, pl. XXX.

2 "रेवन्तोऽश्वाद्दी सगयाज्ञीडादि परिवारः"—*Brhatsaṃhitā*, chap. 57, v. 56.

3 T. Bloch, *Supplementary Catalogue of the Archæological Collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, 1911, p. 85 n. 1.

4 Viṣṇu P., iii, 7; Mārkaṇḍeya P., 78, 24-31; 108, 11-20.

5 "अरण्यादिमहादाववैरिदस्युभयेषु च ।

त्वां स्मरिष्यन्ति ये मत्वा मोक्ष्यन्ते ते महापदः ॥

चेमं बुद्धिं सुखं राज्यमारोग्यं कीर्तिमुन्नतिम् ।

नराणां परितुष्टस्तं पूजितः संप्रदास्यसि ॥"

Mārkaṇḍeya P., chap. 108, vs. 22-23.

Tithitattva cites a verse from the Kalpataru, stated to be quoted from the Brahma Purāṇa, which refers to the worship of Revanta on the Full-Moon day of Āśvina¹ and even now he is worshipped on that day before the worship of Lakṣmī. The Kālikā Purāṇa recommends his worship by kings at the gates according to the principles of Sūrya worship and gives the following description of his image :

समनेऽङ्गि तु रेम (व) न्तं पूजयेत्तोरणान्तरे ॥

मृथ्यपुत्रं महाबाहुं द्विभुजं कवचोज्ज्वलम् ।

ज्वलन्तं शूलवस्त्रेण केशानुदयथ्य वाससा ॥

कशां वानकरि विसृद्ध्यपि तु करं पुनः ।

सखङ्गं न्यस्य वामायां मितसैन्यवसंस्थितम् ॥

एवंविधन्तु रेम (व)न्तं प्रतिमायां घटेऽपि वा ।

सूर्यपूजाविधानेन पूजयेत्तोरणान्तरे ॥

Kālikā P., ch. 85², vs. 46-49., Vaṅgavāsī ed., Cal., 1336 B.S.

Thus, according to the Kālikā Purāṇa the icon of Revanta should be placed on a white horse, with his hair fastened up by a cloth, wearing a coat of mail, holding a lash in the left hand and a sword in the right, also resting upon its (*i.e.* the horse's) back. The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa states that Revanta was born, bearing sword, shield and armour, mounted on horse-back, furnished with arrows and quiver.³

A new variety of this image has recently been discovered by Babu Sriram Maitra near Ghatnagar in the district of Dinajpur and thanks to his exertions, it is now deposited in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi. It is carved in black basalt, measuring 1-8½" × 9", and is now in two fragments. The sculpture represents a male figure

1 'पूज्यः साश्वश्च रेवन्तो यद्यविभवाविसरैः'—Tithitattva, Vaṅgavāsī edition, Calcutta, 1313 B. S., p. 690.

2 Chap. 88 in Bombay edition.

3 "रितसोऽन्ति च रेवन्तः खङ्गी चर्मौ तनुवधक् ।
अश्वारूढः समुद्रतो वाणतूष्णसन्निवितः ॥"

in profile, mounted on a caparisoned horse with his feet in the stirrups. He has the reins in his left hand, while the right hand holds the lash. His hair is tucked up behind the head, on which is a crown in three tiers, and he also wears necklace, sacred thread, ear-rings etc. He is draped in a close-fitting costume with a scarf coiled round his arms and his legs are covered with high boots, as is found in the Sūrya images of North India. A broad-headed sword hangs on his right. Over his head is a high umbrella held by an attendant from behind, which thus indicates his royal rank. In front of the deity stands apparently a robber seizing the horse by the head and flourishing a dagger before his eyes. Behind him is a tree with over-spreading foliage and on it is seen a human figure with a dagger in hand. On the other side of the slab is represented a house with an arched entrance and within are two figures, one of a female and the other probably of a male. In the lowest portion is a woman cutting a fish with a fish-knife (*banti*) and behind her is a man with a sword and shield approaching as if to lay hands on her. In the base are also the figures of a kneeling devotee and a woman standing in the *tribhāṅga* pose with an uncertain object in hand. On the top is a lotus with pendent festoons, but the usual flying figures to right and left are absent.

Thus, the central figure in the composition closely conforms to the description of Revanta in the Kālikā Purāṇa as quoted above, but the surrounding scene differs from the Bihar images, which seem to follow the Bṛhatsaṃhitā and is of interest as illustrating in stone the function of the deity who, according to the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, looks over the safety of his worshippers from the dangers of thieves and robbers that pester the human life.¹

As this image exhibits a similar attitude to that of Kalkin, who is described in the Purāṇas as riding a horse and

destroying robbers, evil-doers and mlecchas with a sword,¹ it may be argued that it is one of the same incarnation of Viṣṇu. In sculpture Kalkin is known to us from his representations in the *Daśāvatāra* slabs² and there he is figured on horse-back with two uplifted hands, holding a sword and a shield. Precisely the same description of the *Avatāra* is found in a verse of the Viṣṇudharmottara,³ quoted below :

“खड्गोद्यतकरः क्रुद्धो हयावहो महाबलः ।
त्रिच्छोच्छेदकरः कल्की विसृजः परिकीर्तितः ॥”

The Rūpamaṇḍana also gives a similar description.⁴ It is noteworthy, too, that images of the other *Avatāras* in those slabs are of the same types as in individual representations and apparently there is no reason why it should not be so in the case of this incarnation too. Other descriptions of Kalkī icons⁵ are given in the Agni Purāṇa and the Vaikhāṇasa-gama, but as they accord in no way with the subject of the present note, it is needless to discuss them. It follows thus that neither the known representations of Kalkin in Bengal art nor his descriptions in iconographic texts agree with the image under notice ; and as the main figure, besides tallying with the description of Revanta in the Kālikā Purāṇa has much in common with that of the Indian Museum sculptures referred to above, its ascription to a different category is out of the question.

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1 Bhāgavata P., 12. 2. 18-20; Devi Bhāgavatam, 9. 8. 54-55 ; Viṣṇu P., iii. 2. 57 ; Agni P., 4. 8.

2 Daśāvatāra slab, Varendra Research Society's Museum, No. 495 ; Handbook to the sculptures in the Baṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad, M. M. Ganguly, pl. xxvii.

3 T. A. Gopinath Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, vol. I, pt. II, App. c. p. 49.

4 Ibid., vol. I, pt. II, App. c. p. 49.

5 Ibid., vol. I, pt. II, App. c, p. 49.

Jaina References in the Dhammapada

The 'Dhammapada' is the most popular book of the Buddhists and the non-Buddhists. It is believed to be an ancient work and a collection of the sayings of Gautama,¹ (e.g. verses 97 ; 153-154 ; 353 etc). Whether, however, the verses in this work attributed to Buddha were his genuine and verbatim utterances (just as those others in the 'Gītā' attributed to Śrī Kṛṣṇa were his) is a question on which the orthodox and the non-orthodox people will perhaps never agree. Some of the verses which are found in the 'Dhammapada' are also found in the 'Mahābhārata'² as well as the 'Manu-smṛti',³ not to speak of the Buddhist works themselves, such as the 'Thera-gāthā' and 'Theri-gāthā' ; but as it is not our purpose to discuss here whether the 'Dhammapada' was the borrower, or *vice versa*, we pass on to the matter in hand.

The 7th 'vagga' (or section) of the 'Dhammapada' is called the 'Arahanta-vagga' i.e. the section dealing with the (perfect-ed beings called) Arahats, and to me it seems that every verse in this section is pregnant with an overt or covert reference to those ideal beings of the Jains, who are called Arhats or Jīnas or Tīrthaṅkaras by them.

At the outset it must be remembered that Jainism came into being earlier than Buddhism, and as according to the accepted chronology, Mahāvira was an older contemporary of Gautama, it stands to reason that the religion propagated

1 *The Buddha's Way of Virtue*, p. 9. (Wisdom of the East series).

2 Cf. Dh. v. 9 with Mbh. XII. 568 ; Dh. v. 44 with the verse in 'Śānti-parva' ; Dh. vs. 131, 132 with Mbh. xiii. 5568 ; Dh. v. 223 with Mbh. XII 3550, etc.

3 Cf. Dh. v. 109 with Ms. II. 121 ; Dh. vs. 131-132 with Ms. v. 45 etc.

by the former preceded the other promulgated by the latter. But Jainism was already in existence, and perhaps in a nascent condition, long before the time of Mahāvīra, who seems to have been responsible for giving it the distinct and separate entity as a religion, it has ever since had ; for Pārśvanātha (circa 8th century B. C.), his immediate forerunner, was the real founder of Jainism, which was effected by him perhaps more as a reformation of the then existing forms of the religious and philosophical systems of the Vedic Brahmanism than as quite a different religion. However it be, the tenets of the Jaina religion and philosophy, no less than the traditions of its hagiology were already in the air by the time Buddha commenced his ministration, and without doubt, therefore, he was not only quite conversant with the same, but must have also come into contact with persons of the Jaina persuasion, if not with Mahāvīra himself. A magnanimous and all-receptive nature like that of Buddha could not but have regard for everything that is essentially good and beautiful whether it is found in his own or any other religion ; for the several verses at the end of the 'Dhammapada' forming its last section, the 'Brāhmaṇa vagga' strikes us with their genuine fervour, and when we remember that it was the religion of the Brāhmaṇas, which at first perhaps he tried to reform in his own light, and failing, had to secede from, his commendation of the ideal Brāhmaṇa seems to be twice blest. In one word, the great teacher held his ideal Brāhmaṇa in great esteem, as is clearly evident from the 422nd verse¹ of the 'Dhammapada'. In like manner the 7th section shows in what high regard he held the Jaina ideal also.

1 उद्यमं पवरं वीरं महसिं विजितायिनं ।

अनेनं नद्धातकं बुद्धं तमहं ब्रूमि ब्राह्मणं ॥

'The leader supreme, the heroic, the great Ṛṣi, the victor without lust and purified, the Buddha—him I call a Brāhmaṇa.' (It will be seen that the Buddha himself is identified here with the ideal Brāhmaṇa).

The word 'Arhat' (अर्हन्), a variant of the original word 'Argha' (अर्घ) meaning 'value' (metaphorically 'worth', 'honour' etc.), occurs in the R̥gveda, where it means 'worthy, exalted, venerable etc.'¹ Thus even in the Vedic times, the word denoted a high ideal worth striving for. Perhaps when Jainism found its ideal super-man in Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra (and their predecessors), it borrowed this Vedic word, because it was found to contain the exact expression of the ideal, and applied it to those super-men. Thus 'Arhat' is one of the names of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, the name par excellence by which their worshippers invoke them, and as such it is the highest ideal of personality, whether divine or human perfected into the divine, in the Jaina religion. In enumerating the names of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, the Jaina lexicographer Hemacandra (12th century A.C.) begins the said list with the name Arhat as follows—

अर्हञ्जिनः पारगतस्त्रिकालवित्सीषाष्टकर्म परमैष्टाधीश्वरः ।

शंसुः स्वयंभूर्मगवाजगम्यसुखीर्षकरस्वीर्षकरो जिनेश्वरः ॥² etc.

Having thus enumerated the names of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, he also enumerates in the next chapter of his lexicon those of Buddha,³ among which, however, the name 'Arhat' is conspicuous by its absence, in spite of the fact that this latter list is much longer than the other. Nor does this name 'Arhat' appear among the names of Buddha enumerated by the Buddhist lexicographer of a much earlier date, Amarasiṃha, (circa 6th century A. C.) in his lexicon the Amarakośa⁴. But

¹ R̥g-veda, II. 3. 1 ; II. 3. 3 ; II. 33. 10 ; VII. 18 ; X. 22 ; 2. 2 ; X. 99. 7. The Avestan form of the verbal root √अर्ह is *arej*=to be worth ; to become worthy ; to be considered respectable, etc., and that of the Skt. form *Arhat* is *arejāñh*=value, honour, etc. (see K. E. Kanga's Avesta Dictionary) ; so this is a very ancient Indo-Iranian word.

² Hemacandra's *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi* (I. 24, 25).

³ Ibid., II. 232-237.

⁴ I. 13-15.

both Aṃarasimha and Hemacandra give the name 'Jina'¹ as one of the names of Buddha. Now the two names 'Jaināḥ' (जैनाः) and 'Ārhatāḥ' (आर्हताः)² are those by which the community of the Jainas has generally been known and a glance at these names enables us to make out that the same are derived respectively from the words *Jina* and *Arhat* which, by the way, are the names whereby the community has ever since been addressing and invoking its Godhead, though the meaning of each of these two words (*Arhat* and *Jina*) is so transparent that it need not be told that either of them signifies a super-man, and as such can be readily applied to the ideal man, whether of the Jainas or the Buddhists. It may be said without reserve, that both these terms must have been borrowed by the Buddhists from the Jainas.³ No doubt this word Arahāt is found in the very common Buddhist formula, which invariably occurs as the headline of the Buddhist works—'नमो तस्मै भगवतो अरहतो सम्मासंबुद्धस्मै', much in the way of the formula 'श्री गणेशाय नमः' of the Hindus, or 'नमः अरिहताय' of the Jainas ; but in this Buddhistic formula, the word 'Arhat' (or 'Arahato'—its genitive singular) seems to have been used more or less as an epithet, i. e., with an adjectival force, meaning 'venerable or saintly', just as its preceding word 'Bhagavato' is a similar epithet meaning 'holy or blessed', and so it cannot be said to have the value of a substantive, as

1 *Amarakośa* (I. 13) ; Hemacandra (II. 232).

2 'स्वाहाद्वादाहर्तः स्याच्छून्यवादी तु सौगतः।' Hemacandra, III. 861. Also 'प्रतिपन्नदुःखचपलः.....दक्षाश्च भवन्ति सौगताः।...सकलजन्तोपकारसज्जा सज्जनता जै नी ॥' '*Harṣa-carita*,' ch. VIII—circa 7th century A. C.

3 Similarly the name '*Vināyaka*' (विनायक), given as one of the names of Buddha both by Aṃarasimha (I. 14), and Hemacandra (II. 234), seems clearly to have been borrowed from Brāhmaṇism ; but the same cannot be said of '*Mārājī*' (मारजित्), another name of Buddha (Amarakośa, I. 13 ; Hemacandra, II. 235), which also is a well-known name of Siva, as in either case the name is founded on the tradition of the conquest of '*Māra*' effected by Buddha as well as by Śiva.

it clearly has in the Jaina formula 'नमो अरिह'ताणं'. We meet with the same adjectival use of the word '*Arahat*' in the 164th verse of the '*Dhammapada*'—

यो सासनं अरहत्तं अरियानं घञ्जजीविनं ।

The Commentator of the '*Dhammapada*' Ācārya Buddhaghosa has rightly taken the word '*arahataṇi*' here as an adjective qualifying the noun '*Sāsanaṇi*'¹, wherefore this line would mean (and correctly mean)—'The venerable rule of the noble (or Aryans) and the virtuous'; similarly this word occurs as the latter component of many a compound word, as '*pūjāraha*', '*mahāraha*' &c where also it has the adjectival sense 'worthy of.'

Now, what does an '*Arahat*' mean according to the Buddhist conception? The '*Khuddakapāṭha*'² lays down the following definition of an *Arahat*—'दसह'वेदि समन्नागती अरहा ति बुज्जति' (= 'he who is endowed with the ten attributes is called an *Arahat*'): thus the *Arahat*ship had a settled, and no doubt a very exalted, place in the ascent of man according to Buddhism, and seems to have been but a step beneath the culminant, Buddhahood.³ In commenting on the word '*jutimanto*' (जुतीमन्तो), occurring in the 89th verse of the '*Dhammapada*', Buddhaghosa explains the word '*juti*' (= Skt. जति splendour) as 'अरहतमगज्जाणजुति' i.e. 'the light of the knowledge of the way of the *Arahats*,' or in other words, 'the light obtained from the vision of (having found out or attained) the knowledge of *Arahat*ship', or in the simplest words, 'the

1 But the English translators of the *Dhammapada*, 'Sacred Books of the East' series, vol. X) as well as in the *Buddha's Way of Virtue* ('Wisdom of the East' series) have taken it for a noun, on what authority it is not clear.

2 Andersen's 'Pali Reader' (p. 82, l. 14).

3 '*Itivuttaka*' (इतिवुत्तक) thus defines the Buddhahood—

यस्स रागो च दोसो च अविज्जा च विराजिता ।

तं भानितत्तज्जचारं ब्रह्मभूतं तथागतं ।

बुद्धं वेरभयातीतं आह, सम्बुद्ध्यहियनं ॥

realisation of Arahatsip'. Thus from this comment of the Ācārya also, we see how close Arahatsip was to Buddhahood. Even in the Buddhistic Formula (quoted above), it is easy, I believe, to discern that the *Arahat* was a higher being and the *Buddha* (or the '*Sammā-Sambuddha*') was the next above and higher than the *Arahat* and the highest of all. Anderson has defined an *Arahat* as one who has reached the highest stage of sanctification from which he can enter *Nirvāṇa*,¹ and he is also described as 'one who through obedience to the preaching of Buddha, has reached that calm state when the will no longer struggles, but is unified and at rest.'² Yet in the '*Yasapabbajjā*',³ we find that Gautama himself was one of the seven Arahats then living, the six others being the '*Pañcavaggiyā Bhikkhū*' (viz. Kondañña, Vappa, Bhaddiya, Mahānāma and Assaji) and Yasa. It is certain that of these seven none else than Buddha himself attained to the Buddhahood; it is true, therefore, the six others reached only the Arahatsip—wherefore again the Arahatsip, according to the Buddhistic conception, was lesser than the Buddhahood and if, however, we find Buddha's name included among those of the first seven *Arahats*, it has perhaps a strict reference to that stage in his ascent just prior to his enlightenment as the Buddha. Anyhow, once Buddha was an *Arahat*. It is possible that it became one of his names, as it were, for the posterity; but the fact that according to the Buddhistic conception, Arahatsip was never on a level with the Buddhahood, but always a step beneath it, should not be lost sight of. It is a psychological fact. For no religion would ever concede that its own highest ideal could even in the least degree be inferior, or even equal to the highest of any other religion, but would always maintain that it is the superior; and the highest concession that a

1 Andersen's 'Pali Reader', 'Glossary', p. 33.

2 'Buddha's Way of Virtue', p. 103.

3 Andersen's 'Pali Reader', p. 70, 'तेन खी एन समवेगं सत्तं लोके अरहन्तं.'

religion could make to the highest ideal of any other, is to give it the next best place beneath its own ideal, when it cannot resist its beauty and goodness and has therefore to assimilate it into its own system.¹ Thus Arahatsip seems more and more to have been a borrowed ideal in Buddhism, and as such, it is beyond all doubt that it was borrowed from Jainism.

Now in the light of the foregoing remarks, let us examine the section '*Arahanta-vagga*' verse by verse :—

(1) Verse 90—'गतच्छि' (*gatacchi*): Buddhaghosha explains this as 'गतमग' (*gata-magga*) 'one who has gone (his) way' i.e. 'one who has finished his journey.' Compare with this the word 'पारगत' (*pāragata*) occurring in Hemacandra's verse quoted above as one of the names of '*Arhat*' or '*Jina*' of the Jainas, and meaning 'one who has gone over to the other bank.' Though the metaphors may be different, the idea implied in both these words is quite the same.

'सञ्चगन्धर्षहीन' = 'One who has thrown off all fetters', with which compare 'निगन्ध' (*niggantha*). The Jains, or to be more accurate the Jain monks, were called '*Niggantha*-(or *Nigantha*)-*Samaṇas*' in Buddha's time² or even before, and they have also been mentioned as such in Asoka's Pillar Edict VII.³ This word also occurs in Hemacandra's lexicon in its Skt. form 'निरगन्ध' (*nirgrantha*) meaning 'a Jain ascetic' (I 76.).

(2) Verse 91—'न निवेते रमन्ति ते' = 'They stay not in their abode.' This is perfectly true of the Jaina '*Tirthaṅkaras*,

1 This need not amaze the reader, for the fact is no less psychological than it is universal in its truth and applicability, and we see it amply illustrated by the change of tone, nowadays, among the Christian missionaries in their writings on the different religions of India.

2 Vide Mr. Kamta Prasad Jain's 'Jaina references in the Buddhist Literature' ('Indian Historical Quarterly', vol. II, p. 699), and the quotation given in the same on p. 704 from '*Sāmaññaphala Sutta*'.

3 Vide Prof. D. R. Bhandakar's '*Asoka*' (p. 170), and Dr. Vincent Smith's '*Asoka*' (ed. 1902—p. 193).

no less than of their anchorites : it is also true of Buddha himself. Also compare the Jaina text¹—

अभवद्विषयविषय एवान् तत्त्वसंस्थितिः ।

अव्यसदभियोगिन योगी तत्त्व निजात्मनः ॥

Leaving the home, and dwelling in solitude are emphasised as the indispensable duties of a Jaina ascetic.

(3) Verses 92-93.—‘परिज्ञातभोजन’² = ‘One who is carefully observant of (his) food’ (from परि + √ ज्ञा = to observe carefully, to ascertain carefully); and ‘आहारि अनिश्चित’ =³ ‘not dependent upon (his) food.’* These remarks about the food are best applicable to the Jainas, especially to the monks, for no others are more scrupulous (nay, even meticulous) than they as regards the food they have to take, nor less dependent on it, whether as regards its details or times of taking it. The mere existence of so many ‘*vratas*’⁴ or cremonies, which they have to observe in and out of season, and in which they have to fast *in toto* or in part, supports my contention ; but I cannot do better than refer my readers to (pp. 702-704 of) Mr. K. P. Jain’s article already referred to, where all the peculiarities of the Jaina ascetics as regards their food, or times and ways of taking it etc. are related in detail.

1 Pūjyapāda’s ‘*Iṣṭopadeśa*’ quoted in Mr. K. P. Jain’s above named article,—‘He in whose mind no disturbances occur, and who is established in the knowledge of the self, such an ascetic should engage himself diligently in the contemplation of his soul, *in a lonely place*.’

2 Neither of these expressions means ‘moderate in food,’ to express which idea, however, the ‘*Dhammapada*’ itself has ‘भोजनमिदं मत्तञ्जु’ (verse 8), ‘मत्तञ्जुता भवसिद्धि’ (verse 185) etc.

3 This assertion well coincides with the belief of the Digambara Jainas that a Jain ascetic reaching Arahatsip requires no food. Hence he is not dependent upon his food.

4 Buddha would not countenance any ‘*Vratas*’ which, therefore, seem to be derided in verse 70 *Dhammapada*.

‘विमोक्ख’ (Vimokkha)—The Commentator Buddhaghosa says that this is another term for ‘Nirvāṇa.’ ‘*Mokṣa*’ or ‘*Vimokṣa*’ is preferentially the Jaina denomination betokening the effulgent or extinctive consummation, quite as much as the other term ‘Nirvāṇa’ denotes the identical condition according to Buddhism.

(4) Verses 94 and 95—The last word ‘वादिनो’¹ (gen. sing. of वादि = such, like that, or like him) occurring in the 94th verse, and the penultimate word ‘वादि’ occurring in the first half of the 95th verse seem to have escaped the notice of the various editors as well as the translators of the ‘*Dhammapada*,’ for all of them have left out these words neither explaining nor translating them; but I believe both these words are quite significant. In verse 94, where there is already the word वस (in the last line), which is undoubtedly the correlative of word यस (in the first line), there would be no need whatever to use the word वादिनो once again, if this word (वादिनो) had not been used in some distinctive sense, and thus I take the line to mean ‘even the gods envy him, (who is) *like him*.’ Similarly the word वादि in the first half of the 95th verse, meaning ‘like him,’ refers to the word सुव्वतो following it, and thus I take that half of the verse to mean ‘one who is tolerant like the earth (or) like the pillar (= इन्द्रकील),² (and) virtuous *like him*.’ Now the pronominal adjective वादि is, as Anderson says,³ ‘often frequently said of Buddha’s holy disciples (‘like him’) and even of Buddha himself.’ I therefore very strongly believe that in both these instances (as also in the next verse 96), this word clearly seems to have been used with a significance to mean that the ‘*Arahat*,’ of whom each verse in this section speaks,

1 The genitive case is used here as the word is governed by the verb ‘पिहयन्ति’.

2 Would it not be better to take इन्द्रकील as the name of the mountain ‘*Indra-kīla*’ (इन्द्रकील)?

3 Vide ‘Glossary to the Pali Reader,’ p. 111.

is '*like him*' i.e. like Buddha, but not the Buddha himself, whence the psychological inference is not far off that the Arahāt ideal was adopted into Buddhism, and adapted to suit its own system.

(5) Verse 97—This is rather a very difficult verse. Its superficial meaning is quite the reverse of the inner one.¹ It is one of those curious enigmas, which occur in Buddha's teaching. As it is, it means—'The best of men is the faithless, the ungrateful, the rebel (lit. 'hole-borer' or 'breach-maker'), who has given up all hope,' and when interpreted aright it means—'He is the best of men, who is free from credulity, who knows the uncreated (Nirvāṇa), has cut off all bonds, has done away with the (possible) occurrences (of re-birth), (and) has renounced desires.'² It appears that this verse was uttered by Buddha to some 30 recluses, who accused Sāriputta of the faults brought out in the literal translation (given above) of this verse because he requested his master not to preach to him but to them, as he (Sāriputta) had already known the truth by experience, whereas the others needed it on authority and therefore wanted it to be preached to them. This verse, which was Buddha's reply to that complaint, expresses with great skill the two ways in which he and the recluses looked upon Sāriputta's sturdy confidence. But to me, however, it seems that some of the recluses must have complained to Buddha *not* against Sāriputta, *but* possibly against the Jaina teachings, which they had heard preached here and there about them (or even against Mahāvīra himself, who was perhaps living at that time and preaching his religion not very far off), and which must have naturally savoured of heterodoxy to their parochial and uncompromising zeal, when Buddha perhaps uttered this verse in reply. I believe that

1 Vide 'Buddha's Way of Virtue' (pp. 90-91), and Prof. Dharmamanda Kosambi's Gujrati ed. of the *Dhammapada* (p. 134).

2 'Buddha's Way of Virtue', p. 90.

the master resorted to irony in order to present the case in both its aspects as looked on by himself and by those recluses. Or, such ironies of diction¹ (*Dirya dhvani*), as Mr. K. P. Jain says in his aforesaid article (p. 705), are common in the discourses of the *Tirthaṅkara*. Could therefore an echo of them in this particular section (i. e. '*Arahanta-ragga*') be the infallible effect of the law of the association of ideas? It may be further added that the word सन्निच्छिदं = 'one who has cut off his bonds is just the same as संलग्नस्योपहीनः ' already explained.

(6) Verse 99—'वीतराग'. This is another very common, popular and well-known name of the Jaina *Tirthaṅkara*s. It occurs in the list of their names enumerated by Hemacandra whereas neither he nor the *Buddhist* Amarasiṃha gives it among the names of Buddha, though no doubt it is equally applicable to him also. The head line 'श्री वीतरागाय नमः' is quite a commonplace of the Jaina literature, religious as well as secular, nay even of their everyday correspondence, while it is scarce (or very rare) in that of the Buddhists. I take it as a direct and open allusion to the highest Jaina ideal fraught at once with appreciation and admiration; and I believe that its use here leads us to the definite conclusion that by that time the Jaina ideal had already been adopted and assimilated into the Buddhistic system.

Another verse of the '*Dhammapada*', though not belonging to the 7th section, also calls for attention; and though it has already been once quoted (vide footnote 4), I shall give it here once again—

उसभं पवरं वीरं सहेसिं विजिवाविनं ।

अनीजं नद्धातकं बुद्धं तमहं ब्रूमि ब्राह्मणं ॥

The words उसभं² and वीर occurring in this verse seem to

1 Such irony of diction common in Indian religious and secular literature and the rhetorical term for it is '*Virodhābhāsa*'

2 'उसभ' (*Usabha*) is the *Pāli-Prākṛt* form of the Skt. ऋषभ (*Rṣabha*).

me very significant. The commentator Buddhaghosa, however, explains 'उसभ' as 'अच्छमित्तो न उसभसदिसताय उसभ' (i.e. 'a bull, being like a bull on account of the unarrested activity'—of course, spritual activity), and वीर as 'विरियस्सत्तिया वीर' (i.e. 'a hero possessed of power or strength'—spiritual power or strength). These words, it must be said, occur not seldom in the Buddhist writings, nor are they in less frequent evidence in the Brāhmanical writings from the Vedas downwards¹ and as such they seem to be the common property as much of the Brāhmanical thought and usage as of the eclectic Buddhism. Yet I cannot help perceiving in these words the personal names *Rṣabha* (ऋषभ) and *Vīra* (वीर), which the two Jaina *Tīrthaṅkaras*, the first and the last respectively bore. To me it is clear that the *Tīrthaṅkaras* or the ideal personages of Jainism, viz. *Rṣabha Deva* (also known as *Adinātha*) and *Mahāvīra*² (also known as *Vardhamāna*) are mentioned in this verse by their very personal names, who are also said to be respectively a 'महर्षि' (=skt. महर्षि) 'great sage', and 'विजिताविन्' 'victorious, or a

(The Avestan word '*aiśhan*' means 'male; a man; a bull; brave; valiant' &c., and also the Avestan word '*Vīra*' means 'a man; a manly person; a hero' &c. So both these words are very ancient Indo-Iranian words. See K. E. Kanga's 'Avesta Dictionary').

1 The Vedic or Brāhmanic ring heard in these words is further emphasized and amplified by the two others occurring in the same verse, viz. महर्षि, (Skt. महर्षि) and नद्धातक (Skt. स्नातक), the former of which bespeaks an ideal and the latter a necessary and actual stage in the Brāhmaṇa's life. It is also interesting to note that Buddha himself is called a नद्धातक though, no doubt, in the metaphorical sense of the word.

2 I take the word 'पवर' (Skt. 'प्रवर') as an adjective qualifying the noun वीर, and the two thus taken together mean 'महावीर' for according to Buddhaghosa 'उत्तमं न पवरं' (i. e. the word 'पवर' means 'उत्तम' best, excellent, pre-eminent &c.), and therefore it is synonymous with 'महा' (great, excellent, &c.), and so I interpret 'पवरं वीर' as महावीर.

conqueror', and along with them is mentioned also the Buddha who is said to be 'अजे' or 'free from lust or desires', and 'नष्टातक' or 'one who has washed away the sin',—and all of these are called the ideal Brāhmaṇas or the fulfilment of the Brāhmaṇa ideal, as laid down or defined by the Buddha. Or, in other words, the purport of this verse seems to be that the ideal Brāhmaṇa need not be looked for only within the pale of the Vedic religion (or Brāhmaṇism), inasmuch as the Jaina *Tīrthaṅkaras* (such as Ṛṣabhadeva and Mahāvīra,) as well as the Buddha himself are undoubtedly ideal Brāhmaṇas, and the said ideal is also amply fulfilled in them, inspite of the fact that none of these subscribed to the established faith of the Brāhmaṇas. According to Buddha it was neither the fact of the lineage, nor of caste (v. 393), nor of birth (v. 396), nor of the outward appearance with matted locks (vs. 393-394), or vesture of skins (v. 394) that decided the real Brāhmaṇa, but it was the one highest fact of one being 'सर्वबोधिबो-
जान (v. 423) i. e. 'perfect with all perfection',¹ whosoever he be, and whatsoever his lineage, caste, birth or external look; and if we remember that Buddha was a seceder from the religion of the Brāhmaṇas, it appears but natural and reasonable that, when he identified himself with the real and ideal Brāhmaṇa (as is quite apparent from this verse), he would also with an equal and sympathetic grace identify other great seceders from the same, like Ṛṣabha-deva and Mahāvīra, with the same ideal, especially because both his creed and theirs were offshoots alike of the same parental stock.

M. GOVIND PAI

1 As detailed in the 26th and last section (*Brāhmaṇa-Vagga*) of the '*Dhammapada*.'

The Development of Buddhist Art in South India

II

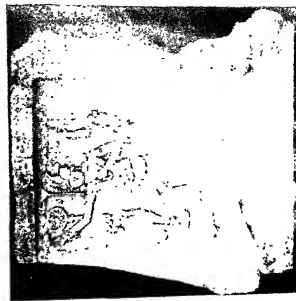
AMARĀVATĪ

Ornamental Representation

The art of Amarāvati is the expression of an age of experimentation in the ever changing history of evolutionary process. In ornamentation lies its life. The artist simply revelled to decorate every available space by the touch of his masterful chisel (Plate I). Some vestige of the earlier motifs and patterns may still persist at early Amarāvati, but their very desultory appearance points to a struggling and precarious existence. Late Amarāvati discards these surviving links almost completely on the one hand and conceives novel indigenous forms on the other, in response to new ideas and inspiration from abroad. These foreign contributions, she welcomed in a perfectly friendly spirit, absorbed them and welded the old and the new in a wonderful synthesis. The newly created designs were fully utilised and developed later on by the Gupta artists of Mathurā and Sārnāth.

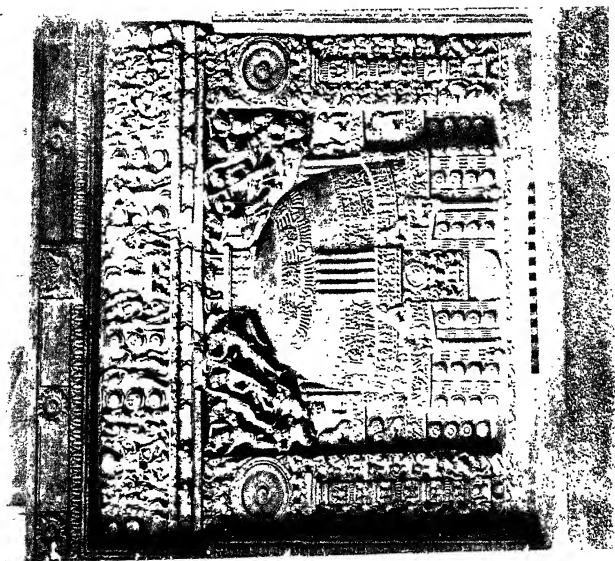
Old and New Motifs.—The rail-pattern survives in some of the older sculptures, but the fanciful abstract ornaments of Bhārhut e.g. the lotus creeper growing forth Jack fruits and jewellery, are replaced by virile and realistic motifs. The spirit of the artist of the 2nd century B.C. undergoes a radical change four centuries later and he no longer associates whatever was dear, pleasant or beautiful to him, with the carvings executed. Likewise the pyramidal battlement design, which figured so prominently as a decorative device in the Bhārhut copings and in a lesser degree in the early Amarāvati slabs, completely disappears in the later period. The Caitya window design, of distinct wooden or bamboo origin, as is clearly indicated in the facade of the Lomash R̥ṣi cave, Bihar, is as yet in its infancy. But the tendency of gradual

PLATE II



Relief Slab, Jagatya-peta Sūpa
(near 1st century B. C.)

PLATE I



Casing slab, Amarāvati Sūpa ; late 2nd century A. D.
Madras Museum

I. H. Q., SEPTEMBER, 1927.

contraction of the inner curve and the upward thrust of the projecting ends which subsequently resulted in the typical ornamental motif with fully developed side wings at Ajantā in the 5th century, is very significant, thus paving the way for its ultimate transformation into a purely ornamental scroll in the mediæval period. The slabs and medallions are generally bordered by strings of lotus leaves dangling from a rope, running scroll patterns often sprinkled with animals or rows of rosettes fringed with bead mouldings. The beads as usual play a prominent part in framing the reliefs and enhancing the beauty of minor devices. The diagonal mat-work band carved on the lion-pillars and as borders of medallions containing human heads in the earlier schools which also appear on early parasols from Mathurā and Kārli¹ is more frequently employed for framing purposes here than the simple meander or fret. But purely geometrical patterns with their angularities and abruptness occupy a secondary place in the sculptures of Amarāvati. In both the periods, round and wavy lines in all their soft meandering grace predominate, a development which may be ascribed to the gradual absorption and assimilation of Hellenistic ideas and influences. Dr. Stella Kramrisch has pointed out that the Acanthus, which for the first time is introduced in India at Amarāvati, ever afterwards continues to be a favourite Indian ornamental motif and survives even to the present day in Ceylon. The magnificent central lotus blossoms in the rail pillars are generally embedded in extensive Acanthus leaves in the spandrels. Next to the lotus, the Acanthus plays the leading rôle in scroll design and the ingenuity of the artist in showing off the subtle play of light and shade by clever manipulation of the pliant leaves in all sorts of sinuous curls, within the loops, is simply marvellous. This dextrous use of the foliage was quickly adopted by the

artists.¹ But the close analogy between this pattern cropping up at Amarāvati and other places in a post-Hellenistic era and the rambling lotus stalk of the Bhārhut coping stones in a highly magnified and developed form, is in our humble opinion also not far fetched. In the original Hellenistic examples amoretti or little cupids are "represented on string courses, plinths or friezes as boyish figures carrying garlands, climbing, wrestling or performing on (Indian ?) musical instruments. In the intervening portions the old lotus flowers are again introduced, or the intervals are filled in with symbols, animals or birds."² The substitution of rushing women in the place of the Greek cupids in some of the Mathurā "Āyāgapatas" marks the initial step in the ultimate Indianisation of the ornament. At early Amarāvati fat little Gaṇas and mythical creatures are found to carry the garland, the intervals being occupied by half lotus rosettes. Late Amarāvati initiates further developments which alters the original character of this motive almost beyond recognition.³ The garland assumes a swelling and writhing shape, richly decorated with bands of rope and beads, rosettes etc., like the sinuous body of a huge rolling serpent. The little amoretti of Gāndhāra develop into grown-up men and women advancing with rapid but graceful steps (Plate I). The symbols losing their original significance fill up the gaps as mere decorative devices while a variety of scenes are depicted in small

1 "The decorative motif of garland bearing Erotes, already Indianised at Mathurā, and much more so by the time it reaches Amarāvati, is likewise, of Gāndhāra origin." (p. 62). "The coping bore a long wavy floral scroll, carried by men who are really Indianised analogues of the garland bearing Erotes of Gāndhāra, which found their way into India via Mathurā." (p. 70). Coomaraswamy—History of Indian and Indonesian Art.

2 Grunwedel—Buddhist Art in India, London, 1901, translated into English by Agnes Gibson and revised by James Burgess, p. 148.

3 Burgess—The Stūpas of Amarāvati and Jagayyapeta. pl. XX, No. 1.

medallions on the surface of the roll itself. The undulating curves of the flat thick set rolls of early Amarāvati are broader and more sweeping and less abrupt than the later patterns. But both issue out of the mouths of gaping Makaras. Also the earlier motifs are not upheld by magnificent tall adults in remarkably light and jovial vein but by squatting dwarfs and other grotesque figures apparently heaving under the pressing burden of the weighty mass.¹

Symbolical Representation

"In the omission of the figure of Buddha," remarks Dr. Coomaraswamy, "the early Buddhist art is truly Buddhist: for the rest it is an art about Buddhism rather than Buddhist art."² In the employment of the old symbols side by side with the Buddha images at Amarāvati, the innate conservatism of the Indian artists, who were reluctant to forsake conventions hallowed by tradition even when they become absolutely superfluous, glaringly manifests itself (Plate I, upper frieze).

Lotus Vase—M. Foucher and others are of opinion that the birth of Buddha was symbolised in different ways and manners. At Sāñci the lotus springs out of the gold vase in spreading foliages but the vase is found to have grown considerably in dimension at Amarāvati, occupying almost the entire surface of the panel, while flowers and buds are strewn over the remaining portion. But the most noteworthy fact is the total absence of the so-called Mahā-Māyā figure, either sitting or standing, and flanked by two elephants, from the Amarāvati reliefs. Although this group constantly and repeatedly appeared at Bhārhut, Bodh Gayā, Sāñci and Khandagiri, its complete omission from Amarāvati may weaken the theory of Foucher that it, instead of representing the "Gaja-Lakṣmī," signifies the nativity of the Blessed One.

¹ Ibid., pl. XXIX., No. 1.

² Coomaraswamy—*The Dance of Śiva*. London and New York, 1924. p. 48.

Thrones.—The raised altars of Bhārhut and Sāñci, of simple and severe design, develop into regular thrones and elaborately decorated chairs at Amarāvati, with additional soft and round cushions which Mr. Fergusson mistook to be “Drapas.” The empty thrones by themselves are seldom objects of worship—they are invariably placed under the shade of the Bodhi tree, a wheel or a fiery pillar, thereby indicating the enthralling episodes of the history of Buddhism and its royal preacher (Plate I, upper frieze right and left panels). Often the sacred foot-prints, the relic casket, or a miniature dagoba is placed on the seat. But the adoration of the hair, dress or other ornaments of Buddha so frequent at Bhārhut and Bodh-Gayā can be rarely seen. A small foot-stool carved with foot-marks is always kept beneath the throne denoting the present absence of the Buddha. (Plate I, at the foot of the edges of the frame, right and left). A curious and perhaps hitherto unnoticed fact may be mentioned in this connection. All the European savants, led by Mr. Vincent Smith, have maintained with one voice, that squatting on the floor is the favourite and only posture known to the Indians; consequently, the appearance of the Buddha in the Ajantā and Nāsik caves, seated in the European fashion, betray the adoption of foreign mannerism. But we venture to suggest that this particular way of representation is purely indigenous. Apart from the innumerable examples from the Amarāvati slabs, princes and other dignitaries sitting on chairs, the peculiar position of the foot-marks on the foot-stool obviously prove that the invisible Buddha was made to sit in the so-called “European fashion,” even from the days of Bhārhut, if not before, when canonical tradition stood in the way of portraying him in anthropomorphic form.

Dharmacakra.—This particular symbol occurs more frequently at Sāñci and Amarāvati than at Bhārhut. Moreover the elaborate richness of the types found at the former localities is naturally absent at the latter, where a large

wheel is simply stuck to a short pillar with scarcely any ornamentation or accessory figures of animals, Gandharvas or dwarfs supporting or adorning it (Plate I). A comparison between the *cakras* of Bhārhut and Amarāvati will at once establish their striking similarity, only the Trisūla of the latter, instead of pointing outwards from the felloe, has its points towards it.

Flaming Pillar.—The description of other favourite symbols recurring at Amarāvati e.g., the sacred Bodhi tree, the Śrīpādas, caityas etc. can be safely omitted, because there is nothing particular about them nor do they embody any remarkable deviation. The fiery pillars surmounted by Trisūlas are generally represented behind a throne or a seat, marked with spiral round lines and with tapering slabs as their back grounds, carved with shooting flames which seem to issue from the sides of the pillars themselves. This peculiar symbol is a distinct invention and contribution of Amarāvati to the amazing store of Buddhist symbolism. There is scarcely any trace of its existence in the earlier eras of Buddhist art. Mr. Burgess remarks in this connection : “The worship of the pillar surmounted by the Trisūla, a feature that is so unlike we know of in mythology, that were it not for the monks that seem to take so prominent part in this instance, and the frequent occurrence of this symbol, we might refuse to accept it as having had any connection with Buddhism and suppose that it was a representation of some cult prevalent among the Telugu tribes, before the advent of Buddhism among them. It is one of those obscure points to which as yet no allusion has been recognised in Buddhist literature.” Mr. Fergusson is of opinion that this pillar was the counterpart of the Agni-līṅga of Śiva which we find represented in the Brahmanical writings and the cave temples.¹ “The appearance of the great fiery līṅga” accord-

1 Fergusson and Burgess—The Cave Temples of India. p. 437. Arch. Surv. of W. India Report, vol. V, p. 25.

ing to the *Līṅga-Purāṇa* "takes place in the interval of creation to separate Viṣṇu and Bramhā. Upon the *līṅga* the monosyllabic *om* is visible."¹ Mr. Burgess apparently contradicts himself by assuming at another place that the Buddhist tried to represent the superiority of their theology, as this *Agni-līṅga* is the form in which according to *Brāhmaṇa* mythology, Śiva asserted his superiority to the other gods. We may conjecture that in all probability this symbol was inherited from the Vedic Fire-worshippers and typifies a truly Aryan practice.

Trisūla.—The *Trisūla* as it is found at Amarāvati consists of the circular disc, generally ornamented with a lotus or rosette in the middle and a decorated border, the three protruding members of the crescent—the two side ones being divided into three tips at the end and sometimes considerable side wings. At Sāñci the medallion rests upon a series of slabs with bent legs, touching the circle at the bottom. Another difference to be noted lies in the middle prong of the upper part being stunted and mounted with the shield symbol. But it is rather in decoration than in spirit that the northern and southern prototypes essentially differ. Although the real significance of this particular symbol has not been satisfactorily explained, "the occurrence of the shield, the *Trisūla*, *Svastika* etc., at the commencement and end of the earliest of the Junnār, Bhājā, Bedsā, Kudā, and Kārli cave inscriptions testifies to their ancient use as fortunate symbols. The later explanation of mystics and Paṇḍits are not necessarily of any authority."²

The Buddha Figure

Let us not enter into a discussion of the origin of the Buddha image as, we whole-heartedly subscribe to the views

¹ Introduction to Wilson's *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, p. lxviii; Fergusson—*The Tree and Serpent Worship*, London 1868, p. 208.

² Burgess—*The Stūpas of Amarāvati and Jagayyapeta*, p. 47.

expressed by M. Golobew¹ and Dr. Coomaraswamy. "The only possible conclusion is that the Buddha figure, must have been produced simultaneously, probably in the middle of or near the beginning of the 1st century A.D. in Gandhāra and in Mathurā in response to a demand created by the internal development of Buddhism which was common ground in both areas, in each case by local craftsmen, working in the local tradition."² The Buddha images of Amarāvati, though not as numerous as that of Gandhāra, far out-number in variety those of Mathurā. But Amarāvati failed to create any type of Buddha like her northern and more fortunate contemporary. She only imitated the products of the Gandhāran School. The Hellenistic prototype might have penetrated into the eastern coast via Mathurā or it is quite probable that it was introduced from the North-western part of India to this region by the maritime route.

The sculptured reliefs seldom depict the Buddha solitary and contemplating. He is always found to be preaching or propounding moral and spiritual doctrines to the crowd of pious listeners or passionate devotees thronged around him. He is generally seated cross-legged on a raised platform and surrounded by a halo round the head, circular and unadorned but for the simple decoration of beads. The treatment of the hair or the *uṣṇīṣa*, which is not gathered up in a *corbylos* in keeping with the truly Hellenistic tradition, is rendered in the indigenous way, but the peculiar development of Mathurā in its absence of locks and conch-shell like *Uṣṇīṣa* (e.g. the *Katrā* and *Aniwar* specimens) did not find favour with the Amarāvati artists. The hair is arranged in the right Indian fashion, with the curve of the spiralic locks from the right to the left, also the fringe of the hair on the brow is composed of double curves, in strict accordance with the convention set up by the so called *Yakṣa* figures on the

1 Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1923, p. 452.

2 Coomaraswamy—Hist. of Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 60.

Bodh-Gaya railing, and quite unlike the unbroken semi-circular sweep of Mathurā. The face is generally very heavy and square and the features too are neither sharp nor clear cut. The down cast droop of the eye-lids of the later Indian examples has not yet developed into a regular feature. The eyes are on the contrary, fully open with the gaze fixed on the tip of the nose. The fleshy lips are as a rule extended in an eternal smile. The flat broad chest do not offer any affinity to the special Mathurā modelling. The hand-poses are very simple and limited at Amarāvati—they are confined only to the Dharmacakra and Abhaya Mudrās. Strangely enough, even in a relief which very probably represents the temptation scene, the right hand instead of pointing downwards in the usual Bhūmi-sparśa Mudrā, is uplifted as if addressing the decoying damsels of Māra.¹ The Dhyānī Mudrā is also conspicuous by its absence. While the right hand is always indicative of the particular pose, the left is either raised to hold up them of the garment or is allowed to rest on the lap. The shoulder is generally left bare, according to canonical injunctions, but sometimes the tunic covers both the shoulders, in imitation of the Hellenistic images. But the Gandhāra technique is most pronounced in the treatment of the heavy drapery, with clearly marked folds and a distinct volume of its own. The massive folds of the dress stand in the way of the contours of the body underneath being felt or visible, in opposing contrast to the rendering of the Kātrā type.

Most of the figures are short and stunted, and the influence of the Gandhāra style is manifested in the extremely soft and flabby flesh. But the heavy and flat treatment of the voluminous mass is also reminiscent of the Kuṣāna technique of the Mathurā School. The peculiar expression of the mouth, with the sensuous smile playing on lips; the wide open gaze of the eyes combined with the corpulent body, endows the

1 William Cohn—Indische Plastik, Berlin, 1923, pl. 17.

Buddha figure with an air of languidity and worldiness, conscious of the enervating charm of his voluptuous entourage. The calm composure of the Gandhāra images, the tense absorption of the Anurādhāpura type, and the transcendental bliss of the classical Sārnāth specimen, is singularly lacking in these examples. The Buddha figure of Amarāvati cannot boast of any artistic or technical merit, they are simply decorative. It is strange indeed, that the artist of Amarāvati who attained such magnificent height in the creation of ordinary human being, failed utterly in the sublime conception and delineation of his Master, with any amount of technical proficiency.

The treatment noticed above with regard to the reliefs; is also applicable to the standing marble statues in the round. They are not so short and stunted in appearance, but similar flatness and heaviness of composition is evident. The clumsy handling of the feet with swollen soles, lingered up till the heyday of the best Gupta tradition. The right shoulder is uncovered, the right hand is always in the Abahaya pose, while the left elbow is uplifted supporting the fringe of the drapery. The straight hanging stereotyped folds of the heavy costume, forms a sort of thick opaque wall before the body, completely obscuring it from the view. This particular device lends additional weight to the erect and stiff posture, which combined with the full and by no means slender feature, make the figures benign and severe in countenance. The standing types have the austere dignity of a stern aristocratic Roman Senator in his flowing Toga, in refreshing contrast to the unimpressive demeanour of the relief carvings.¹

The bronze statuettes of the Buddha (standing) discovered recently by Mr. Alexander Rea, betray the same peculiarities

1 Arch. Survey, Annual Report, 1905-06, pl. LL.

Burgess—The Stupas of Amarāvati and Jagayyapeta. Stūpas. pl. LII, 1 & 2,

noted above, only the limbs are more refined and delicate. The facial type is novel in some respects with its flat nose, heavy chin and tightly compressed thick lips. The heads, which are sometimes disproportionately larger than the rest of the body, dwarf the statuettes still more, like many of the Gandhāra prototypes. The solid, broad and cubical aspect of the marble statues is missing, and in most cases the drapery is rendered as transparent and without folds thus allowing a free play of light and shade on the gentle undulations of the graceful body, recalling to the mind the famous Sultanganj image. The hand poses too are of a larger variety. In Gandhāra, the Buddha is portrayed as a Guru or preceptor, at Mathurā he assumes the garb of a local Yogin, while Amarāvati transforms him into a preaching monk or a public orator.¹

Foreign Influence

The marbles of Amarāvati are of enormous importance for their own inherent attributes, but the significance is further enhanced by the fact that they represent the clash of two entirely different traditions—one exotic and imported, another local and indigenous and embody the inevitable synthesis of cordial and harmonious reciprocal actions. The question as to how the classical influence came to leave its indelible impress upon the products of so remote a region,

1 Archæological Survey Annual Report, 1908-09, pl. XXVIII.

In connection with the Buddha images of Amarāvati and early Ceylon, Dr. Coomarswamy observes "To all those works we may fairly assign the honoured name of the primitives, since their massive forms and austere outlines are immediately determined by their moral grandeur of thesis and the suppressed emotion of its realization, without any intrusion of individuality and parade of skill. The fullness of the modelling expresses a high degree of vitality, but does not yet show conscious elegance and suavity of Gupta type." *Dance of Śiva*, p. 51.

is still undecided. It is quite probable, as it has been already hinted before, that it reached this spot overland via Mathurā; for Mathurā was the distributing centre of Hellenistic art and culture for India. On the other hand the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* and the *Geography of Ptolemy*, works which are almost contemporary with the Stūpa of Amarāvati, amply testify to the existence of a brisk maritime and commercial activity along the coasts of India in the opening centuries of the Christian era. Perhaps it will not be impertinent to infer, that some artists from Gandhāra trained in the foreign school took the ship at Barbaricum, at the mouth of the Indus, landed at one of the flourishing harbours of Kalinga and then proceeded inland to supplement the efforts of the local craftsmen, at the request of the local chiefs. In those days the western ports of India were in direct touch with the Roman world and it would be too natural to presume that fresh waves from the Empire of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius reached its ancient shores. No one can honestly deny the extraneous element in the art of Amarāvati, but how far and in what way it succeeded in moulding the language and character of the plastic conception it remains to be determined. "The keynote of Mr. Vincent Smith's criticism appears to be that the Indian art, throughout the ages, draws its inspiration mainly from foreign sources. This note is first sounded in connection with the sculptures of Bhārhut and Sānchi it is again struck when he comes to deal with the Amarāvati school. Perhaps he has recognised the close relationship between the style of Sānchi and that of Amarāvati, and having attributed the former to Alexandria has found himself compelled to seek a somewhat similar explanation for the latter."¹

Certainly, now we are in a position to judge the theory of Mr. Smith in the light of above investigations. The assertion that the reliefs of Bhārhut and Sānchi are mainly

1 Banerjee—Hellenism in Ancient India, Calcutta, 1920, p. 65.

inspired by foreign models, although not of immediate concern, should be objected to in the face of their glaring indigenous character. But this robust optimism fails us, when we come to deal with Amarāvati or one of the three schools of Mathurā, which betray strongly Hellenistic influence. At Amarāvati the introduction and utilisation of some ornamental motifs (e.g. the Acanthus),¹ some fantastic animal forms, the realistic modelling of the human body to a certain extent and the Buddha prototype from Gandhāra, can be easily detected. But the few ornamental details are completely lost in the brilliant decorative luxuriance illuminating each and every stone. Again as already perceived, the roll-ornament has been so thoroughly Indianised in character, that it is very difficult to trace the descent from its original progenitor. Modelling of the figures, though reminiscent of Hellenistic realism, is rendered distinctly Indian in its summary and generalised treatment. The graceful movements and the admirable poses, again, do not savour of any foreign contamination. Neither can anybody discover, by any amount of straining the working of any extraneous force in the surface treatment and other peculiar techniques, except certain items in the composition already noticed.² Though the origin of the Buddha type is still shrouded in

1 Fergusson is of opinion that the classical tendency is exhibited more than any details at Amarāvati by the waterleaf, which is an ornament of the classical artists. He through a mistranslation of Hiuen-tsang finds evidence of Hellenistic influence, which suggests a comparison of Amarāvati with the palaces of Tāhīā (Bactria)—*Hist. Ind. Arch.* 1899, p. 103; *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 157.

2 "Two points are outstanding: the method of setting out incidents of the fable is of Mathurā-Gandhāra kind rather than Sānchi, and although the descent from the Early School is apparent, a new spirit is manifest which is akin to and is in fact the forerunner of the great works of the Gupta and Mediæval periods."—Codrington—*Ancient India*, vol. I, p. 36.

controversy, still it must be admitted that the Amarāvati model is more akin to the Gandhāra type than the Mathurā one. But even these images are conspicuously Indianised in the coiffure, the facial features and often in the convention of dressing.

So the apparent hollowness of the contention of Mr. Smith becomes obvious, if we are ready to accept the truth of the above conclusions. That the art of Amarāvati is predominantly Indian in spirit and execution goes without saying. Nothing can be more reasonable than the just observations of Sir John Marshall, who says, "The reliefs of Amarāvati indeed appear to be as truly Indian in style as those of Bhārhut and Ellora. They followed as a natural sequence on the Mauryan art, when that art was finding expression in more conventionalised forms. They have inherited certain motifs and types which filtered from the North-west but these elements have been completely absorbed and assimilated without materially influencing the indigenous character of the sculptures." Every people and every culture however confident of its own possibilities, must cultivate a receptive mentality in order to ensure its continued vitality. The Indians and their ancient civilization are still to be reckoned as a world force, while the Greeks and Romans, from whom they once borrowed and so freely, are long dead and gone and their achievements are a glorious chapter of the past.¹

1 Even Mr. Grundwedel, whose leaning towards Gandhāra and West Asiatic art is well known, had been forced to admit that, "Notwithstanding, the Indian element preponderates: the foreign elements are overpowered by the Indian style and serve only here and there as means to an end It may be said that the best reliefs of Amarāvati are also the best Indian sculptures."—*Buddhist Art in India*, p. 157.

Dr. Banerjee in his "Hellenism in Ancient India" pp. 60-70 fully discusses the extent of foreign influence upon Indian art.

JAGAYYAPETA

Architecture and Sculpture

The remains of the Jagayyapeta stūpa are so scanty that it is none too easy task to place them in their proper perspective in the evolution of the Buddhist art in the South. However judging from the few materials at hand, they can be safely ascribed to the first century B.C. if not earlier.

The actual existence of the peculiar free standing stelae round the stūpa, which are represented in the slabs of Amarāvati (Plate, I) was confirmed by the excavation at Jagayyapeta, where only the lower portions of them have been discovered. "The first impression regarding these pillars is that they formed one of those groups supporting a roof and forming a large hall of which we have several examples in Ceylon. That they did form a large Mandapa of some sort, there can be little doubt: a place of assembly for visitors to the stūpa."¹

The other finds at the locality are the pilasters which closely resemble those of the Western caves and early Amarāvati. The decoration of the vase and the bell at either end of the shaft is mainly confined to bands of lotus leaf and the bead and reel patterns, intersecting the narrow shallow flutes in the identical manner. But there is some remarkable deviation in proportion in general from the early types of Amarāvati. The pot at the bottom is more bulging in shape and the so-called bell capital which assumes a pudding form with the curvature of the outline and the rim of the neck more emphasised in conformity with the examples in the Gautamiputra cave, Nāsik. But the series of inverted steps, intervening between the capital and animal superstructure, so characteristic of the Western Caves, are strangely missing. But the vital difference is recognised in the shafts, instead of

1 Burgess—The Stūpas of Amarāvati and Jagayyapeta, p. 108.

being merely plain or decorated with lotus rosettes, being often carved with figures of Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs in alto relievo following the practice obtaining at Bhārhut, Bodh Gayā, and Mathurā. As far as it can be discerned from photographic plates, the edges of the pilasters are not chamfered off in imitation of the above, but simply plain and without any rosette embellishments. Following the footsteps of Bhārhut, the figures are invariably placed on a Makara, a sea monster or other hybrid creatures. The leg-poses of the demi-gods have been strictly preserved without any alteration, but the Anjali Mudrā of the hands as well as the favourite association of the tree with the female figures are sadly missing. The statues lack the calm dignity of the Bhārhut figures and are wanting in proportion too. They are, as a rule, very short and stunted in appearance. The women possess slim waists, unduly exaggerated breasts and heavy faces set with large eyes, thick lips and small chins.

In sharp contrast to late Amarāvati, all the women of the pilasters as well as of the relief slabs, are regularly clothed and a few of them hold the costume ends in their hands like the Mathurā Yakṣiṇīs. A striking similarity exists between the reliefs of Jagayyapeta, Bhārhut, and the paintings of cave X, Ajantā, in the arrangement of the drapery and the ornaments e.g. the large ear-rings, broad necklaces and specially the enormous head-dresses. The clothing is far reduced in extension, and though meant to be transparent, is usually gathered up round the loins.

By virtue of the peculiar treatment and composition, the few slabs of Jagayyapeta at once form a unique and important class by themselves in the domain of Indian art (Plate II). The relief treatment is as economical and restrained as possible. The figures are very sparsely placed without any sort of mutual contact or overlapping; so that the impression of a crowd predominating at Amarāvati, is entirely absent. A sense of ample space is sought to be created by the figures and objects, few and far between as they are. The flatness

of the surface is often relieved and atmospheric depth introduced by means of trees and architecture, though the proportion between the human figures and the buildings is by no means accurate. "The sculptures of Jagayyapeta," opines Dr. Stella Kramrisch, "resemble the paintings of cave IX, Ajantā, in their decorative flatness and unscientific illusionism."

The chief actor in the scene assumes tremendous exaggeration of form but almost all the figures, whether human or animal, are made to stand on cushions, a peculiar convention. The vigorous movement of the Amarāvati sculptures and their emotional outburst is very successfully curbed here. The postures are all erect, straight and stiff like Bhārhut, and all the human beings are found to be standing. But the graceful slimness and slenderness of the Amarāvati figures pales into insignificance beside that of Jagayyapeta. The figures are so intensely elongated and attenuated as to reach the breaking point. The absence of any indication of modelling proper makes the treatment appear almost absolutely linear, the angularity of which is emphasized by the lack of round and flowing curves, and further enhanced by the sharp and projecting outlines of the body as well as the scarfs. It is sure enough that these peculiarities are stamped with the genius of an artist different from the school of Amarāvati. But there is one feature common to both viz. that, discarding the tradition of representing the faces in full frontal view, prevailing at the northern schools, they are rendered in three-quarters profile. Although some few sculptures of Bhājā, and the Jain Āyāgapatas of Mathurā may be said to approach to a large extent as regards the remarkable elongation of forms, still the extremely light and fragile bodies, the absolutely linear treatment, and the exceedingly flat reliefs of Jagayyapeta stand unrivalled in Indian plastic composition. They are amazingly Egyptian in spirit and conception.

Conclusion

So far we have been analysing and discovering the striking elements which presented before our vision and appealed to our senses. Now let us have a brief survey of our findings. We may venture to say that the free standing enigmatical columns round the dagoba both at Amarāvati and Jagayyapeta, the total absence of the towering gateways and the system of terracing constitute the principal difference between the stūpas of the northern and southern India. No material divergence can be recognised regarding the architectonic motifs; the identical forms of pillars and pilasters invariably recur throughout the length and breadth of the land, testifying to the common bond in the realm of plastic art. The employment of identical symbolism, from the Himālayas in the north to the far off Ceylon in the extreme south, is an eloquent proof of this indissoluble connection. But in the wonderful display of the decorative instinct Amarāvati surpasses her contemporaries as well as her predecessors, discarding old ornamental patterns and giving birth to beautiful new ones. This marvellous instinct is the peculiar heritage of the Indian soil, blossoming from the dawn of artistic endeavour and lingering up to the age of decadence. But it is to her eternal credit, that the delicate petals of Amarāvati have rivalled the flowers of other ages and climes in elegant beauty and radiant bloom. She also proceeded to adjust ingeniously the arrangement of human costume in this decorative scheme; and the ornamentation of the apparel always associated with late Mediæval sculptures, owes its origin to Amarāvati. But it is only when we come to deal with the technique and treatment that the excellent vision and remarkable individuality of the Amarāvati artist fully unfold themselves. The genuine creative faculty of the artist is revealed in the novel sense of spacing, balance and equipoise of composition, the harmonious blending of colour, the intimate touch between the figures and the all-embracing

movement of the extremely supple and rythmical bodies, throbbing with intense emotion. Amarāvati also did not shrink from accepting what the foreigners had to offer, but she expressed the ideas, thus enriched, in a language peculiarly her own.

The joyous note pervading the marbles of Amarāvati is at once most significant and arresting. It is similarly struck at Mathurā, where every human face is lit up with a radiant smile, and every eye twinkles with the intoxication of pleasure. The same jovial spirit is reflected in the frolicsome mirth of the later Chinese ceramic wares. The fair damsels of Amarāvati, again, like their northern contemporaries of Mathurā, anticipate the charming luscious nymphs of Bhubaneswar and Konarak in voluptuous beauty, alluring poses and inviting gracefulness. They are the sweetest productions of the artists' imagination. Indeed the sexual tinge, which heralded the dawn in the second century of the Christian era, coloured the whole atmosphere of the Mediæval schools of Orissa and Central India. The delightful dalliance of Amarāvati and Mathurā, so closely resembling in wanton gaiety the canvases of Watteau and Fragonard, reached its natural climax in the amorous abandon of Konārak and Khajurāha.

The enrapturing episodes are delineated with the utmost dramatic force through the harmony of songs and cadence of dances. The very actors seem to spring out of the frames into the space in the abundance of youthful vigour. It is an epic in stone of youth and its overflowing exuberance. The scenes abound with touching sweetness and human appeals. The secular flavour openly manifests itself through the thin veneer of relegiosity. Indeed the hieratic character of the earlier schools is so astonishingly absent, that one may naturally question the truly Buddhistic mentality of the artist of Amarāvati.

The ruins of Sankaram of Rāmatīrtham, in the Vizagapatam district of Madras, preserve types of architecture, which are rare in the other parts of India and probably belong-

ed to the period when Buddhism was waging its last battles against the rivals for its very existence on the southern soil;¹ while the few slabs of Jagayyapeta constitute a separate class by themselves by their novelty and uniqueness.

To conclude: the development of Buddhist art went on in the south smoothly and without any hitch, on the lines chalked out by the north, with a slight modification here and there. When it ultimately spent itself up in the continent, Ceylon which had probably started earlier took up the cue and continued the tradition for centuries to come. The characteristic tune of the south is sounded in her gushing spirit, and dynamic energy, typified in the heaving forms of the stūpas, in the rows of mysterious pillars cropping up from the ground, in the rolling and undulating curve of the parapets or moonstones and in the impetuous force of the throngs swayed by the urge of passionate desire. This marvellous sense of movement and the utmost refinement and delicacy of the elongated figures were inherited later by the remarkable sculptures of Māmallapuram and ever afterwards persisted to be features of Southern Art—whether Hindu or Buddhist. Along with this, a delightful sensuous charm lit up the countenance of the human beings and divinities while a spirit of unrestrained freedom and enjoyment influences all their actions. The north is too often right and astute, the south perfectly unabsorbed and playful.

DEVAPRASAD GHOSH

1 Rea—Buddhist Monasteries on the Gurubhaktakondo of Durgā-kondā Hills at Rāmatīrtham; A. S. I., A. R., 1910-11.

Rea—A Buddhist Monastery on the Sankaram Hills; A. S. I., A. R., 1907-08.

Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India

(Translated from the German version of A. Schiefner)

II

THE TIME OF KING AJĀTAŚATRU

At the time when the words of the fully enlightened teacher were put together for the first time, the gods praised it in the world of men, happiness and welfare prevailed everywhere, and gods and men lived in peace. King Kṣemadarśin,¹ who was also called Ajātaśatru augmented his merit by virtue of his character, and brought under his subjection without fighting the five cities with the exception of the Vṛjīs. When the Tathāgata and the model pair alone with 168,000 arhats passed away peacefully and when also Mahākāśyapa disappeared from existence, all men became sorrowful. The bhikṣus, who had seen the face of the Teacher, simple people who grieved that they had not through lack of diligence attained distinction while Buddha was still living, applied themselves energetically to the study of the law ; so also did those who carried on the sacred teaching. The young bhikṣus who had not seen the face of the Teacher thought that on that account they would not have sufficient strength to instruct personally, unless they devoted themselves to the teaching, roamed about and directed their whole energy to virtue. Therefore the number of those who attained the four fruits considerably increased every day. As now from time to time the venerable Ānanda handed down instructions in the teaching to the four groups (of disciples), those who comprehended the *Tripitaka* and delivered the teaching together with all who entered on the priestly office lived in purity ; the Teacher gave the teacher's office to Mahākāśyapa, who however made it over to the venerable Ānanda of the greatest purity. Kings and other householders, kings whose virtue it is difficult to measure, were filled with sadness at the reflection that the Teacher no longer lived within their field of vision and considered that they had seen earlier the excellent Teacher of the world but now saw his disciples and the group of their disciples. Hence they came to know the excellence of the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha, showed them veneration and respect, and devoted themselves to virtue ; there was no division or anything of the kind, and in this way the world lived in virtue for 40 years.

After the lapse of 15 years since the venerable Ānanda exercised the Teachership, the youth Kanakavarṇa attained Arhatship ; his history has been described in the *Kanakavarṇāvadāna*. At that time the king Ajātaśatru thought the venerable Ānanda to be a Śrāvaka equal to the Buddha since he had fixed one Kanakavarṇa in the Arhat-

ship easily and without hindrance, and the king provided the venerable Ānanda along with 5000 bhikṣus with every requisite through five years. At this time there came to Magadha from the town of Kimmilamala in the south Bharadvāja of the line of Jambhala who was greatly skilled in magical arts, and he began to contend with the bhikṣus in transformation. He produced by magic in the presence of the king and other persons four mountains of gold, silver, crystal and Lazuli stone, four jewelled pleasure-groves on each mountain, in each pleasure-grove four lotus-ponds which he filled with diverse kinds of birds; but the venerable Ānanda magically produced many wild and uncontrollable elephants who ate up the lotuses and trampled the ponds; then he sent forth a strong wind which threw down the trees; a shower of rain with thunderbolts destroyed the hedges and mountains without leaving any trace. Thereafter the venerable Ānanda showed 500 bodily forms of which some gave light out of themselves, others rain; some performed the four movements in the air, others let the fire flame from above and the water stream from below, and after they had shown these and other transformations, he drew them up again within himself. He delivered the teaching repeatedly in the course of seven days to Bharadvāja related to Jambhala and to other groups of men who became believers (in the religion). He then initiated Bharadvāja at the head of 500 brāhmaṇas and other 80,000 men into the truth. Thereafter at another time when the venerable Ānanda was dwelling at Jetavana, the householder Śaṇvāsika gave to the clergy a great five-yearly feast and at last through the instruction of the venerable priest he became gradually the supporter of the *Tripitaka* and from the first two steps of Arhathood he attained complete emancipation. When in this way Ānanda sooner or later had raised ten thousand bhikṣus to the Arahāt status, he betook himself to the middle of the Ganges flowing between two countries in order that the Licchavis of Vaiśālī and king Ajātaśatru might each obtain a portion of his bodily relics and there he created an island in the middle of the river when 500 ṛṣis entered into the priesthood. When the 500 bhikṣus collected there and he by his magic-power consecrated them in a single hour and placed them in Arhathood, they were called the five hundred midday or the mid-waterly priests. The most prominent of them is called the Great midday (Mahāmadhyāntika) or Great-midwaterly. When he had passed out of existence his corpse consumed itself by self-produced fire and dropped down just as a jewel-ball in two parts, which the waves carried to the two banks. The portion that was carried to the north was taken by the inhabitants of Vaiśālī, and that to the south was taken by Ajātaśatru; and in each of the countries was erected a caitya (grave-monument). Ānanda carried on the teachership for 40 years; a year after him, king Ajātaśatru also died. In a trice he was reborn in Hell, from there he passed away (lit. separated himself) and was reborn among the gods, and thereafter he heard the teaching from Śaṇvāsika and attained the grade of a Srota-āpanna.

The first section, the time of king Ajātaśatru.

The Authorship of Nighaṇṭu

In Nighaṇṭu a collection of words from the Vedas has been made, arranged in some of its chapters as groups of synonyms, and in some others, as Yāska tells us, in the order of regions to which the objects or deities denoted by them belong. The Nirukta of Yāska is an attempt to suggest the exegesis of a number of these words, to confirm which verses of the Veda, in which these words occur, are quoted.

Was the Nighaṇṭu compiled by Yāska or did it exist before him? This question has been suggesting itself to many a research student of ancient Sanskrit literature. Madhusūdana assigns the compilation of Nighaṇṭu to Yāska,¹ for which he has been taken severely to task by Satyavrata Sāmaśramī.² Svāmī Dayānanda, the founder of the Ārya Samāja, holds that the authorship of Nighaṇṭu is as much Yāska's work as the authorship of Nirukta.³

The real key to a solution of this problem can be only the evidence which Nighaṇṭu, Nirukta, or other works which notice these two treatises can provide on this point. The strongest point of Satyavrata is what he regards to be a dubious exposition by Yāska of the word 'bīlma' which occurs in Nirukta 1, 19 and which Yāska interprets alternately as 'bhīlma' or 'bhāsanam.' Satyavrata objects first to the fact of Yāska's own explanation of a word employed by himself.⁴ The use of the word 'vā' i.e. 'or' in the explanation makes him suspicious of a doubt in the mind of Yāska as to the real significance of the word he is interpreting.⁵ If the word were his, he should have given, thinks Satyavrata, a single interpretation which, on that account, should have been definite, and therefore indubious explanation of it. That the explanation oscillates between two alternate interpretations is an evidence, in the eyes of Satyavrata, of the vacillating

1 निघण्टुसंज्ञकः पञ्चाध्यायात्मको यस्यो भगवता यास्कैर्नैव कृतः ।—प्रस्थानभेदः ।

2 निरुक्तालोचनम्, p. 291.

3 निरुक्तं यास्कमुनिकृतं निघण्टुसहितं चतुर्थं वेदाङ्गं सन्तव्यम् ।—ऋग्वेदादिभाष्यभूमिका, p. 299.

4 नहि दुर्बलं शब्दं प्रयुज्य तद्व्याख्यानाय प्रवर्तते कश्चित् ।—निरुक्तालोचनम्, p. 19.

5 यदस्य विग्रहशब्दस्य भिन्नमिति प्रतिशब्दमुक्ताप्यर्थान्तरं वदति भासनमिति वेति संशयमपि ध्वनयति ।
—निरुक्तालोचनम्, p. 19.

mentality of Yāska. The word and therefore the sentence containing it is, says Satyavrata, not his, but of some previous writer from whose writing he is making a quotation. Who that writer was does not at present concern Sāmaśramī.

Now in this very sentence it is stated,—‘The seers were perceivers of Dharma. They, by means of *Upadeśa*, transmitted the *Mantras* to those who came after them. The latter, fighting shy of *Upadeśa*, compiled for the sake of ‘bilma’ this book, the Veda and its *aṅgas*. *Bilma* is either breaking or throwing light on.’¹

The reference, in this passage, of the words *imaṃ grantham* which we have translated as ‘this book’ is taken by expositors to be to Nighaṇṭu. If this be so, Nighaṇṭu should be the compilation of an author or authors who preceded not only Yāska but also the writer of the passage we have translated, which, according to Satyavrata, is, because of what appears to him to be a dubious explanation of the word ‘bilma’, given at its end by Yāska, a reproduction from some older work.

At a later page² he would take exception to the use by Yāska of words derived from the verb *samāmnū* with reference to a book under compilation in his time. This is another reason for him to hold that Nighaṇṭu is a much, perhaps centuries, older classic.

Before examining the position of Satyavrata, let us see if there are any other passages in Nirukta which give a clue to the authorship of Nighaṇṭu. The very first sentence with which Yāska introduces his exegetics mentions Nighaṇṭu which he calls ‘Samāmnāya.’ The significant words of that passage translated naturally stand:—‘The Nighaṇṭu has been compiled. It (i.e. the terms collected in it) is to be expounded’ (Nirukta 1, 1).³ A reader, who has not studied the book further, spontaneously gets the impression that the writer who is undertaking to expound Nighaṇṭu, has himself compiled it. The verb *samāmnātāḥ* meaning ‘compiled’ used here is the same, an inflexional form of which *Sāmāmnāsīṣuḥ* is used above (Nirukta 1, 19) in relation to its object *imaṃ grantham* (this book).

The evidence of this passage is, however, not conclusive. After

1 स्रजान्तवर्माण ऋषयो बभूवुः तैत्तिरीयोऽसाक्षात्कृतधर्मस्य उपदेशेन सन्तान् संप्रादुः । उपदेशाय ग्लायन्तोऽवरे विन्यायहृष्यावेमं ययं समाक्षासिषुः, वेदाङ्गानि च । विन्यां भिन्नं भासनमिति वा । निरु., १, २०, १.

2 अद्ययुगीयेन कृतस्य ग्रन्थस्य कार्यं भवेत् समाक्षायलम् ।—निरुक्तालोचनम्, p. 22.

3 समाक्षायः समाक्षातः स व्याख्यातव्यः । निरु., १, १.

the verb 'has been compiled' may be supplied the words 'by writers preceding me' instead of, as we assume, the words 'by me,' though the latter would be a more natural presumption.

A form of the same verb is again used in Nirukta VII, 13, 10, where it is unmistakably in the first person—*saṃūṃne*, meaning 'I compile.' The writer after discussing the propriety of including in a compilation of the names of *devatās*, words used as adjuncts to their principal designations which, says Yāska, others, in contradistinction with his own method, do so include,¹ concludes by deciding that 'he will admit into his compilation only the most popular names'.² The question arises what is *his* compilation. Not surely Nirukta, for that is no compilation of names. The compilation referred to can be no other than Nighaṇṭu, in which (ch. V) we find the rule enunciated by Yāska followed to the letter. All secondary appellations used only as adjuncts, a few of which are pointed out in Nirukta, VII, 13, 11, are rigidly excluded from the lists comprised in Nighaṇṭu (ch. V). Thus if there was any collection of names of *devatās* of the verses of the Vedas made by Yāska, it could not be other than Nighaṇṭu.

In several places, besides, Yāska says he will put in order the names of *Devatās*—*anukramiṣyāmaḥ* (Nirukta, VII, 14, 1; IX, 1, 1).³ Now in Nirukta which was an exposition of Nighaṇṭu he could not evolve a new order. The order was already determined in Nighaṇṭu. Durgācārya, a commentator on Nirukta, suggests that the prefix *anu* (in accordance with) in the word *anukramiṣyāmaḥ* should give the word the significance of 'following' instead of 'evolving' an order.⁴

That, however, is a strained interpretation. In Nirukta⁵ a form of the same verb, *anukrāntūh*, is used with reference to *devatās* that share with one another praises or oblations or both, and are otherwise mutually related. These *devatās* are enumerated in Nirukta independently of Nighaṇṭu. Here the order is evolved instead of a previously determined one being followed. In other passages too, the implication of the verb should be the same, i.e., the order of the

1 अथोत कर्मभिर्ह विद्वताः कौति.....तान्यथेके समासनन्ति । निरु., ७१३, ११, १२.

2 यत् संविज्ञानभूतं स्यात् प्राधान्यमुति तत्समाह । निरु., ७, १३, १०.

3 अथातो अनुक्रमिष्यामः । निरु., ८, १४, १. तान्यतोऽनुक्रमिष्यामः । निरु., ८, १, १.

4 अनु आनुपूर्व्येण यथासमाक्षात् क्रमिष्यामः । निरुक्ते दुर्गाचार्यवृत्ते १, १४, १ ।

5 इतीमा देवता अनुक्रान्ताः—निरु., ७, १३, ४.

devatās is determined by Yāska where he says 'We shall arrange' (VII, 14, 1 ; IX, 1, 1). This arrangement could not take place but in Nighaṇṭu, which therefore should have been compiled by him.

An objection may be raised against this inference on the ground of the futurity of the verb employed here, while in the opening passage of his expository treatise where he explicitly mentions the compilation of Nighaṇṭu, he has used a verb in the past tense, meaning that he has already compiled the book. How *will* he arrange a part of it now. The use of the verbs in these places appears to us to be loose, as is usual with writers even of today. The compilation of Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta may perhaps have proceeded side by side and then an introduction prefixed to Nirukta, wherein the writing of Nighaṇṭu may have been spoken of as something accomplished while that of Nirukta, which part was to come after the introduction may have been mentioned as a work which was yet in hand. No critic that knows his office will, we presume, press this, what he in mere fancy may regard as an inconsistency. Authors even of modern days are, as we have said, not very rigid in their use of tenses while speaking of their act of writing or compiling their books.

What we have adduced above, as the reader will see, is a positive evidence in favour of Yāska being the common author of Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta. Let us now turn to the passages which Sāmaśrami seizes as the basis of his assumption that Nighaṇṭu was written not only prior to Yāska's time, but also to the work of an author, of a word of whose writing Yāska hazards what seems to him to be an equivocal interpretation. That it is usual with Yāska to explain words used by himself will be apparent to even a cursory reader of his work. He in fact catches on words similar only in sound to those which, as occurring in the Veda, he is by the function he has set himself, legitimately called upon to expound. In Nirukta, III, 5, for instance, he translates *garta* as *śmaśāna* i.e. crematory. Now *śmaśāna* is his own word, and he explains the meaning not only of this word, but also of *śarīra* and *śmaśru* and *loma* which by chance come successively in his own explanation of one word after another.¹ Alternate meanings of self-same words are no novel phenomenon in Yāska's exegesis of *bilma*. A word may bear more than one import and the conjunction 'or' may even in English

1. अस्मानसच्चयोऽपि मर्त्तं उच्यते।...शरीरं श्रूयते; श्रूयतेर्वा। अस्मल्लोम...। लोमं लुनातेर्वा लीयतेर्वा।
-निघ., ३, ५।

be used to separate them. None will thereby be led to conclude that the explanation is hazy or doubtful. With Yāska it is quite usual to give alternative meanings of the same words. In Nirukta, VIII, 1, he construes *draviṇam* as *dhanam* and then after interposition of the same conjunction *vā* i.e. 'or' as *balam*.¹ Is the reader to infer from this that he was not sure of the definite significance of the common word *draviṇam*? The argument therefore that as two alternative explanations of the word *bilma* occurring in the passage in question are at the end of the passage appended by Yāska himself, the passage is not his is simply imagination. The passage is Yāska's, and therefore there is nothing to warrant the interposition of a third book between the compilation of Nirukta and that of Nighaṇṭu.

Greater difficulty is presented by the word *samūmnāsiṣṇh* 'they compiled'. Satyavrata's contention that derivatives from the root *samūmnā* are not used with reference to contemporary literature falls to the ground when we see Yāska himself using *samūmne* 'I compile' in Nirukta, VII, 13, 10 in the first person and present tense. The root of the verb does not help Sāmaśramī, but the context in which it is used does require explanation. If *imaṃ grantham* should in reality imply the present Nighaṇṭu, it must have been compiled before, as also the Veda and the Vedāṅgas, which too form accusatives to the same verb. The reference of 'this book' should, we think, be to the book in hand and not to one previously compiled by somebody and nowhere named in the context we are commenting on. If this book was something separate from the Veda and the Vedāṅgas adverted to in the same sentence, one more *ca* ought to have been used, as according to Yāska himself (Nirukta, I, 4, 21) cumulative *ca* should be repeated after every word it joins.² As after *grantham* it is omitted, we think *grantham* does not stand for a distinct treatise, but comprises in it two parts, one denoted by the *Veda* and the other by the *Vedāṅgas*, which words, as following it, are to be taken in apposition with it, inserted there to state what 'this book' means. The former, we believe, is the Nighaṇṭu, which being only a collection of words from the Vedas may be termed 'Veda'. Mahamahopadhyaya P. Sivadatta, editor of Durgācārya's commen-

1 धं द्रविणमुच्यते...व वा द्रविणम् । निरु., ८, ८, १.

2 चेति समुच्चयार्थं उभाभ्यां संग्रह्यते । निरु., १, ४, २१.

tary on Nirukta, assigns this very reason for calling Nighaṇṭu 'Samāmnāya'.¹ The latter i.e. the *Vedāṅgas*, is Nirukta, which is admittedly a *Vedāṅga*, here spoken of in the plural number either because the subjects with which other *Vedāṅgas*, viz. Phonetics, Grammar, Kalpa, etc. deal, find incidental mention in it, or simply in the manner in which 'Nighaṇṭu' is called '*Nighaṇṭavaḥ*' (plural) in Nirukta.² Sāmaśramī's interpretation of the word 'Veda' to mean Brāhmaṇas is evidently forced. He is with us in maintaining that the word is not used in its primary sense. Ours is surely a more plausible explanation. One more circumstance will corroborate our assumption. While Nirukta, a commentary on a part of Nighaṇṭu, has been included among the six *āṅgas* of the Veda, Nighaṇṭu, the original collection of Vedic terms, which Nirukta in its exposition does not even exhaust, finds no place in the classified literature bearing on the *Vedas*. The name Nirukta seems to us, in this instance, to include Nighaṇṭu.

Nirukta including Nighaṇṭu has not for the first time been compiled by Yāska. In his Nirukta proper, i.e., the part in which he gives an exposition of Nighaṇṭu he names a number of masters of the science, both those that agree with him as well as others from whose opinions he differs. Very little of what even receives his express support is originally his. As we have shown in connection with his discussion of what names of *devatās* should be or should not be included in the compilation on which he is engaged, he represents a school of Nirukta. The writers to whom he refers as *avare* i.e. those that came after the original 'ṛṣis' and 'who fighting shy of *Upadeśa* compiled *this book*,' appear to us to be the masters of Yāska's school who had gone before him. To them is due the original compilation of this book including both Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta which he is recompiling. Hence the use of the past tense in *samāmnāsiṣuḥ*, 'they compiled'. Yāska being the last compiler, as we have conclusively shown by means of positive evidence adduced above from within Nirukta, to him should be attributed the authorship of both Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta.

Satyavrata Sāmaśramī reproduces verses of the Mahābhārata which mean:—'O Bharat, Vṛṣa is what is known in the worlds as the

1 वेदस्यो निःसारितानां शब्दानामपि वेदत्वं नापगतमितति वेदत्वमेवेति निश्चाययत् निधयत्यसुद्धिश्च वेदसाधविषयं समासायशब्दं निदिदेश भगवान् यास्कः । यास्कीयनिरुक्ते दृग्गोत्रप्रसावनायाम् ५ पृष्ठे ।

2 तमिन् समासायं निधयत्यसुद्धिश्च । निरु., १, १, २.

Lord Dharma. In exposition of words collected in Nighaṇṭu know me as *Viṣa*. *Kaṇi* and *Varūha* and *Śreṣṭha* and *Dharma* are called *Viṣa*. Therefore Kaśyapa Prajāpati calls me *Vṛṣākapi*.¹

From this Sāmaśramī infers that Kaśyapa was the author of Nighaṇṭu. The word *Vṛṣākapi* is no doubt met with in Nighaṇṭu v, 6, but there it means 'he who moves, making things tremble with his rays' i.e. the Sun (Nirukta, XII, 29, 16)² and not *Dharma* or *Śreṣṭha*, as stated in the above verse. Some may be tempted here to take their stand on the Paurāṇic myth that the utterer of the above verses being Śrī Kṛṣṇa, he may call himself by an appellation of the Sun, as both he and the Sun are manifestations of Viṣṇu. Yāska, it will be owned, does not subscribe to this Paurāṇic mythology. Had he not been spoken of in a preceding verse, there may have been some force in the suggestion based on this myth. The author of the verses knew Yāska and his interpretation. He is either guilty of misrepresentation or does not understand Yāska. In either case the testimony he tenders is confused and unreliable. Kaśyapa was either a compiler of another Nighaṇṭu or a master of the science of exegesis belonging to another school than that represented by Yāska. In verse 71 of the same chapter is named Śipiviṣṭa, who declares that Yāska recovered from him the Nirukta, which had (on account of the neglect of scholars), been lost.³ Śipiviṣṭa was thus the teacher of Yāska, who, because of his revival of a lost science or a particular school of that science deserves to be specially honoured as the author of the treatises, or as we look upon them, one treatise comprising both Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta, which have come down to us.

Oversight, there have been in the compilation of both Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta. The first principle observed in the compilation of Nighaṇṭu appears to have been to incorporate into it words just in

वषो हि भगवान् धर्मः ख्यातो लोकेषु भारत ।

निघण्टुकपदाख्याने विद्धि मां वषसुप्तम् ॥

कपिवैराहः अष्टस्य धर्मस्य वष उच्यते ।

तस्माद् वषाकपिं ग्राह्यं कश्यपो मां प्रजापतिः॥

महाभारते मोक्षधर्मपर्वणि अ. ३४२, श्लो० ८६-८८.

अथ यद्वस्मिन्निरभिकस्ययन्नं ति तद्वृषाकपिर्भवति वषाकस्यनः । निरु., १२, १८, १९.

स्तुत्वा मां शिपिविष्टं ति यास्का ऋषिरुदारधीः ।

मत्प्रसादादधी बध् निरुक्तमधिजग्मिवान् ॥

महाभारते मोक्षधर्मपर्वणि अ. ३८२, श्लो० ८१ ।

the form in which they are met with in the Vedas. In many places, however, this rule has been violated, as in reading *'bhyasate* instead of *abhyasetām* in Nighaṇṭu III, 29. To state the same thing conversely, as examples of the use of words such verses have generally been chosen as to contain them in the form in which they are tabulated in Nighaṇṭu. On a few occasions, however, this practice too has been deviated from. In some cases verses containing those words in the very form in which they are found in Nighaṇṭu could have been made to supplant those that appear to a casual reader to have been wrongly selected to illustrate their use. In other cases the form given in Nighaṇṭu is nowhere found in the Vedic text, as in the case of *'bhyasate* noted above and *idam iva* etc. in Nighaṇṭu III, 13. To us the verses of the Veda appear to have been primarily chosen and the forms of some of the words to be explained inadvertently changed for the purposes of Nighaṇṭu in the manner in which this is done in dictionaries in general, the author very conveniently forgetting that in his lexicon he has already decided to retain the very forms of words found in the Vedas. Let not the reader of Nirukta be by this circumstance misled into the fanciful inference that the authors of the two parts of what we regard as one and the same book were two distinct persons, one of whom, because of misapprehension of the other's plan, could not follow him faithfully. Mistakes occur in the compilation of both Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta, and there is nothing to thwart the presumption, which in the face of the internal testimony of Nirukta which we have ranged above is irresistible, that they may have been unconsciously committed by the same author. The same, too, may be the explanation of quotation in Nirukta of verses which do not contain the words in Nighaṇṭu, the use of which the author means by such quotation to illustrate, as for instance, the names of dyāvā-prthivī in Nighaṇṭu, III, 30, none of which occurs in Ṛv., II, 5, 2, 1 adduced to exemplify their meaning.

Our study so far has convinced us that both of these books, or as we look upon them, parts of the same work, have been compiled in their present form by Yāska, the latest editor of a book on Vedic exegetics.

CHIAMUPATI

The Ancient Tamils and the Nāgas

Tamilakam, the homeland of the Tamils, is regarded to have extended in olden days, east to west from sea to sea, and north to south from the hills of sacred Tirupati to Cape Comorin; but the tradition was that in still earlier times the land had extended further south which was swallowed up by a violent irruption of the sea. This region was called, in the *Periplus, Mares Erythræa* and by Ptolemy the Geographer as Limirike; and it was known as Damirike in the Peutinger Tables. These limits of the Tamil land were first given by Tolkāppiyar, an ancient grammarian, probably of the 4th century B.C.; and by Iṅgovadigaḷ, the reputed author of the *Chilappathikūram* (The Epic of the Anklet) and also by Sikandiyar, the author of a treatise on music.¹ The people of the west coast gradually differentiated themselves from the rest and developed a distinct language of their own—*Malayūḷam*, “a patois of Kodun-Tamil and Prākṛtic Sanskrit.” But the Tamils made up for this loss in more directions than one, by colonising Northern Ceylon and more distant regions across the Bay of Bengal.

Ancient Tamil grammarians classified men into three divisions, *Makkal*, *Devar* and *Narakar* or *Nūgar*—which pointed to the existence of three types or races of people in the Tamil country, *viz.* the Tamils proper, the Aryan immigrants mostly Brahmins and the aboriginal Nāgas. The term *Nūgar* or *Nūga* seems to have been used in a rather broad sense. It was, according to one writer, applied to “all the aborigines, who used to inhabit the forests, the low regions and other unknown realms.” There were Nāgās in Northern India as well as in Southern India. The Nāgas of the south were supposed to be the original inhabitants of the land, to have preserved their racial individuality for a long time and to have supplied from their stock many of the ruling families of early times. The earliest Pallava epigraphs give accounts of the connection of the Pallavas with a Nāga princess. The Velūṛpaḷaiyam copper-plates, described in the Madras Epigraphist’s Report for 1910-11, speak of Virakūrca, one of the early

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Land.

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tion.

Pallava kings who preceded Siṃhaviṣṇu as "having acquired all the emblems of royalty on marrying the daughter of the Lord of Serpents—evidently a Nāga princess."¹ Tamil literary tradition makes prominent mention of the early Chola king, Killi Vaḷavan who married Peelivaḷai, the daughter of the ruler of Nāganādu and of the son of this union² who was afterwards the ruler of the Tondaimaṇḍalam country about Kāñcīpuram (Conjeevaram). Apart from these examples of inter-marriage between Nāga ruling dynasties and later families that became prominent, we have instances which occur in Tamil literature and which bring out an amount of information of various importance about these so-called Nāgas.³

As already told there were Nāgas in Northern India also. Captain Forbes wrote in his book,⁴ years ago, that when the Aryans settled in India they came in contact with two races, the Asuras, Rākṣasas, etc., who were savage; and the other, a people who lived in cities, and possessed wealth and who were known as Nāgas belonging to the "great Takṣak or serpent-race of Scythia." The Nāgas were according to this writer driven back by the advancing Aryans, "carrying before them in their turn the feeble and scattered remnants of the black aboriginal race who were either exterminated or found a last refuge in the most inaccessible forests and mountains."⁵ According to another opinion the Nāgas were a Tibeto-Burman race who were driven by some racial disturbances and movements from Central Asia to India through the passes on the north-east by way of Burma and

Theories as to the origin of the Nāgas.

1 P. 58, para (1) of the Report dated 28th July, 1911.

2 *Manimekhalai* ed. by Mahāmahopādhyāya V. Swaminātha Iyer, 1921, canto xxiv, ll. 54-55 and xxv, ll. 178 et seq.; and *Perumbāṇ-ārrippaḍai* in *Patthuppāṭu* ed. by Mm. V. Swaminatha Iyer (1918), p. 152.

3 That this legend is of an early date is proved by its existence in early epigraphic records. While the inscriptions of the Pallavas are unanimous in regarding Aśvatthāman, the son of Droṇa, as the progenitor of their line, they do not agree as to his wife and the name of his son. The wife is called in some inscriptions an *apsaras* and in others a *nāgī* (vide also J. Ph. Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore*, 1927, p. 36).

4 *The Languages of Further India*.

5 As quoted in M. Srinivasa Iyenger's *Tamil Studies*, p. 28.

the passes of Assam and the Lower Himalayas. Anyhow the peoples known by the name of Nāgas were a prominent non-Aryan race, most probably of Mongoloid descent, who were already settled in the northern parts of India, and later, either owing to Aryan migration or as a result of the operation of other causes, forced to expand into the Deccan, South India and Ceylon. How far the Nāgas of the South might have been of this race or different, is a matter difficult to settle and is discussed later.

We have got in the Rāmāyaṇa and in the Mahābhārata numerous references to Nāga towns and kings. In the Tamil country the Nāga name is preserved in places like Nagore, Nagappattinam (Negapatam) Nagerkoil, Nagalapuram, etc. and as the names of sects or *gotras* among various classes in the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Districts, like the Dombs, the Bottadas, the Gadabas, the Porojas, etc., as well as among the Kurnis and the Turiyands. Nāga is the name of a subdivision of the Gazula Kapus and the Koppala Velamas.¹ Rulers of the Nāgavaṃśa were numerous in the Deccan and around Nagpur; and they intermarried with the Śātavāhanas and the Pallavas. "Kings of the Nāgavaṃśa with the tiger-crest and the snake-banner were ruling at Cakrakūṭa and at Bhogavatī in the Bastar State in the Central Provinces even after the eleventh century A.D. Several of their inscriptions have been found and published."² The name Nāga may be pre-Aryan as applied to several tribes which were afterwards known by that appellation. The origin of the title cannot in all cases be traced to serpents or serpent-worship; for there were some tribes known by that name before the advent of the Aryans in whose language alone the word signifies serpents. But many of the Nāgas known to us were certainly serpent-worshippers. The head-covering of some of them was in the shape of the hood of the three-headed, five-headed, or seven-headed cobras. Among the sculptures of the Stūpas of Amarāvati and Jaggayyapeta are figures of Nāga kings distinguished by the sheltering hood of a five or seven headed serpent at their back; while the figures of Nāgar pincesses were marked by a three-headed

Filiation of the
Nāgas of the
South.

Present-day
relics of the
Nāga element.

The Nāgas and
their connection
with serpents.

1 Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of South India*, vol. v, pp. 134f.

2 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. x, p. 25; and C. Rasanayakam's *History of Jaffna*, p. 6 (Madras, 1927).

serpent; and those of ordinary Nāgas by a single-headed serpent.¹ "The artists who executed these sculptures with considerable labour and care seem to have imagined that the Nāgas partook of the nature of serpents and that their bodies were partly human and partly serpentine."² The sculptures and paintings found in the ancient Buddhist ruins of Ceylon representing the Nāgas as Dvārapālas etc. also exhibit the same features. Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai, the talented Tamil scholar and author of *The Tamils 1800 Years Ago*, says that the Villavar and the Minavar (Bowmen and Fishermen) were the aborigines of South India being evidently part of a primitive race which was spread over the whole of India—tribes of the Bhils and the Minas being still found in large numbers in Rajputana and parts of the Gujarat and the Canarese country. These barbarous primitive folk were conquered by the Nāgas, an immigrant race who were skilled in many arts and weaving in particular; and

Whether the
Nāgas of the
South were
civilised or
primitive.

it was from them that the Aryans learnt the art of writing; and "hence Sanskrit characters are to this day known as Devanāgarī" (p. 45). These bold statements cannot hold good under a close examination.

There is no caste or tribe in the Tamil country, bearing the names of Bhils or Minas. The ethnic and other affinities of these races with the Tamils are not known and cannot be postulated with any approach to certainty. We know that many of the Nāgas known to Tamil literature were barbarous and not civilised at all. There are references to some of the Nāgas being even naked cannibals.³ Nāga was the title assumed by a Veda (hunter) chieftain and also it was applied to of the father of the famous Śaiva saint, Kannappa Nāyanār. Nāga is a name familiar among the tribes of the Kallars and the Vettuvārs. The Nāganādu as described in ancient Tamil books was a vast island situated to the east or the south-east of the Tamil country; the inhabitants of this region were regarded as half barbarous speaking a language not understood by the Tamil people. Hence it is not easy to accept the statement that all the Nāgas were highly civilised. The theory that the Nāgarī alphabet was derived from the aboriginal Nāgas by the Aryans may be dismissed—the

1 V. Kanakasabhai Pillai, *The Tamils 1800 years Ago*, p. 40.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 40.

3 "The mountain inhabited by the naked nomads and Nāgas", *Manimekhalai*, canto xvi, l 15.

word Nāgarī being derived from *nagara* (a city) and the Devanāgarī being the alphabet used by the city-folk, according to Bühler and other eminent authorities.¹

According to Srinivasa Iyengar, the name Nāga was given by the Aryans to any aboriginal tribe in South India and Ceylon. The Nāgas of South India were apparently distinct from those of North India. The former were aborigines while the North Indian Nāgas were descendants of "Turanian or Scythian immigrants from Central Asia belonging probably to the Mongolian race" (p. 29).

Srinivasa
Iyengar on the
Nāgas of the
South.

He would conclude that the population of the Tamil contained three distinct elements, the Nāgas, the Dravidian Tamils and the Aryans ; and the non-Aryan

Tamils belong to the great Nāga-Dravidian race. The Nāgas had both a savage and a civilised element, the savage tribes having Negrito blood in them, and the latter being mixed (p. 377). "Apparently both the divisions of the Nāgas migrated to India when it was connected by land with Australia, the earlier tribes being driven to the interior hills and forests ; and the later immigrants occupying the east coast from Cape Comorin to Vizagapatam and as far as Nagpur in the Central Provinces. These were the Vānaras and the Rākṣasas of Rāmāyaṇa. It is by no means easy when these races invaded India." (p. 377). Then followed the Dravidian Tamils probably from Western Asia migrating by the north-western passes long before the Aryans ; and the Tamil tribes, particularly the Cholas and the Pandyas, had often to contend with the half-civilised Nāgas ; while "the Cheras seem to have quietly taken possession of the country

Their fusion
with the Dra-
vidian Tamils.

along the west coast almost uninhabited by any semi-civilised section of the Nāga race." "In the east the close connection of the Nāgas and the Dravidians led to a fusion of races. In the west that could not have

happened at so early a period. And I am inclined to think that the Nayars of Malabar and Travancore are not the modern representatives of the ancient Nāgas, but hybrid descendants of the original Nāga-Dravidians and the Aryans." This theory of Srinivasa Iyengar looks too complete, detailed and coherent to be all true ; but some elements of it have been known or proved to be true. Thus the uncivilised Nāga element may be the Negroid pre-Dravidian element driven to the hills and submerged in the plains by the invading

Dravidians, according to ethnologists like De Quatrefages, Topinard, Flower, Lydekker, etc. who speak of the Negrito element in the races of South India, especially noticeable in the aboriginal tribes. This Negrito element was probably of Lemurian origin, presupposing the existence of a Lemurian continent connecting Malaysia with Africa. The whole problem depends upon the exact scope which is given ethnologically to the terms pre-Dravidian and Dravidian and the ascertaining of the extent to which the Dravidians have absorbed and supplanted the pre-Dravidians.

There were several tribes of the Nāgas in the Tamil country described in literature like the Maravar, the Eyinar, the Oliyar, the Oviyar, the Aruvālar and the Parathavar. The Maravar as described in Kalithokai¹ were "of strong limbs and hardy frames, and fierce-looking as tigers, having long and curled locks of hair, and armed with the bow; bound with leather, ever ready to injure others, shooting their arrows at poor helpless travellers from whom they could rob nothing, only to feast their eyes on the quivering limbs of their victims."² The tribe was most numerous on the east coast between the Kaveri and the Vaigai rivers and was noted for its valour and bravery in fighting.

The Maravar were frequently recruited as soldiers into the armies of the Chola, Pandya and Pallava kings. In the *Puranānūru*³ we are given examples of Marava chieftains like Nalaikkilavanāgan who served the Chera and Pandya rulers as soldiers and ministers.

The Eyinar and the Vedar (or Vettuvār) were "the most lawless of the Nāga stock." Raids of plunder and cattle-lifting were their chief occupation. One of the Eyinar chiefs, Dhirataran Murthi Eyinar, who was the chief of Viramangalam is referred to in the plates of Jatilavarman, a Pandyan ruler of the 12th century A.D.⁴ Their descendants are now known

1 Edition of E. V. Anantarama Iyer (1923), vol. I, Palai c. iv, ll. 1-5; c. xv, ll. 1-2, pp. 29, 93.

2 Kanakasabai Pillai's translation as given in p. 42 of his *Tamils 1800 years Ago*.

3 Edition of V. Swaminatha Iyer, stanzas 168, 179, pp. 269, 287.

4 Kanakasabhai Pillai, *op. cit.*, p. 43 and *The Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxii, p. 57.

as the Kallars and even now display traits of their old character. The Oliyar were another Nāga tribe who were conquered by Karikala Chola. A Mahabalipuram (Māmallapuram) inscription of the eleventh century A.D., being a copy of the conveyance, conveying a piece of land to the Varāhasvami Temple at that place and issued in the 9th year of Rājendra Deva¹ (1050-1062) mentions chieftains of the Oli Nāgas like Muvenda Velan, Chandrasekharan and Narayanan and also a Sanga Nagan and a Muguli Nagan.

The Oviyar as described in the *Sirupāṇaṟṟuppadai*² one of the ten idylls of the Sangham were a tribe of Nāgas inhabiting the sea-coast ; and their lord was one of several kings ruling Mavilangai (Great and Ancient Laṅkā). Their royal town of Āmūr was well-fortified and surrounded by a broad moat ; and its approach was guarded by another fortified town on the sea-coast which is called by the commentator Eyilpattinam as well as by another fortress town called Velur.³

Mr. Rasanayakam, the talented author of the *History of Ancient Jaffna*, would identify these places with definite sites in the Jaffna country and particularly the town of Eyilpattinam with Māntai (Matota of the Sinhalese) which was a town of great antiquity and full of cunning artisans. He says,—“It is said that Viśvakarmā built an iron-fort at Mantai.....The Nāgas of Māntai (Mātota) whose stronghold was on the great highway of the merchant vessels which had to cross over to the Bay of Bengal from the Arabian Sea and vice versa developed into sea-pirates and lived by plundering and robbing unwary merchants.”⁴ He would identify this Nāga fortress with the Rākṣasa port into which mariners were inveigled by attractive women and plundered, according to Hiuen Tsiang and with the magnetic mountain of the mediæval Muhamadan writers which drew towards it all the iron-clad ships of the neighbourhood and wrecked them. The iron-fort at Māntai was

1 No. 54 of 1890—dated in the 9th year of the king.

2 Edition of the *Paṭṭhuppāṭṭu* (ten idylls) by V. Swaminatha Iyer (1918), p. 98, ll. 116-121.

3 *Ibid.*, ll. 151-153 ; notes on these lines—p. 117 ; also notes on ll. 171-173.

4 Pp. 16-17.

euphemistically called in Tamil works as a magnetic mountain and was possibly the source of the belief which is so graphically described in the Arabian Nights. Sir Emerson Tennent in his *Ceylon* also mentions a writer of the 4th century B.C. who wrote of the loadstone attracting iron vessels among the group of islands called Maniolae (Mañalūr and the dependent islands of the Jaffna Sea). Mr. Rasanayakam would say that Māntai was evidently conquered and destroyed by the Chola king Karikala; and since the Chola conquered Ceylon or at least the north-western portion of it called Taprobane (or Tāmraparṇī) the Chola king came to be known as Chembian (Chembu = Tāmra); and no Chola earlier than Karikala was known by this title. Mr. Rasanayakam also attempts to prove that Māntai, known in Tamil literature as the Māntai of the Cheras (Kuttuvan Māntai) was probably conquered by the Chera Chenguttuvan of the *Chilappathikūram* fame from which time it must have come to be known as

Kuttuvan Māntai. Malanka (Māvilangai) is thus identified by Mr. Rasanayakam with North-western Ceylon and associated with Nalliyakkodan, the hero-king of Āmūr, Eyilpattinam and Velur. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar would say¹ that Māvilangai is not a country as was asserted by Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai, but a town and most probably the port of Mamallapuram (in the vicinity of Madras). He would also say that the period of Nalliyakkodan is intermediate between that of Tondaiman Iṇḍairaiyan of Kāñcī and that of Viṣṇugopa of Kāñcī who was defeated by the famous Samudra Gupta. In this conflict of views it is not possible for us to be sure of the kingdom of the Oviyar and of Nalliyakkodan. To strengthen his view of Nalliyakkodan being a Nāga king of North Ceylon, Mr. Rasanayakam brings in the evidence of a poet Nannāganar, who was evidently of the Nāga race and who sang of Nalliyakkodan and his son Villi Ātan as kings of Malanka and Lanka respectively.² Besides the Nāga kings of Āmūr and Eyilpattinam, other Nāgas were supposed to have reigned at Kudirai Malai³ on the west coast of Ceylon. Mr. Rasanayakam says that this place could not have been in the Western

1 Article on Mahabalipuram in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xlv, p. 72.

2 *Ancient Jaffna*, p. 24 and note *Puranānūru*, stanzas 176, 379.

3 General of the chieftains of Kudirai Malai like Eḷini and Koṟṟan are referred to in *Puranānūru*, stanzas 158, 168.

Ghats as asserted by some scholars, and that it might be the Hippuros of the Greek travellers.

The Nāgas appear to have been confined originally to the western and northern part of Ceylon which was for many centuries known as *Nāgadīpa*,¹ while the Yakkhas who were apparently more numerous and powerful than the Nāgas inhabited the other portions of the island. It is clear that these were in some respects as civilised as the Nāgas and some of the Yakkha kings found their wives from among the Nāgas. Both the Nāgas and the Yakkhas gradually lost importance after the Aryan invasion and settlement of the land and in course of time "lost their identity as they lost their power, and forming alliances with the new settlers, were thenceforth styled and known as *Sinhalese*".²

There was, according to Mr. Rasanayakam, a Nāga kingdom in North Ceylon continuously from the 6th century B.C. to the middle of the 3rd century A.D.; and even before the 6th century B.C. there was the tradition of the Nāgas ruling in the Island. He would even equate the story of Arjuna's marriage with the Princess Citrāṅgadā, the daughter of Citravāhana, the king of Manipuram, to mean that the Pāṇḍava hero married a Nāga princess of Manipuram (a name which was given at various times to Jaffna) and not a Pandya princess, as has been believed so long; and he would also quote evidence to prove that a portion of the mainland was in the days of the Bhārata War subject to the sway of the Nāga ruler of Manipuram; and that it is wrong to suggest that Citravāhana was a Pandyan.³

Coming to the topic of Nāgas, they appear to have risen to great power. The *Mahāvamsa*⁴ gives us the names of the Nāga rulers of North Ceylon who became masters of the whole Island, like Mahallaka Nāga (cir. 135 A.D.), Cula Nāga (cir. 193 A.D.), Śrī Nāgas I and II who reigned in the second and part of the third centuries A.D. About this time the Nāgas of the Deccan also rose to great prominence; the Chūtu Nāgas succeeded to the power of the Andhra Sātavāhanas; and the Pallavas, intermarrying with the Chūtus, succeeded to their power in turn.

1 J. M. Senaveratna *The Story of the Sinhalese*, 1923, vol. I, p. 2.

2 Senaveratna, vol. I, p. 3. 3 *Ancient Jaffna*, pp. 33-44.

4 List of kings, pt. I and ch. xxxvi.

According to Buddhistic tradition, Nāga kingdoms flourished in Nāgadīpa (North Ceylon) and in Kelaniya on the west coast of the Island, even in the life-time of the Buddha. The story is given that Gautama Buddha visited Laṅkā on three distinct occasions, in the ninth month and in the fifth and eighth years respectively after he had attained Buddha-hood. On the second of these occasions he paid a visit to Nāga-dīpa where Mahodara, the king of Nāgadīpa and Culodara his nephew and ruler of Kannavaddhamāna (Kandamādānam near Rameśvaram) were bitterly fighting for the possession of a gem-set throne, and the rival factions were supported by considerable forces on either side, Maniyakkhika, the ruler of Kelaniya being among them. The Lord Buddha appeared on the scene, settled the dispute and seated himself on the throne and preached to the rivals a sermon of reconciliation, as a result of which large numbers of Nāgas (to the traditional number of 80 crores) were converted to the faith. The jewel-throne sanctified by the Buddha's touch became an object of worship to all Buddhists who visited it from far and near. The Buddha came to the city of Kelaniya on his third visit to Ceylon whence he is said to have proceeded and left the impress of his feet on Samanakūṭa (Adam's Peak).¹

The story of the Buddha's visit to Nāgadīpa and of the sanctified gem-set throne is narrated in great detail in the Tamil epic *Maṇimekhalai*.² The scene of the episode is named Maṇipallavam in the Tamil work, which according to the equation of Mr. Rasanayakam is Jaffna—probably identical with the Nāgadīpa of the *Mahāvamśa*. Thus there were numerous Nāga settlements in the north and west of Ceylon on both sides of the Christian Era.

In the *Chilappathikūram*, we are told that Kaverippattinam, the ancient Chola capital at the mouth of the Kaveri, was in more ancient times, famous as the capital of the Nāgas and the Nāganādu³ which is also referred to in the sister epic of *Maṇimekhalai*. Thus the authors had some idea of the ancient Nāgas who preceded the Cholas in the basin of the Kaveri.

1 Mahāvamśa I, *Rajavaliya*, a narrative of Sinhalese kings from Vijaya to Vimala Dharma Sūrya II. tr. by B. Gunasekhara, Mudaliyar (Colombo, 1900).

2 Ed. by V. Swaminatha Iyer, canto viii, ll. 43-63.

3 Ed. by V. Swaminatha Iyer, canto I. ll. 19, 20.

An early Chola king, Killi Vaḷavan had a child by a Nāga princess, which was lost on its way from Manipallavam to the Chola country. This loss so much grieved the Chola king that he neglected to celebrate the annual festival to Indra at his capital; and the angry god punish-

The Chola
connection with
the Nāgas.

ed him for his neglect by causing the sea to inundate and destroy the city. The date of this Chola monarch has been usually ascribed to the 2nd century A.D. Another Chola, Kokilī, is also said to have married a Nāga

princess of North Ceylon and had a son by her of the name of Tondaimān Iḷantiraiyan who afterwards became the ruler of the region of Tondaimandalan (the country round about Conjeeveram). Some say that Iḷantiraiyan was the son of Killi; and he was so called because he was washed ashore by the waves (*tirai*) of the sea. Whether Iḷantiraiyan was the son of Killi Vaḷavan or Kokilī, he was the son of a Nāga princess of Ceylon. Killi Vaḷavan, Chenguttuvan Chera and Gajabāhu of Ceylon are supposed to have been contemporaries on this basis of a supposed reference to them in *Chilappathikāram* (canto xxx). "Tondaimān Iḷantiraiyan was the progenitor of the powerful dynasty of the Pallavas. This Nāga origin of the Pallavas is confirmed by the description given in the Velūrpaḷayam Plates¹ that the first member of the family of the Pallavas acquired all the emblems of royalty on marrying the daughter of the Lord of Serpents,"² Thus the author of *Ancient Jaffna* would say, though

The Pallavas
and the Nāgas.

it is a moot point whether sovereignty came to the Pallavas from the Chūtu Nāgas of the Deccan or the Nāgas of North Ceylon and whether there was not a hiatus between the time of Tondaimān Iḷantiraiyan and the rise of the Pallavas.

He would then conclude that the dynasty was called Pallava because it derived its name from Manipallavam, the native place of Iḷantiraiyan's Nāga mother. He also accepts that Pallava means a sprout or the end of a tender bough, and would say that "to observers sailing from India the peninsula of Jaffna would have appeared just like a sprout or growth on the mainland of Laṅkā." This is a very fanciful conclusion based on very slender evidence. The writer goes further and says that even in later times when the Pallavas claimed

1 Madras Epigraphist's Report for 1910-11 p. 59.

2 *Ancient Jaffna*, pp. 30-31.

Aryan connections and filiation to the Bhāradvāja Gotra, they still traced their descent from Aśvatthāman through a Nāga Princess.

We have also got the story of Tissa Rāja of Kelaniya witnessing the irruption of the sea swallowing up eleven-twelfths of his territory, including a large number of towns and fishing villages.

Submersion of
Nāga and
Tamil lands
under the sea.

It was perhaps at this period that the submersion of the 49 Tamil lands including the hill and the river Kumari took place as mentioned in *Chilappathikāram*.¹

"The river Pahruli and the mountain Kumari were submerged by the raging sea."² Nakkīrar's commentary on the *Ahapporūl* of Iraiyanār and the preface of Ilambūraṇar's Commentary on the *Tolkappiyam* contain similar descriptions of submersion. It was after the destruction of this region and of his capital at Kavādapuram, that the Pandyan king proceeded northwards and established a new kingdom with his capital at Madura. He proceeded higher up, having elbowed away the tiger and the bow (the crests of the Cholas and the Cheras) and planted his famous fish (the Pandyan crest) on strange territory. The submerged portion of Ceylon extended, according to theories as far west as Minicoy and the Maldives, (the Malaya Dvīpa of Indian geographers) where Rāvaṇa's Laukāpura was probably situated.

After this deluge Nāgadīpa became much diminished in size, leaving probably only the Jaffna Peninsula and a few adjoining islands; while Nāga importance on the mainland also

Conclusion.

diminished likewise. The Nāga connections of the Pallavas, and the Nāga character of the Aruvālar tribe

living in the heart of the Pallava country show the continuity of Nāga influence on Tamil history. The filiations of Draviḍa Nāgas with those of the North would continue to form a vexed question until more light is thrown on the whole question.³

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

1 Canto xi. ll. 18-20.

2 Ibid., canto viii. commentary of Adiyārkunāllar on ll. 1, 2.

3 Vogel's *Indian Serpent Lore* recently published throws some light on the traditions existing about the Nāgas.

The present mode of expressing numbers

In our present mode of expressing numbers with the help of nine numerals and the Zero, the notational places of successive higher denomination, such as tens, hundreds, thousands, etc. are arranged from right to left. This fact led Mr. G. R. Kaye¹ to conjecture that it has been imposed upon the modern world by a people with right to left script. And this consideration, amongst others, has led him to suggest that the credit of invention of the modern numerals cannot be due to the Hindus whose scripts from the earliest times are written from left to right. Some weakness in the above hypothesis has been admitted by Kaye himself. For certain scripts are known to have changed their directions. But apart from that, the whole hypothesis is based upon wrong conceptions and unsound and insufficient observations of the modes of expressing numbers by the various nations of the world. It betrays, on the whole, a lack of breadth of view and, in particular, ignorance of the method of writing out numbers in full which is found in the Sanskrit and kindred literatures.

In our present study we shall treat separately of the two principal methods of expressing numbers, viz. (1) by writing out the number names in full, and (2) by means of symbols or signs. We shall further confine our attention to the number systems only of the prominent civilised peoples of the world, ancient or modern, such as the Egyptians, Babylonians, Greeks, Romans, Hebrews, Syrians, Persians, Arabians, Turks, Hindus, Chinese, Japanese and Tibetans, etc.

In writing out numbers in full almost all the nations adopted the decimal scale and the whole vocabulary of the numeral language of any nation was very small. It consisted of separate names of nine numerals and of certain denominations, such as tens, hundreds, thousands, etc. It is noteworthy in this connection that while most of the ancient nations did not go beyond the fourth, or at most, a fifth denomination, the ancient Hindus even in the remotest Vedic Age (before 3000 B.C.) dealt freely with no less than eighteen denomi-

1 G. R. Kaye, "Notes on Indian Mathematics—Arithmetical Notation," *J. A. S. B.*, vol. iii (1907), pp. 475-508 ; *Indian Mathematics*, Calcutta (1915), p. 32.

nations.¹ In modern times also, the numeral language of no other nation is as scientific and has attained as high a state of perfection as that of the ancient Hindus. Again while the numeral vocabulary of the Hindus has remained rich and practically full from the earliest times, that of other nations has swelled by addition of a very few more names only. So in the latter there has been a cumbrous system of grouping and regrouping for coining the necessary terminologies. A number expression is formed with the help of these names mainly by addition and partly by multiplication. The subtractive principle also is in evidence in certain specific instances of Sanskrit number names; for example, nineteen is expressed either as $10+9$ or as $20-1$; twenty-nine as $20+9$ or $30-1$; and so on. In later times this has become the usual principle in those cases.

In an additive system it is immaterial, how the elements of different denominations, of which a number expression is composed, are written, for the value of a symbol is quite independent of its position. But it has become the usual custom from olden days to adhere to a definite mode of arrangement, instead of writing in a haphazard manner. The arrangement is this: when a number is composed of the first two denominations only, that is, for names of numbers *below* hundred, the smaller element is written first. This is true of Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Chinese and some other languages. But when a number expression contains higher denominations as well, these are written in *descending* order in front of the number names already formed. For instance if a number is composed of first four denominations, the normal mode of writing it will be first thousands, then hundreds, then units and then tens. Thus there is a sudden change of order in the process of formation of the number expression. We shall not attempt to search for any probable explanation of this change of order. It will be, in fact, of no use to the object in view. We shall simply take the facts as they are found, analyse them, and discover the normal process of formation, if any. It is very striking that this change of order in the process of formation of number expression is common to most of the important languages. Only in a very few languages, such as English,² Tibetan, etc., the order

1. Vide Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. I, pp. 343 f.

2. Excepting the expressions containing elements smaller than twenty.

is continuously descending. There is, however, one language in which it is sometimes permissible to write all the denominations in the *ascending* order. This speciality belongs to the Arabic. And it is over and above the normal process already indicated and as an alternative to it. Save this, it thus appears to be the commonly accepted normal process for the expression of larger numbers in the languages of the various nations of the world to write the elements of higher denominations before the lower.¹ The Sanskrit and kindred languages contain certain other minor irregularities. But those are exceptional and rare cases. They were noted and sufficiently explained by the celebrated grammarian Pāṇini (c. 700 B. C.). In any case, it would not be proper to cite them to show that the normal process of formation of number expressions in Sanskrit is different from that indicated above. There can be cited from the Sanskrit literature, innumerable instances in which the larger elements are placed first systematically. Thus truly speaking, it is only a lack of sufficient observations that led Kaye to assert that in Sanskrit the smaller elements are usually placed first.

The scripts of different races are written in different directions the Semitic races write from right to left; the Aryans from left to right and the Mongolians from the top downwards. It has already been stated that certain scripts are known to have changed directions. But there has never been any serious deviation from the normal process of number expressions as indicated above. It has remained universal. And this is very remarkable indeed.

We shall now pass on to the problem of numeral notation or symbolism. Though a discussion of the forms of the symbols, their origin, variation and mutual relation will be highly interesting and instructive by itself, it will be beyond the scope of the subject matter of the present study. So we shall avoid it as far as possible and simply confine ourselves to the critical examination of the law of arrangements and other incidental affairs. Theoretically speaking, the symbols should be as few and simple as possible, if not fewer and simpler, they should not exceed the number names. That is, nine symbols for the first nine number-names together with some symbols for the

1 Cf. Karl Fink, *Geschichte der Elementar-Mathematik*, authorized English translation by W. W. Beman and D. E. Smith, *Brief History of Mathematics*, Chicago, 1910, p. 8; also Hankel, *Geschichte der Mathematik*, p. 32.

denominations ought to have sufficed, by the application of the same multiplicative and additive principles as in number terminologies, to express all the numbers of a language. But in actual practice number symbolism was not so simple. The difficulties would be many times more in the case of those languages in which there were no separate simple names for all the denominations. We have seen that, except in the Sanskrit and kindred languages of India, those defects are present in all other languages, for denominations above thousand. Even for numbers with lesser denominations, the difficulties appeared no less insurmountable. For almost all the ancient peoples failed to invent even nine separate symbols for first nine numerals. For smaller numbers, it looked as if ingenuous and advantageous. More symbols mean, indeed, heavier tax on memory. But in case of larger numbers, it required repetition to an unwieldy extent. Repetition could be minimised to a certain extent by an early recognition of the multiplicative principle on a little wider scale. While majority of the ancient nations recognised it for the multiples of hundred, they failed to do so for multiples of ten. Their mind was more bent upon inventing separate symbols for all the tens. To minimise repetition, recourse was taken to change of the scale of notation and other devices. Thus while the scale of notation in the numeral languages is found to have remained decimal all throughout, that in number symbolism is found in some cases to have become sexagesimal as well. In this way, number symbolism became highly complicated. Estrangement of plans between numeral names and numeral notations was visible from the earliest stage. In fact, before the advent of the Hindu place value system, the problem of number expressions by signs was many times more complex and different than the problem of number expression by writing out in full. But in one matter they proceeded on the same principle; in expressing numbers in terms of two or more symbols of different values or denominations, the larger element was put first. And this was followed consistently and uniformly all throughout. So much so that the change of order which was, and still is, visible in the normal process of formation of number expression by names completely disappeared from the normal process of number symbolism.

The theoretical plan of numeral notation indicated above is found in actual practice in the Sinhalese and the modern Chinese number symbolism. The nearest approach to it was made in the Alphabetic numeral system of the Hindu Āryabhaṭa (the elder, born 476 A.D.),

in which the notational places were indicated by the vowels, and the pure consonants signified the numerals.¹ It had, however other defects and digressions and hence was not adopted by people.

Of the numeral symbols of the ancient Semitic peoples, the Egyptian Hieroglyphic had separate signs for one, ten, hundred, thousand, ten thousand, hundred thousand and million; the Phœnician for one, ten, twenty and hundred; the Palmyrene for one, five, ten and twenty; the Syriac for one, two, five, ten, twenty and hundred; the Hieratic and the Demotic for one, five to ten, and twenty, thirty up to hundred. The symbols for two hundreds, three hundreds, etc., were formed, except in the case of the Hieroglyphic, by putting the smaller element in front to denote multiplication. The numbers were expressed by repetition and addition of these symbols as necessary. As was characteristic of the Semitic scripts, the numbers were written from right to left; and it began with the largest element. The Hieroglyphic numbers were also written left to right and sometimes, as in the early inscriptions, from top downwards. It is interesting to note that in the former case the pictorial numeral signs were turned the opposite way.

The ancient Babylonians had relatively smaller number of numeral signs, viz., for one, ten and hundred. The last one was really a combination of the other two. In fact they seem to have only one wedge-shaped symbol, which signified two numeral values in two different positions. There were, however, also instances of separate symbols for one and ten. Thus the Babylonian numeral system was the poorest of all the numeral systems of the ancient civilised nations. It was also the crudest. For owing to the paucity of separate symbols, a comparatively greater amount of repetition was unavoidable. And above all, which was its worst feature, the numerical value of a symbol was not fixed. It stood either for a minimum value (one or ten) or for 60 multiple of the same. In each case, the numerical value of a symbol had to be determined from the context. The brightest aspects of the Babylonian number symbolism were the invention of

1 Most of the modern interpreters of the first Āryabhaṭa's alphabetic numeral notation have failed to grasp its true significance. This has been exposed correctly by Pandit Durgadas Lahiri (*Prthivī Itihāsa*, Calcutta, vol. iii, pp. 332 et seq) and Mr. Saradakanta Ganguly (*Bull. Cal. Math. Soc.*, vol. xvii (1927), p. 202) and it is quite in accordance with the interpretation of his commentators.

the sexagesimal scale of notation and the introduction of a symbol to indicate the vacant denomination in it. In writing numbers, on either scales, the Babylonians put the larger elements before the smaller.

The Roman numbers were expressed in terms of symbols for one, five, ten, fifty, hundred, five hundreds, and thousand. The normal mode of writing was to put the greater elements in the beginning. In certain cases it was reversed to denote subtraction. But on a longer view, that is, in a compound number of still greater value, it will be found that the normal mode has been preserved on the whole.

The Greeks had two systems of numeral notation—the Attic system and the Alphabetic system. The former was no better than the systems that have been discussed so far. Only a slight innovation was in evidence in the symbol for fifty which was devised on a multiplicative principle from the symbols of five and ten. No other numeral system, probably except the Palmyrene, contained this principle in symbols for numbers smaller than hundred. The Attic system was replaced about 400 B. C. by the other system. The use of the letters of alphabets for the purpose of numerals was common with the Hebrews, the Syrians, the Arabs, the Persians and other Semitic peoples. The Arabs continued the practice even for many centuries after they became aware of the Hindu numerical system.

It was probably the Greeks who first conceived the happy idea of making a systematic use of the letters of the alphabet as numerals.¹ Some investigators are of opinion that the idea originated with a Semitic people and the Greeks only borrowed it. It is known that the Greeks obtained their alphabets from the Phœnicians. But that latter did never use their alphabets with numerical significance. One thing is, however, true. The Greek alphabets (24 in number) were insufficient for a satisfactory system of alphabetic numerals. So they appropriated three Phœnician alphabets. It has been stated by

1 In India the letters of the alphabet were used to denote numbers as early as the seventh century B. C. But it seems that it never passed beyond a preliminary crude stage for several centuries. Anything of the kind of a system appeared, as far as is known, only about the fifth century A. D. and even then it was not much in vogue. It is also significant that while the systems of alphabetic numerals of all other peoples were similar, those of the Indian were on different plans. Compare A. Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, English translation by Mann & Zachariae, London (1878), p. 222.

Al-Bīrūnī that the Arabs got their system from the Hebrews; so did probably the Persians and others. In this system the letters of an alphabet are divided into three groups; the first group of nine letters were used to signify nine units; the second group of nine letters to denote the nine tens; and the third group were used to signify the hundreds. The numbers were expressed on either scale, the decimal as well as the sexagesimal. In writing a compound number the larger element, or the element of the higher denomination was put first. This was as much true of the peoples like the Greeks who wrote from left to right, as of the Semitic peoples who wrote from right to left. But in certain Greek inscriptions of Asia Minor, the smaller elements were put first and in a few others the arrangement was irregular. These facts were probably not without any significance. They will lend additional support to those who believe in the ultimate Semitic origin of the alphabetic system of numerals. For the number expressions written by a Semitic people in their normal descending order are apt to be looked upon by the Greeks as arranged in the ascending order. The primitive Greeks not only borrowed the system but also copied the arrangement which appeared at the first sight. The irregular arrangement probably referred to a state of transition. But ultimately the normal Greek mind prevailed and the mode of the number expressions was changed specially to bring them to conformity with the mode of the other Greek system, viz. the Attic System.

Attention has already been drawn to the one great peculiarity of the Arabic numeral language, that in writing out a number in full, it was permissible to follow either the ascending or the descending order. But in their notations they consistently followed the descending order. There are numerous applications of alphabetic numerals in Al-Bīrūnī's *Chronology of the Ancient Nations*.¹ In every instance the higher denomination has been put before the lower. These facts deserve more than a passing notice. About the middle of the 8th century A.D., there appeared amongst the Arabs a very ingenious system of writing numbers with the help of nine signs and the Zero. The

1 *Vide* Al-Bīrūnī's *Athūr-ul-Bākeya* (or "Vestiges of the Past"). This book has been published in the Arabic original (Edward Sachau, *Chronologie Orientalischer Völker von Alberuni*, Leipzig, 1878) and in the English translation (C. Edward Sachau, *The Chronology of the Ancient Nations*, London, 1879).

Arabs called them *al-arqam al-hindī* ("the signs of the *Hind*"). The Syrians obtained the system a century or a little more earlier. From there, the system was introduced into Europe near about the 12th century. And this is now the commonly accepted numeral notation of the modern world. The numbers according to this system are written by the Arabs from left to right contrary to their mode of writing the scripts, or to the mode of writing their numbers whether in *abjad* or in sexagesimal notation. This is certainly contrary to the general nature of the Arabs and other Semitic races. And this fact alone leads to the strong presumption that this system of numerals came to the Arabs and other Semitic peoples, from a non-Semitic people.¹

The Chinese have three systems of numerals for use in different connections. Of these two are indigenous; they are written from the top downwards and the elements are arranged in the descending order. The third and the present system has been introduced by the Catholic missionaries. It has been stated before that it agrees with theoretical number system suggested. It is written from left to right with the higher elements before the lower. The numeral systems of the Koreans and the Japanese are derived from those of the Chinese. So there is nothing new to be said about them.

We shall now take up the Hindu numeral notations. The two earliest notations were the Kharoṣṭhī and the Brāhmī. The Kharoṣṭhī was particularly the script of North-Western India (including Afghanistan and the Northern Punjab). It disappeared in the third century A.D. In the Kharoṣṭhī numeral system, there were separate signs for one, four, ten, twenty and hundred. They were written from right to left, with the higher elements before the lower. But in cases of the hundred and its multiples, the symbols for the smaller elements were placed before the symbol for the hundred to denote multiplication. All these were common with the principles underlying other systems of Semitic numeral notation which we have discussed before. The next but more important and largely used Hindu numeral notation was the Brāhmī. It was probably earliest numeral notation that was found in India proper and remained in the field for many centuries. The Brāhmī numeral system consisted of separate signs for all the

1 Cf. John Taylor, *Lilawati*, Bombay (1816), Introduction, p. 31 sq.

units leaving two and three, all the tens, some hundreds and some thousands, including ten, twenty, and seventy thousands. These latter mean symbols for numbers of the fifth denomination which the Greeks called the *myriad*. Thus the Brāhmī numeral system is the richest of all the ancient independent numeral systems in symbols. The plan was, indeed, nearly the same as those of the Demotic and the Hieratic ; but it excelled the either. Though one or two signs of the hundredth and thousandth denomination might be suspected to have been invented on the multiplicative principle, it was not very apparent and had not been applied systematically. In such circumstances it will be futile to conjecture any relation about the origin of the Brāhmī numerals with those Egyptian numerals. Many knotty points will have to be cleared before such a hypothesis can be established. The Brāhmī numerals, like the alphabets, were written from left to right beginning with the higher elements. There are also instances, though rare, of the very ancient Brāhmī characters being written from right to left. But there was never a deviation from the universal mode of putting the higher elements before the lower.

The various systems of number notation which have been discussed above, whether of the Hindus, or of the Semitic peoples, or of other races, did not contain the idea of place value.¹ Such a system requires, as will be apparent, multiplicity of signs. Again there cannot be put a limit to the number of signs in any system. It is bound to increase with the demand for representing larger numbers which again are concomitant of the growth of civilisation. But the inventive genius of the people of any age and clime failed in devising new signs to cope with the demand. So repetition became an unavoidable necessity, however undesirable it might be. With the development of the Society, energy of the elite was directed towards bringing it to a minimum. But that did not prove to be easy and simple. Certain people conceived the idea of getting out of that difficulty by using the signs already invented for alphabets, also for the purpose of numerals. Apart from other drawbacks, the resourcefulness of such a device, is evidently bound to be limited. This was improved to certain extent by putting bars, dashes or other signs with the alphabets. The

1 The principle of local value was more or less in evidence in the Babylonian sexagesimal notation and in the notation of the Mayas of Central America.

introduction of the idea of local value extremely simplified the problem of number symbolism.

The third and the modern Hindu numeral system contains only ten signs, the nine numerals and the Zero. With the application of local value they are quite sufficient to express any number however large. The scale is, of course, decimal. In this system the notational places increase from right to left. The numbers are written from left to right in accordance with the Hindu scripts and the higher denominations, as is universal, are always put before the lower. This system is identical with the system which, as we have seen, appeared amongst the Syrians and the Arabs during the early centuries of the christian era. From there it went into Northern Africa and Europe. And this system has now been adopted by all the civilised peoples of the world.

The origin of this system of numeral notation is still shrouded in mystery. As all the numerous alphabets of the Hindus, though differing very widely in form, are believed to have been derived from the Brāhmī alphabets, it is highly probable that the modern Hindu numerals also grew out of the old Brāhmī numerals. Only three new signs were introduced into the old system: two of which helped to make repetition unnecessary; while a third, the most important of all, helped to discard a lot of other signs and thus reduced the number of symbols to the minimum. There is no gainsaying in the fact that the difference of the modern Hindu numeral system from the various other ancient numeral systems is least in the case of the Brāhmī. From the mere fact that the notational places increase from right to left,—it has been already stated in the beginning—Kaye conjectures that the modern Hindu numeral system is not really of Hindu origin, but of Semitic origin. Such a conjecture is undoubtedly wrong. Because for a people with left to right script, such an order of the notational places is a natural concomitant of the custom of writing the higher elements before. From what has been stated above, it will be abundantly clear that this custom is universal. Kaye may think the present order “inconvenient and clumsy”. But the world is known to be following it from time immemorial, even when the place value system of decimal notation was not invented. For peoples with right to left scripts, the order suggested by Kaye, that is the reverse order, would have been natural. But those peoples, while adopting the modern place value system, did not change the order of the notational places they found amongst the people from

whom they borrowed. And to keep up the time honoured custom of writing the higher elements first, they rather began, strangely enough, to write numbers according to the new system from left to right, contrary to the nature of their scripts and also to the direction of writing their numbers according to the other numeral systems known to them from before, e.g., the *abjad* and the sexagesimal notation. It is interesting to note in this connection that the same normal mode of writing numbers was prevalent amongst the Mayas of Central America who had a fairly well developed system of numeral notation with the place value. The Mayas followed the scale of 20, except in one step and they had a symbol for the Zero. Again, the present mode of writing numerals follows most closely the mode of expressing numbers by writing out the names in full which is current in the Sanskrit and kindred literatures from the remotest Vedic ages. From the latter, only the names of the denominations have been deleted, for they are sufficiently indicated by the position of the digit in the series. Thus it is established beyond doubt the present system of decimal notation cannot be suspected to be of non-Hindu origin simply on the score of the mode of writing numbers.

We shall conclude the present paper by drawing attention to what the Hindu Scholiasts have said on the subject under discussion. The works of most of them are still in Mss. and I have had access to a very few. The subject attracted the attention of some of the eminent scholiasts of the celebrated Hindu mathematician Bhāskara. The earliest of them, as far as is known to me, to notice the subject was Gaṇeśa (c. 1545 A.D.).¹ It was also noticed by Kṛṣṇa (c. 1575 A.D.), the court astronomer to the Emperor Jehangir of Delhi, and by his nephew Munīśvara (born 1603 A.D.) and by Nṛsiṃha (born 1568 A.D.).² All of them are of the same opinion. As, of the successive denominations tens, hundreds, thousands, ayutas, etc. each one is more respectable (*abhyarhita*) than the preceding ones, it should be written first; for it is natural to give first place to the more respected one. For a people with left to right script, that will be possible if the denominational places are arranged to increase from right to left.

BIBHUTIBHUSAN DATTA

1 Vide Gaṇeśa's commentary on *Līlāvati*, ii, 12.

2 Vide *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi*, edited by Muralidhara Jha with Munīśvara's *Marīci* and Nṛsiṃha's *Vāsanāvūrtika*, Benares, 1917 pp. 57, 89.

Mauryan Art

Mauryan art is represented chiefly in some animal sculptures intended to stand on columns with flower-shaped capitals and in a few Yakṣa images. These are all characterised by a lustrous polish which went out of use in course of the decadence of this art. The polish was still in vogue in the days of Daśaratha, the grandson of Aśoka and appears on the wall surface of the Gopi and the Vapya caves¹, in the Nagarjuni Hills. There are certain fragmentary sculptures in Sarnath² in the Mauryan style which are without this polish. They may be co-eval with the massive but unpolished ground rails of the Great stūpa of Sanchi, which are on palæographic grounds³ later than the Heliodorus column. The latter also has no polish, so that by the time of Antialcidas and Heliodorus the polish had ceased to be in use.

The present distribution of the Mauryan columns is between Delhi in the west, Basarh in the east and Sanchi in the south. Some of these are in fragments while others have lost their crowning members. The capitals of the Nandangarh and the Basarh pillars are *in situ*, while those of Rampurva, Sanchi, Sankissa and Sarnath have been recovered more or less injured. The lion seated on its haunches appears on the capitals of Basarh, Rampurva and Nandangarh. The Sanchi and Sarnath specimens have four semi-lions united back to back. One of the Rampurva capitals has a bull and the Sankissa capital an elephant, both standing at full height.

The art, of which these sculptures are representative, sprang up under the shadow of the royal throne of the Mauryas. The Mauryan emperors had diplomatic and cultural relations with the ruling powers of Western Asia. Hellenistic art like Hellenistic arms was at this time supreme in that region. The art of the Seleucid kingdom of Syria, says Carotti, though evolving no new school "continued the

1 A. S. R., Cunningham, vol. I, 1862-65, pp. 48-50.

2 A. S. I. A. R., 1914-15, pl. LXVI. 1-5, 15-23.

3 Dates of the Votive Inscriptions on the Stūpas at Sanchi, Rama Prasad Chanda, p. 14.

4 Carotti, *Ancient Art*, pp. 208-10.

traditions of the preceding period, especially in the manner of Scopas, animated with that plastic extravagance of lines and forms and that dramatic restlessness peculiar to those times, but which did not prevent the production of fresh masterpieces." The Tyche of Antioch would belong to the school of Lysippus. Several portrait sculptures are the result of a fusion of the two manners of Scopas and Lysippus." Among the busts is one of Euthydemus I, king of Bactriana "a strange type of coarse individuality," now in the Torlonia museum. The splendid gold and silver coins of Bactria¹ "really belong to the history of Greek coinage." The bronze statue of Heracles strangling the lion found in Quetta Miri² is of Hellenistic character. The coins of Sophytes are of Greek style and have a similarity with some coins of Seleucus.³ Lethaby surmises that "at Seleukeia on the Tigris, which was built about 300 B.C., the Hellenistic architects must have come in contact with⁴ and have absorbed many of the structural traditions of Mesopotamia." Von Friedrich Sarre⁵ has no doubts about the strong Hellenistic influence in the land of the two rivers (Mesopotamia), from the character of the finds made there, so far as they have been published. "From the Persian plateaux," says he, "where excepting Susa lying in the border region, no scientific excavations as yet have been made, we know only of very few ruins and buildings of the Hellenistic period and even about some of these there is still doubt as to whether they belong to a later date—to the Parthian period. We mean the Ionian pillars of a Seleukidian temple in Khurha, the temple ruins of Kengawer and the monument Tak-i-Girra erected at the gate of Asia—the Paitak Pass. The smaller finds of the Hellenistic period from the Iranian Highland excepting the coins are still fewer. A stone head of Satyr coming from the neighbourhood of Kermanschah in Media is similar to a head which, as may be proved, comes from Dinawer, a Greek settlement not far away and not yet explored. They seem to be of the same kind of material. No doubt we have here the work of a Hellenistic artist or an accurate imitation of the same." Sarre further points out certain terracotta reliefs from Syria

1 Coins of India, C. J. Brown, p. 25.

2 J. A. S. B., 1887 vol. LVI, Pt. I, pl. X, p. 163.

3 Indian Coins, Rapson.

4 Architecture, H. U. Series, W. R. Lethaby, p. 113; Cotterill, History of Art Vol. I, p. 121.

5 Die Kunst d. alten Persien. pp. 24. 25.

and Mesopotamia which must be taken as rare specimens showing the fusion of Persian and Hellenistic art. These represent an archer with barbaric features—possibly Scythian, a Parthian rider and a *reiterin*.

On the other hand the splendid monuments of the Achaemenids considerably survived the fall of their empire and had been standing at the time when Mauryan art was appearing on the horizon. Two fragments of pottery, which probably belonged to the same vase, discovered on the Mauryan stratum of the Bhir mound site at Taxila, illustrate the process in which Persian and Hellenistic traditions were percolating to India. One of these has the ribs or petals which the Persian artist employed for the decoration of the bases of his columns. The other, a fragment of a handle, has at its base "a rough relief which appears to have been the familiar head of Alexander the Great wearing the lion's skin."

The influence of both Persian and Hellenistic arts is recognizable in the Mauryan monuments. "It was in Persia" says Sir John Marshall,¹ that the bell-shaped capital was evolved. It was from Persian originals, specimens of which are still extant in the plain of the Murghāb at Istakr, Naksh-i-Rustum and Persepolis, that the smooth unfluted shafts of the Mauryan columns were copied. It was from Persia, again, that the craftsmen of Aśoka learnt how to give so lustrous a polish to the stone—a technique, of which abundant examples survive at Persepolis and elsewhere."

It is also proposed to recognize Hellenistic influence in sculptures as the Sarnath capital, "in the masterful strength of its crowning lions with their swelling veins and tense muscular development and in the spirited realism of the reliefs below in which there is no trace whatever of the limitations of primitive art."

All the same Mauryan art was not wholly borrowed and has certain touches of originality which an analysis of its forms could not fail to bring out—for which the artistic genius of India may have been responsible.

This creative genius, the genius that assimilated the forms and technique of Persian art and architecture and breathed into them a new life stands revealed in many ways.

Thus, the shafts of the Persian columns stand on bell-shaped bases,

1 Cambridge History of India, vol. I, pp. 620-21.

like the calyx of a flower reversed or on plain rectangular blocks. The columns of the facade of the rock tomb of Darius at Naksh-i-Rustam have bases with plain circular mouldings.¹ The Mauryan shafts are maintained in position by plain slabs of stone or by brick work. These are however buried in the earth and the columns have an appearance of standing by their own weight. No base could be possibly invented which would not disturb this appearance of stability.

The Persian shaft is, according to Perrot and Chipiez,² "fluted in all instances save in the facades of the necropolis at Persepolis and the single column that still remains of the Palace of Cyrus in the upland valley of Polvar. In the latter case the anomaly is to be explained by the fact that the building to which the support belonged dates from a time when Persian art had not constituted itself, and was as yet groping to strike out a path of its own. On the contrary the rock cut tombs are coeval with the palaces of Darius and Xerxes and if in them the shaft is plain, it was because the vaults stood at a considerable height above ground. To have made them fluted therefore, would have still further reduced the column and divested it of a frank clear aspect when viewed at that distance. To obviate so untoward a contingency the Persian sculptor modified the form as the Greeks often did in similar cases."

The Mauryan sculptor, then, need not have borrowed a form which had been discarded by the Persian for ordinary purposes when Persian art came to be in maturity. On the other hand there were indigenous forms as the *Sthupa* of Sāl wood, a specimen of which has been discovered in a funeral mound of Lauria Nandangarh.³ It is not improbable that some such form supplied the "motif" of the plain and circular Mauryan shaft.

"Persian capitals," writes Lübke⁴ "are either formed of two foreparts of bulls or unicorns or they consist of an upright and an inverted cup, the former decorated with strings of beads, the latter with hanging petals and the whole crowned with double perpendicularly placed volutes which betray a strangely fantastic adoption of Ionic forms." The Mauryan capitals have very little in common

1 Early Architecture in Western Asia, Bell, p. 207.

2 History of Art in Persia, Perrot and Chipiez, pp. 87-88.

3 A. S. I. A. R. 1908-09 pp. 123-24, pl. XL.

4 History of Art. Ed. Bunnet, 1868, vol. I, p. 57.

with these crowning members of the Persian columns. On the other hand their resemblance with the bell-shaped bases of Susa and Persepolis is conclusive. The Mauryan architect, then, must have by a bold stroke of imagination transferred the Persian base to the top of his shaft. The Persians had to make their bases solid and massive to the eye so as to impart an appearance of stability and security to the columns. Any indulgence in curvation in their outline would compromise this firmness, real or apparent. The Mauryan sculptor was free from this restraint and some of his capitals are remarkably successful in the freedom of outline. According to Perrot and Chipiez,¹ "the lower portion of the Persian capital in every case detaches itself very abruptly from the column and forms a horizontal line on each side, parallel to the architrave and at right angles to the axis of the shaft. There is no junction or intermediary moulding between the tapering column and the rectangular member at the beginning of the capital akin to the echinus of the Doric capital. Hence it is that the support presents harsh contrasts which imperfectly satisfy the eye and are very near offending it."

The bell capital of Allahabad, of which only the abacus was to be seen² crowning the shaft in the thirties of the last century, detached itself somewhat abruptly from the latter. The same harshness of transition seems to have been characteristic of the capitals of the Gutivā and the Rumin Dei pillars, both in the Terai.³ Their abaci however are not decorated like the abacus of the Allahabad capital. In other columns so far known, the transition from the shaft to the capital is made easy by the addition of mouldings at the bottom of the latter. The Basarh capital has three retreating mouldings—decorated with the rope and the bead and reel designs. Similar mouldings occur below the Nandangarh capital and below Cunningham's drawings of the Sankissa one.⁴ In the other capitals, the mouldings are plain. The elegantly ribbed floral bell of the Mauryan capital presents an effective contrast with the massive, smooth and plain shaft which in its tapering form has a charm of its own. This contrast is wanting in the columns of Persepolis, which in their numerously channelled

1 History of Art in Persia, pp. 90-92.

2 Hist. Ind. Architecture, Fergusson, vol. I, p. 57, figs. 4 & 5.

3 Antiquities in the Terai, Nepal, P. C. Mukherjee, pp. 31, 32, 34 pl. XVI, fig. 3.

4 A. S. R., vol. I, pl. XLVI.

shafts and triple capitals create an impression of unvaried exuberance.

Ionian and Hellenistic influences are said to be traceable in Persian sculptures from the fifth century onwards. The improved style of the figure sculptures that decorate the basement of the palace of Xerxes' throne, in Persepolis, "betrays the collaboration of Ionian and possibly Greek artists,"¹ says Carotti, "especially in the modelling and in the drapery." The same is true of the friezes from the palace of Darius and the Apadana of Artaxerxes II Mnemon at Susa. "The delicately carved lions and rosettes" which ornament "the mouldings on the architrave and the door jambs" of a rock-hewn tomb of Persepolis, presumably that of Artaxerxes II, suggest, according to Mr. Bell "that later Hellenistic influences were affecting Persian art."² Grecian influence is clearly perceptible³ in the tetradrachms of the satrap Daskyleion (about 400 B.C.) stamped at Kyzikos. Considering the region whence the Mauryan artist borrowed his monumental forms and considering the time, when Hellenistic art had spread over Western Asia, it seems but natural that Mauryan art should evince Hellenistic influences. A comparison of the Susa relief of lions and the Sarnath capital would put this beyond doubt. "The genius of Greece," writes Elie Faure,⁴ commenting on the above relief, "which was then ripening could not endure an original form of art subsisting at its side. And as it could not prevent Persia from speaking, it denatured her words in translating them. It is not even necessary to see the Assyrian monsters before looking at the figures of Susa in order to realize that the latter have but little life, that they are heraldic in their silhouette and rather bombastic in style," In style, in attention to details of form as swelling veins and tense muscles the lions of the Sarnath capital resemble the lions of Susa. They are lacking however, in the dramatic restlessness characteristic of contemporary Hellenistic art. In fact their life is at a still lower ebb than in the Susa figures, their heads with the gaping mouths look still less terrible. Sir John Marshall is for recognizing in this "the tectonic and conventional spirit imported

1 Ancient Art, Carotti, pp. 93-94.

2 Early Architecture in Western Asia, Bell, p. 231.

3 Sarre, Die Kunst d. alten Persien, p. 20.

4 Ancient Art, Elie Faure, p. 106.

consciously and of set purpose to bring the lions into harmony with the architectural character of the monument."¹

The abacus of the Sarnath capital has, among other elements of decoration a galloping horse spirited in movement and distinct from the background, yet not sharply defined against it like the reliefs of Bharhut. In its modelling and movement this figure is comparable with the two horses in the relief on the Sarcophagus of the Amazons,² a Hellenistic work now in Vienna.

The striding lion in the adjoining compartment is a Persian design. The humped bull, an Indian animal, appears in the identical attitude, being walked on by two men in the Persepolitan relief of the Tribute Bearers.³ Elephants with the embellishment of horns appear, drawing the Biga and the Quadriga in the early coins of the Seleucids.⁴ The elephant of the Sarnath capital is unquestionably superior in execution.

It is significant, however, that of the four animals on the abacus only the horse appears in violent movement; the rest are striding on in a leisurely fashion. This demonstrates how the artist was lacking in harmony of conception and was not bold enough to adapt to his purposes types fixed by convention.

The male statues, the yakṣas, unlike the lion sculptures are non-muscular. There is the smallest attempt at representation of muscles below the elbows, just indicating that they belong to the same school. A similar divergence between the forms of the human and animal sculptures is characteristic of Achaemenid art. Evidently the climate and the surroundings of the Persian prohibited the nude form in art, so that the Ionian Greeks who collaborated in the friezes of the palace of Persepolis and Susa, had to remain content with enclosing the figures in exquisitely soft drapery,⁵ "which brings out every shade of the outline."

The Mauryan artist had no such restraint as in Persia, so that his sculptures are nude in the upper body. Yet the extravagance of form peculiar of contemporary Hellenistic art and the Kushano-

1 Cambridge History of India, vol. I, p. 621.

2 Ancient Art, Carotti, p. 218, fig. 298.

3 History of Art in Persia, Perrot and Chipiez, p. 407, fig. 195.

4 Cambridge History of India, vol. I, p. 463, pl. II, figs. 1 & 2.

5 History of Art in Persia, Perrot and Chipiez, pp. 427-430.

Hellenistic art of Gandhara is lacking in them. The surface of the nude body has the gliding finish characteristic of Indian art, though variations of plane can be felt as the hand is passed over the drapery on the legs. The massive and vigorous conception of the forms, the silent power underlying them and the feeling of dignified repose, must be regarded as Indian traits. If the folds of the drapery happen to be derived from the Perso-Ionic form, their adaptation, like the adaptation of Gandharan folds in the Gupta art of Mathura, is complete.

Bell capitals of Mauryan columns

A bell shaped base from Susa is seen in fig. 1. Its surface decoration consists of petals with broad ridges in the middle and narrow borders. The interstices at the bottom are filled up by short mouldings like the pointed ends of leaves. The upper end of the base has a ring of leaves and petals. It is of gently curved outline and its breadth is greater than its height. A "salient" torus is intermediate between the bell and the fluted shaft.

One of the two fragments of pottery from Taxila, "of grey clay burnt to red on the outside and covered with black paint," is decorated with Persepolitan petals with broad ridges and narrow borders. The closer agreement of the petals with the Persian form and their divergence with the Mauryan seem to indicate that the latter was evolved not in the neighbourhood of Gandhara, but is peculiar to the region of its provenance—chiefly the plains of the Ganges and Jumna. The band of bead and reel ornament round the rim of the cup recalls similar work at the bottom of the Basarh and the Lauria Nandangarh capitals.

The capital of the Basarh column has its bell decorated with the same type of petals but the width of the border in each petal has, in comparison with the Susa base and the Taxila cup, increased relatively to the ridge in the middle. The spaces between the ends of the petals are filled up with short mouldings as in the Susa base, but the ring of leaves and petals below the torus of the latter has been dispensed with in the Basarh capital as in all other Mauryan capitals of the same order. Below the petals are retreating mouldings decorated with the bead and reel and cable designs. Between the abacus and the bell there is another prominent cable moulding in place of the Persian torus—an admirable ornament in its "group of twisted lines." Both designs are Western Asiatic. The abacus is square and undecorated on its edge. It is in fact the pedestal

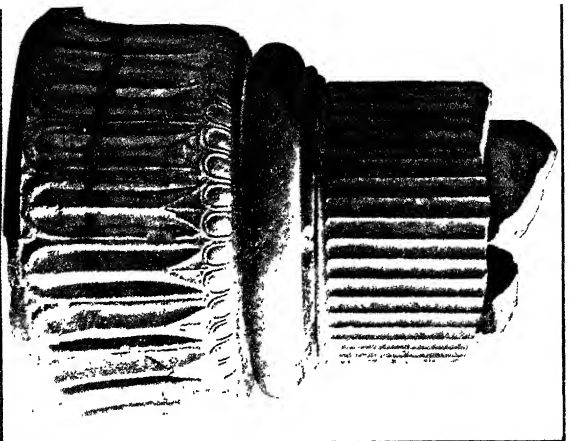


Fig. 1
Bell-shaped base of column,
Susa



Fig. 2
Bull Capital of Rampurva,
Maurva

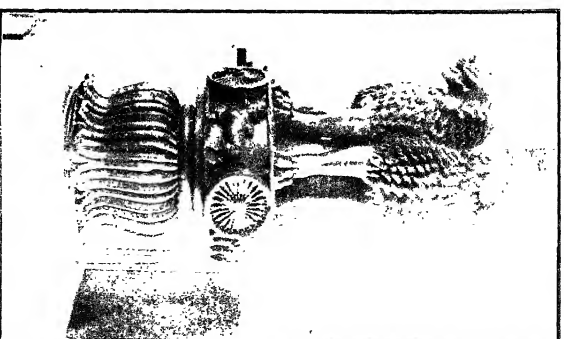


Fig. 3
Lion Capital—Sarnath
(From cast in the Indian Museum)

of the sculpture above rather than the abacus of the circular bell capital, being of a form not suited to the latter. The lion which is seated on its haunches—a type known in Western Asia—is regarded as an inferior work of art. The bell, which is of fluent outline, slopes towards the bottom with a greater slant than the Susa base. The upper part is not fully accentuated in its outward bulge. This is because the petals with their ends spreading out are not sufficiently drawn inwards at the bend as in the other capitals. A harmony of line is maintained up to the cable moulding above and likewise in the lion in its front view, but the continuity is disturbed by the square abacus. The width of the bell is greater than its height as in the Susa base.

The Lauria Nandangarh column has its shaft somewhat chipped off immediately below the capital. The lion on the abacus is also injured. The floral bell is like the Basarh capital broader than it is high. It has the same mouldings below and above it. The abacus which is decorated with a row of geese evidently pecking at food—all in relief, is circular and appropriate to the form of the capital and the shaft. The lion above it is in the same attitude as the lion of the Basarh capital. Its workmanship however is superior although the modelling would seem to be bombastic and the strenuousness of the muscles rather extravagant. The sculptor is evidently in difficulties about adapting the crowning figure to the round abacus and the rump of the animal and part of its hind-legs project beyond it in an unbecoming manner. The bell shaped drum is comparatively steep and its upper or convex part is more pronounced than in the Basarh capital. But the transition from the bell to the abacus is abrupt and the single moulding intermediate between the two does not suffice to soften down the effect.

The bell of the Sankissa capital is, according to Cunningham, "low, its breadth being greater than its height in which particular it resembles the Asoka pillar of Nandangarh Lauria, to the north of Bettiah."¹ His drawing of the capital shows the bead and reel and the cable ornaments below the bell and the cable moulding on its neck. The abacus is decorated with rosettes, honeysuckles and *Aśvattha* leaves etc. with a band of bead and reel at its lower edge. The elephant above is vigorous in execution. The trunk and the tail are missing. The former may have been wound up into a knot

between the tusks as in the drawing above the Khalsi inscription. The body is treated in soft outlines. Details as the veins of the ear flap, the folds of the neck, the toes and the charming creases above the feet have engaged attention. The flesh is spongy in feeling and its transitions are subtle.

The stone between the body of the animal and the abacus has not been removed. This was because the Mauryan artist did not risk totally round images and his sculptures are partly in relief and partly in the round—a mingling of the two processes. The mass of unnecessary material is in this case carved into the semblance of rocks which in their shadows relieve the plain surface of the elephant's body.

The bell is steep in outline and the curve of the convex portion is somewhat accentuated. The lower or concave portion is not however well brought out as it is in the Sarnath capital. The transition from the bell to the abacus is abrupt as in the Nandangarh capital.

The bull capital of Rampurva (fig. 2) agrees with the foregoing in that the breadth of its bell is greater than its height and it has a rope moulding intermediate between the bell and the abacus. The mouldings below it are however plain, unlike the Basarh, Nandangarh and Sankissa capitals. The concave or lower portion of the bell is as pronounced as the convex upper part. The transition from the bell to the abacus is harsh as in the preceding specimens. On the other hand in the shaping of the stone between the latter and the animal above and in the disposition of the front legs there is greater consideration for line. The abacus is decorated with rosettes and honeysuckles, etc. The humped bull, which has lost its horns, right ear and dewlap, is stationary and of vigorous limbs and outline. Details are not wanting and the skin has a firm look. The head is not as distinct from the massive neck as it should be and is held in an unnatural manner. In executing the head and the neck the sculptor has shown his bold workmanship but betrayed his ignorance of the forms.

The Sanchi capital has its bell partially restored in plaster of Paris with the help of a number of fragments which preserve the shape of the original in the restoration. The breadth is not prominent, and the height has increased. It is no longer the same heavy and massive drum as at Basarh and Rampurva and the change from Susa can be noticed at a glance.

The lower mouldings would seem to have been plain. The transition from the bell to the abacus is smoothed over by the addition

of a fillet band over the cable necking. "The abacus is ornamented with four honeysuckle designs separated one from the other by beautifully sculptured geese in pairs confronting each other with lowered heads."¹

Crowning the abacus is a group of four semi-lions united back to back, with strenuous muscles, powerful claws and swelling breasts covered with schematic curls. The heads are more or less injured. The design recalls to mind the drawing of a pillar in an Egyptian tomb, which is surmounted by a circular capital,² showing in the profile the heads of three lions. The lower parts of the figures do not appear and only the lion in the centre has a protruding tongue like the Mauryan lions. Schematic curls appear on the necks. Above the lions is an oblong abacus on which beams or lintels may have rested. Diodorus³ preserves a tradition that "the famous palaces of Persepolis, Susa and Media were built after the artistic wealth of temples from the sack of Egypt had been conveyed to Asia along with Egyptian artificers." The design may have existed in some perishable material in Persia and thence carried to India, although there is every possibility of an independent invention by a gifted artist.

The Sanchi lions are at their base entirely contained within the abacus and there is no unseemly projection as in the Nandangarh capital. The lines are not confined to a single profile as in the Sankissa and the Rampurva (bull) capitals, nor is there a triangular skyline unpleasant to the eye as in the capitals crowned by lions seated on their haunches. The lines have free play along the bodies of the animals and the profiles are symmetrical in outline.

The flow of line is thus maintained along the whole sculpture—along the bell which is light in feeling and fluent in curves, the abacus which is no longer the pedestal to the lion sculpture above but an organic whole with the bell because of the two mouldings which are intermediary,—maintained right up to the top of the crowning lions. It swells up and sweeps down, being made rhythmic by the alternate expansion and contraction of the forms. The only detracting feature is the cable necking which contrasts the vertical lines of the bell by its own spirals.

1 Sanchi Museum Cat., p. 19.

2 History of Art in Persia, Perrot and Chipiez, fig. 43. p. 112.

3 Ibid., p. 113.

The Sarnath capital (fig. 3) is of the same type as the Sanchi one. The lower mouldings are plain. The bell is light in feeling and elegantly carved, the breadth is not oppressive in proportion to the height. The rope moulding above is replaced by a bold torus. There is the plain fillet as in the Sanchi capital. The abacus is rather prominent being 1' $\frac{1}{2}$ " high, the total height being 7ft. This may have been due to the necessary insertion of the four symbolic wheels at the cardinal points. The manes of the lions are rendered in curls, rich in volume but still schematic.

The outline of the profile of the Sanchi capital has an outward swell round about the abacus in the middle. In the Sarnath specimen this swell is made boldly accentuated and with the high abacus, the claws of the lions above and the undecorated mouldings seems to enclose an elliptical form.

At the same time the artist of the Sarnath capital has achieved this rhythm of line, he has lost sight of other aesthetic considerations. The Sanchi bell with its mouldings and narrow abacus is, like the Susa base with its torus, one organic whole and the same cannot be said of the Sarnath bell, although the transition to the abacus is not harsh. The abacus itself is unduly high and seems about to crush the light and elegant bell with all its super-imposing weight.

The lion capital of Rampurva (fig. 4) is one of the finest products of Mauryan art. Its bell is of greater breadth than height, but this seems to have been due to the desire to contain the whole figure within the abacus. At any rate the joints of the hind legs and the rump are not jutting out as in the Nandangarh capital and the line is continued from the abacus directly along the rounded rump. The bell is elegant with the curves of its outline well brought out and the mouldings which are, like those of the Sarnath capital, undecorated. The narrow abacus ornamented with geese is with the fillet and the torus, a real beauty and in fact seems, as it were, to grow out of the bell like the thalamus of a lotus.

The manes of the lion are in schematic curls which lead the eye along pleasant zig-zags. Some of the curls radiating beautifully from the head form a frame round it. The animal is beautifully modelled, the taut muscles and swelling veins standing out boldly.

The divergences of form between the capitals could be hardly due to the fancies of the individual artist. On the other hand they seem to indicate how the art has groped through them to arrive at self-expression. The capitals of the Rumin Dei and Allahabad columns



Fig. 4
Lion Capital,
Rampurva



Fig. 5
Yakṣa Statue, Patna



Fig. 6
Female Sculpture, Mitharguni, Patna

have broad fillets at their base which are clearly a development of the fillet below the petals of the Susea base. The Basarh capital with its broad and heavy drum, sloping outline, square abacus—a form ill suited to the circular bell—and crude lion, is unquestionably a transitional work, belonging to a phase of the art when the form of the capital was not successfully evolved. The Nandangarh and Sankissa capitals are allied to this by the decorated mouldings above and below the bell, which in all of them is broader than it is high. Its outline however is more emphasized and the circular abacus is a departure from Basarh. The abruptness of transition between the abacus and the bell in the Nandangarh, Sankissa and Rampurva (bull) capitals create the impression of the former being the pedestal of the animal above, in spite of its round form. The bull capital of Rampurva in its cable necking, the proportions of the drum and the crudeness in the neck of the animal itself would seem to be allied to the Nandangarh and Sankissa capitals, but the powerful curvation of its outline, and the plainness of the lower mouldings link it with the Sanchi, Sarnath and Rampurva lion capitals. Evidently the decorated mouldings of the Basarh, Nandangarh and Sankissa capitals were felt to be overloaded and detracting from the beauty of the bell and given up for simpler and less obtrusive ones. The Sanchi capital is allied with the foregoing by its rope necking, but the fillet above it, the lighter form of the bell, well defined in the curves of the outline, the smooth transition to the abacus and the flow of line along the entire sculpture make it later than the Rampurva (bull) capital. In the Sarnath specimen the linear quality is more developed than at Sanchi and the plain torus has taken the place of the cable necking. The lion capitals of Sarnath and Rampurva may not be much removed from each other because of the agreement of the mouldings. That the breadth of the bell of the latter is greater than its height may be due to the need of including the crowning figure within the abacus.

These capitals, therefore, may be said to mark one ascending scale of artistic achievement, although the chronology cannot be strongly insisted upon without some striking divergence of form. The feeling for form and the eye for line seem to improve step by step. The tendency of linear rhythm can be felt from the beginning and in view of the same quality of later Indian sculptures may be recognized—not improbably—as the impress of the Indian genius on Mauryan

The human figure in Mauryan art

The human figure in Mauryan art was represented with equal boldness if less skill than the animal sculptures. Only a few specimens have been discovered. All of these are characterized by the usual brilliant polish. Two are inscribed, but their decipherment has been the cause of a wild controversy among scholars. Patna and Sarnath are the two localities which have yielded human sculptures.

The fragmentary head from Sarnath is remarkable for its massiveness, its bold execution and hard chiselling. The face is entirely broken off and the back of the skull with part of the forehead is all that remains of the head. The latter is framed by a number of conventional spiral curls, Western Asiatic in form. A floral wreath of a pattern common in Suiga art appears above the curls and there is a crenelated crown of Persian design. Some folds of drapery are seen on the neck. The eyebrow is sharply cut and the remaining corner would seem to indicate that the eyes had been wide open. The ear is naturalistic. The back of the head is boldly shaped and with the short neck from which it is scarcely differentiated gives an impression of strength. The face would appear to have been held up in a slanting attitude; so that the distance from the nape to the chin must have been awkward and affected the shape of the neck. Animal sculptures as the bull on the Rampurva capital would seem to demonstrate how the Mauryan sculptor, though sometimes lacking in understanding of form, was always a bold carver of stone. The Sarnath head would be another example of this.

A Patna statue—the one with its head intact—reveals in places—particularly the face—a hesitation in execution which may be due to the decadence that seems to have affected Mauryan art in its later stages. The figure stands in a perpendicular attitude with its right leg slightly in advance of the left. There must have been an oblong pedestal on which the feet had been resting flat. The left arm, of which the fore part is missing, was bent at right angles and held close to the side. The right hand is broken off from the shoulder, but existing traces show that it was held in the same attitude as in the other statue from the same place.

The upper body is nude except for the "uttariya" or upper scarf which lies across the chest and comes down to the feet from behind the left shoulder. It is for the most part gathered in a broad mass

which expands towards the right hip. The lower garment is made fast to the body by means of a sash, the knot and tasselled ends of which appear about the male organ. It is draped round the body and its right end is drawn up at the front. A peculiar feature of this garment is the absence of the "kaccha" or the end of the scarf tucked up at the back. The folds which are somewhat ornamental are represented by a broad band in the middle with two narrow borders. But as they are not sculptured in high relief and as the drapery is subsidiary to the figure and follows the configuration of the limbs the decorative tendency is effectively modified.

On the chest is a torque decorated with rosettes with the tassels of its ends hanging in a knot behind the shoulders. The left hand has a spiral armlet. There is a pendant on the left ear. The coiffure is represented in mass remaining plain over the crown and indicated at the back by the simplest hair lines. The mode of representing hair, therefore is different at Sarnath and Patna.

The massiveness of the limbs and lack of movement gives the figure a distinguished look. The artist has represented an obese type, its power being simply of mass in bold execution and a dignified attitude.

The back of the head is better formed than in the Sarnath fragment, the neck being distinct from the skull. The fleshy face has its salient features as the lips and nose worn away—all the same it is very crudely conceived. The forehead is narrow and crescent shaped. The eyebrows are raised in the middle. The eyes are wide open with heavy eyelids and long slits. The neck does not happen to be as distinct at the front as at the back and is absurdly perched on the shoulder.

The statue is plurifacial but the different aspects are not skilfully harmonized. The transition between the profile and the back is abrupt and not successfully rounded off. The movement of the right leg is not perceptible at the front and the front view of the neck is not in agreement with that of the back.

Another statue from Patna is seen in fig. 5. Its head and forearms are missing, but the lower portion including the pedestal is intact. A *chaury* rests on the right shoulder, its handle was obviously grasped in the hand. The bust is powerfully shaped but generalized in modelling. A massive garland lies on the chest. The right leg is slightly advanced but this can be discerned only in the back view. The feet are clumsily modelled.

The arrangement of drapery is the same as in the other statue. It is not a flowing robe, but clings close to the form. It is not of a decorative character as in Gandhara. Accordingly, we do not have the gracefully sweeping scarf, the charming frills, the folds which can be elegant sometimes—and all the magnificence of Gandhara. It falls to the ground heavily, revealing the feet at the front and in its simplicity adds to the repose and dignity of the figure.

The Pārkhām statue is another sculpture that is dated by Sir John Marshall in the Mauryan period.¹ The great divergence between this image and the Sarnath capital, he explains by attributing this to indigenous craftsmen of the Mauryan period, while the other is evidently the work of a Hellenistic artist. The figure is perpendicular but weighted only on the right leg. The left knee is raised forward though the foot rests level on the pedestal. The left hand came down on the thigh. The right hand is missing and its exact attitude is doubtful.

There are enormous pendants from the ears hanging down to the shoulders. Below the neck is a torque and necklace, the fringed ends of which appear behind the shoulders.

The upper garment is tied like a band below the chest with its end hanging on the left side. The lower scarf is made fast by a sash, the ends of which appear between the legs.

The lower garment has its train hanging at the back without the *kaccha* as in the Patna statues. At the front, it is drawn upwards. Between the legs are the lappets characteristic of the drapery of Suūga figures. Some of the frills are arranged over the right thigh—a feature that can be recognized on a figure in the Mahābodhi rails. The folds except in the lappets which serve an ornamental purpose are indicated by the barest scratch marks.

The feet are more shapely than in the Patna statue. In the form of the legs in particular, the sculptor essays at truth to nature. In the frontal aspect the drapery is pressed deeply against the limbs and thoroughly reveals their form. The same attempt is recognized in the Patna statues, but the conception of drapery there is different, the forms for the most part being only slightly revealed. This, therefore, is an anticipation of the same feature in later Indian sculpture. The male organ is not indicated. This again reminds us of the figures

1 C. H. I., Vol. I, p. 622.

on the Bharhut rails. The sash which keeps the lower garment in its place seems to cut through the abdomen. The neck shows the same crudeness as in the Patna statues. The head is not even rounded and there is little or no modelling in the face. The back of the skull is flat and thus distinct from the shoulder. The latter is much more accentuated in curve than in the Patna statues, while the spinal channel is deeper. The hips are flat and sharp in outline and make a near approach to the Mathura statues of Bhikṣu Bala set up in the reign of Kaṇṣka, in this respect. The lower garment completely hides the back view of the forms. The transition from one aspect to another is more sharp than in the Patna statues.

Thus the abdomen, the neck and the head of this figure are primitive features. The train of the lower garment at the back, the swelling curve of the shoulders as well as the attempt at plurifaciality recall the conventions and the technique of Mauryan art. The absence of the male organ, the revelation of the forms by the drapery pressing close against the limbs and the lappets between the legs are akin to Suṅga traditions. The raised knee and the easy posture would seem to point in the same direction although the execution recalls the boldness of Mauryan art. For, in Suṅga figures the raised knee is indicated by a lateral extension. The absence of modelling at the back is characteristic of later Indian statuary.

The image therefore, would appear to belong to the transition between Mauryan and Suṅga art, to a period when the traditions of Mauryan workmanship were weakening and Suṅga art—the spontaneous art of the people—was appearing on the horizon.

Didargunj in Patna has yielded a highly polished female statue (fig. 6) characterized by the brilliant Mauryan polish. It is 5' 2½" high and stands on a pedestal 1'6½" × 1' 8" sq. Its attitude is simple and perpendicular and there is no attempt at the creeper like movement characteristic of the mediæval female figure. In the back view the right leg appears to be slightly advanced, but in the frontal aspect both the feet appear weighted. This is because the sculptor could not unify the different aspects of the statue. The upper body seems to have a stoop to the front. This stoop may have been due to the weight of the breasts. This is enjoyably graceful in Gupta figures. The Mauryan sculptor would seem to have been incapable of representing such a delicate movement and has subjected to it the whole body from the hips upward. The right hand which is held a little apart from the

body is bent upwards at the elbow and holds the *chaury* resting on the shoulder. The left hand is missing and probably came down in a graceful curve on the hip.

The figure displays an enormity of ornaments characteristic of the taste of feminine India to this day. There are huge anklets on the feet and profuse bangles on the only remaining arm. A *kañci* surrounds the hips. A short necklace of beads encircles the neck while a double-stranded one hangs gracefully—"pendulously," between the breasts. Massive pendants—of a pattern which Beharce fashion has not still discarded—decorate the earlobes. "The head itself," writes Dr. Spooner, "is wreathed with ropes of beads or pearls caught up to a point in front, above a large and prominent oval disc of some kind placed centrally over the forehead and thence led backwards in a double line along the parting to find fastening beneath the luxuriant tresses of the coiffre behind."¹

The lower garment is wrapped round the waist, the ends being drawn up between the legs at the front. The train falls to the ground as in the two male statues. The drapery clings close to the figure, but reveals more of the forms in the front than in the back. The folds are of the same character as in the male statues, but executed in better taste. At the back they follow the lower curvation of the hips and in front converge to the mount of Venus which is hidden from view by a sash hanging from the *kañci*. In this respect the figure contrasts with the early sculptures of Sanchi, of Udaigiri in Orissa and the Kuśan figures of Mathura. The *uttaria* is confined to the back, with its right end falling to the ground, obviously because the sculptor intended to show off the frontal aspect.

The lower part of the figure is stiff and archaic in the front view. The torso tapers to the feet evidently to emphasize the breadth of the hips. The relieving feature of the statue is its upper half. The full breasts, the slim waist and the broad hips are as the Indian sculptor loved to represent. In the profile the breasts are seen hanging by their weight and the curvation of the hips is beautiful. In all this the artist has introduced a naturalism which adds to the gracefulness of the figure. The channelling of the spine, the creases of the neck, the charming knot of hair at the back, the folds of the waist and that below the navel show him at his best. The transition from one aspect to another is not abrupt

but rounded off. The features have the sponginess of flesh and are soft in contour.

The face is oval with the chin well brought out in the profile, with flanking ears with their lobes distended by the pendants, full cheeks narrow forehead and small mouth. The tip of the nose is damaged. The eyebrows rise directly from the lines of the bridge and are somewhat arched. The eyes have narrow and long slits with half open lids, but the pupils are not characterized. There are circular hollows round the eyes and the mouth. The face wears an expression of archaic rigidity.

The female sculpture of Besnagar has been attributed by the late Dr. Vincent Smith to the reign of Aśoka, "on account of the style and costume."¹ It is however totally discrepant from the Didargunj image, except in the attempt at plurifacality and the perpendicular attitude.

The figure is 6' 7" high and stands on an oblong pedestal which has been partly broken off at the front. There is no attempt at advancing the right leg.

There are pendants on the ears and massive necklaces which disfigure the chest. On the hips are the usual *kañcis*. The waist cloth is heavy and rude in execution and comes down below the knees. There is no train falling to the ground as in the Patna statues. There is nothing here to match the delightful folding of the drapery of the Didargunj image. The lappets between the legs at the front hint at Suñga influences having been at work and there is slight attempt to reveal the shape of the hips in the back view. The veiled coiffre and the disc like shape of the face remind of the figures on the Bharhut rails. Looked at from the front, the neck is almost charming, but the same bold execution of the back has been shirked by means of the massive coiffre. The chest is deep and the breasts fuller and rounder than in the Didargunj image and perhaps exaggerated. In the waist which is slim the same amount of detail is lacking. The hips are broad. Although the lower part of the figure is more rudely shaped, still it has less rigidity than in the Didargunj image. This is because there is variation of line near the knees, emphasized by the attempt at drawing out the lower edge of the waist cloth near

the calves of the legs and because the feet are planted in a more natural attitude. The transition from the back to the sides is left sharp.

The Besnagar statue, therefore, would seem to belong to the same period of transition between the Mauryan and the Śuṅga art as the statue of Pārkhama.

Our knowledge of Mauryan human sculpture, therefore would be limited to the Sarnath head and the three Patna statues. Sarnath has yielded another boldly carved stone head not polished—showing crudeness of neck and wide open eyes—of a different type from the heads of the two Patna sculptures. The lower strata of Sarnath remain to be explored over a considerable area and will no doubt yield very interesting remains, in view of fact that the Sarnath sculptures differ in respect of form from the Patna statuary. Another massive head, also unpolished has been discovered among the remains of the Persepolitan hall at Kumrahr (Site No. I), which has a narrow forehead framed by rude curls, slanting eyebrows of the type of the male statue of Patna, though bolder in execution, open eyes with long and narrow slits as the Didargunj image and circular hollows about the eyes and the mouth as in both of them. Evidently the head is late Mauryan.

The discovery of these three Patna sculptures was purely accidental and systematic excavation will no doubt bring to light many more. In the present state of our knowledge, the following may be regarded as characteristic of Mauryan statuary.

1. Peculiarities of form:—Misformed neck. Concentration of attention to the upper half of the figure, the lower half remaining stiff. Fleshy face. Eyes wide open with long and narrow slits, without pupils. Hollows round the eyes and mouth. Drapery falling to the ground at the back, rendered in folds with broad band in the middle with two narrow borders.

2. Peculiarities of pose:—Simple perpendicular attitude. Right leg slightly put forward—perceptible only from the back.

3. Plurifaciality which is more or less crude owing to the sharpness of transition from one aspect to another. Conformity wanting between the different aspects.

4. A feeling of power and repose.

Samsara or Buddhist Philosophy of Birth and Death

That birth precedes death, and death, on the other hand, precedes birth, is one of the principal tenets of Buddhism. The constant succession of birth and death in connection with each individual life-flux constitutes what is technically known as *Saṃsāra* (together-wandering). Several renderings are given of this enigmatic formula of Buddhist thought. One of the least correct as regards the wording, and the most misleading as regards the meaning, is "Metempsychosis," which in reality implies a transmigration of *something* or, to be more precise, an *immortal soul*. The Vedāntists will perhaps readily agree with this translation, as it only confirms the teachings of Upaniṣads, which say "just as the worm from leaf to leaf, even so goes the Ātman, the self, from existence."

Buddhists, on the contrary, strongly object to such a rendering for, according to Buddhist philosophy, there is no *goer* but a mere *going*, no *doer* but a mere *doing*. Since there is no proper English equivalent that fully conveys the meaning of the Pāli terms, it is preferable in every way to retain the original, and so avoid all misconceptions.

What, then, is the absolute beginning of *Saṃsāra* or, to put it in other words, what is the primal origin of life? This is a question which perplexes many a profound thinker. The expected answer has not yet been obtained, despite the fact that it has received the attention of all thinking men and it is not too much to say that in all probability it never will be.

The Indian Rṣis who are venerated for their colossal intellect have expended an enormous amount of labour and energy in order to comprehend this riddle of life. Deluded by the web of illusion, they have deduced all their so-called facts from the unwarranted thesis of an imaginary "self," and have concluded that life has for its origin the mystical *Paramātmān*.

Christianity also professes to give an explanation. Citing the analogy of the clock, it attempts to trace everything to the fiat of an Almighty God. With due deference to the teachings of Christ, suffice

it merely to state in the words of Schopenhauer that "the birth of an animal as arising out of nothing, and accordingly, its death as an absolute annihilation, whilst man who has also originated out of nothing has yet an individual existence, is really something against which the healthy mind revolts, and which it must regard as absurd."

Unfettered by any religious belief, freed from all dogmatic assertions, but solely relying on *common sense*, modern science steps in and endeavours to tackle the problem with her usual accurate investigations and ingenuity. In spite of her systematised knowledge she may fairly be compared to a child making its first observations in natural history. Nevertheless we gladly welcome her into our midst for she neither claims to be perfect, nor does she deem it a sacrilege if one has the audacity to contradict her views. To an age, or rather to people who strongly believe in the creation of an omnipotent God, the scientific theories that life has had a beginning in the infinite past and that man is evolved from the ground ape, are indeed very valuable substitutes.

Buddhism interposes and pertinently says "*without beginning and end is Saṃsāra. A beginning of beings, encompassed by nescience*, who, fettered by the thirst for life, pass on to ever new births, verily is not to be perceived." It seems further to address the enthusiastic seekers after truth and say: Young friends, worry not in vain, seeking for a beginning in a beginningless past. If life is an *identity*, it must necessarily have a primal origin. Life, strictly speaking, is a flux or force like electricity or gravitation, and, as such it necessitates a beginningless past. Whether you are descended from an arboreal or a ground ape, created by God or Brahman, birth, death and suffering are inevitable. Seek therefore the cause of his 'faring on' that concerns all humanity, and utilise every ounce of your valuable energy to transmute this life-stream to the unchangeable, unconditioned state, the Nibbāna.

To a materialist who loves to speculate for the mere sake of argument these words will, of course, be of no avail. Well, it makes no great difference to Buddhism. The word of Buddha is intended only for those sorrow-afflicted brethren to whom the Dhamma has become a necessity. "The Dhamma is like some painful cure which no rational person would undergo on its own account but because necessity compels."

Accordingly, in the search after the cause of birth and death Buddhism takes for its starting point the *being as he is*, here and now,

and traces back the causes of his conditioned existence. From the Buddhist point of view all men and animals are composed of inter-related mind and matter (Nāma and Rūpa), which constantly change with lightning rapidity, not remaining for even two consecutive moments the same. Though all are identical inasmuch as they possess the two common factors mind and matter, yet they are all so varied that, leaving animals aside, even amongst mankind no two persons are found to be alike in any respect, each person having his particular traits of character.

One might say that the variation is due to heredity and environment. No doubt they are partly instrumental; but surely they cannot be solely responsible for the subtle distinctions that exist between individuals. Otherwise we fail to understand why twins often physically alike, sharing equal privileges of up-bringing, are often temperamentally, intellectually, and morally totally different. Tracing back the individual, therefore, to the foetus in the womb to see where lies the cause, we discovered two other common factors the sperm-cell and the ovum-cell. Now a question might arise as to whether these two are the only materials for the production of the foetus. We must perforce answer the question in the negative. For we cannot comprehend why precisely "he" should spring from the particular sperm and ovum-cell in question and not another, since one has equal claims to the other. Buddhism makes the matter clear by attributing this appropriation of cell-matter to the existence of a *third element*. "By the conjunction of three things, O'Bhikkus," runs a passage in the Mahātaṇhā Sankhaya Suttanta (No. 38) of the Majjhima Nikāya, "does the formation of a germ of life come about. If mother and father come together, but it is not the mother's proper period, and the 'exciting impulse' (gandhabbo) does not present itself, a germ of life is not planted. If mother and father come together, and it is the mother's proper period, and the 'exciting impulse' also presents itself, then a germ of life is there planted." This newly discovered element is, in the words of Abhidhamma, termed Paṭisandhi-viññāṇa (linking-consciousness).

We have now found out the first term of life's progression, but our limited knowledge does not help us to proceed further and determine the cause of this 'exciting impulse.' The Buddha, however, developing a supernormal sense, so as to penetrate into realms beyond the reach of normal sense, comprehended also the root of this third element. He tells that the coming-into-being of the linking cons-

consciousness is dependent upon the passing away of another consciousness in a past birth, and that the process of arising and passing away is the result of an all-ruling powerful force known as Kamma. One might call for proofs. It must frankly be admitted that this proof cannot be furnished by an experiment upon the lecture table. Whether we believe in a past existence or not, it forms the only reasonable hypothesis which bridges certain gaps in human knowledge concerning facts of every day life. Our reason tells us that this idea of past birth and Kamma alone can explain the degree of differences that exist between twins, how men like Shakespeare with every limited experience, are able to portray with marvellous exactitude the most diverse type of human character, scenes, and so forth, of which they could have no actual knowledge, why the work of the genius invariably transcends his experience, the existence of infant precocity, the vast diversity in mind and morals, in brain and physique, in conditions, circumstances, and environments observable throughout the world, and so forth.

There is yet a further cause besides Kamma, continues the Buddha. Not knowing the four realities (Saccāni), allured to life by the wholly illusory inclination to sensual pleasures, one does good and evil, which constitute what is known as Kamma-energy that materialises in multifarious phenomena. Unknowingness (Avijjā) is therefore the cause of birth and death; and its transmutation into knowingness or Vijjā is consequently their cessation. The result of this Vibhajja method of analysis is summed up in the Paṭiccasamuppāda. The Paṭṭhāna succinctly expresses the same in the following words. In virtue of unknowingness (Avijjā), Craving (Taṇhā), Activities (Saṅkhārā) Attachment (Upādāna), and Volition (Cetanā), arise Rebirth-Consciousness (Paṭisandhi-viññāṇa), Mind and Matter (Nāma, Rūpa), Six Senses, (Saḷāyatana), Contact (Phassa), and Sensation (Vedanā).

The first set of five causes produces the second set of effects, which, in their turn, play the part of cause to bring about the former five. Thus the process of cause and effect continues *ad infinitum*. The beginning of the process cannot be determined, nor the end either *if the life flux is encompassed by nescience*. But when this nescience is turned into knowledge, and the life-flux diverted into Nibbāna-Dhātu, so to say, then the end of process or Saṁsāra comes about.

Briefly expounding the cause of Saṁsāra set forth in these enigmatic formulas of thought, and dealing with the not-less interesting problem

of life's last episode, we find Buddhism assigning death to one of the following four causes :—

(1) The exhaustion of the force of Reproduction (Janaka-Kamma) that gives rise to the birth in question (Kammakkhaya). The Buddhist belief is that, as a rule, the thought, volition, or desire, which is extremely strong during life-time, becomes predominant at the point of death and conditions the subsequent birth. In this last thought-moment is present a special potential force which may be either weak or strong. When the potential energy of this Reproductive Kamma is exhausted, the organic activities of the material form in which is corporealised the life-force, cease even before the approach of old age.

(2) The expiration of the life term (Āyukkhaya). What are commonly understood to be natural deaths due to old age, may be called under this category. There are various planes of existence according to Buddhism and to each plane is assigned a definite age limit. Irrespective of the Kamma force that has yet to run one must however succumb to death when the maximum age limit is reached. It may also be said, if the force is extremely powerful the Kamma-energy rematerialises itself in the same plane or even in some higher realm as in the case of Devas.

(3) The combination of both Kamma and Āyu (Ubhayakkhaya).

(4) The action of a stronger arresting Kamma (Upacchedaka) that suddenly cuts off the Reproductive Kamma before the expiry of the life-term. A more powerful opposing force can check the flying arrow and bring it down to the ground. Just in the same way a very powerful Kammic force is capable of nullifying the potential energy of the last thought-moment and destroy the psychic life of the being. The death of Devadatta, the Buddha's cousin was due to an Upacchedaka-Kamma. The premature death of the Crown Prince of Russia may also be instanced as an example of this class.

The first three types of death are collectively called *Kāla-maraṇa* (timely death), and the last is known as *akāla-maraṇa* (untimely death).

Explaining the cause of death in the foregoing manner, Buddhism tells us that there are also four modes of birth, viz:—Egg-born creatures (*aṇḍaja*), womb-born creatures (*jalābuja*), moisture-born-creatures (*samsedaja*), and creatures having a spontaneous birth (*opapātika*). This broad classification embraces the entire range of beings that possess life.

Birds and reptiles that are born of eggs belong to the first division.

The womb-born creatures comprise all human beings, some Devas inhabiting the earth, and those animals that take their conception in the mother's womb.

Those that take moisture as material for their growth, such as mosquitoes, are grouped in the third class.

Creatures having a spontaneous birth are generally invisible to the naked eye. They are said to be born with a form as if of fifteen or sixteen years of age appearing suddenly, independently of parent. Since they do not pass through the embryonic period which cause the total oblivion of the memories of the past, they are capable of recollecting their past births. 'Passing thence he was born as a deva and glanced into the past to see what good act conditioned him to be born thus,' are passages which often recur in the Suttantas. Brahmans, Devas of heavenly realms, Petas, and the miserable ones who are subjected to torments and suffering in the wicked states (Nirayas) belong to this last division.

It must be mentioned here, before we come to deal with the actual process of re-birth, that Darwin's theory of evolution finds no place in Buddhism. Buddhists do not believe in a succession of physical forms. The new physical vehicle is not the successor of the past, though it must be admitted that the coming-into-being of the present is conditioned by the passing away of the past. The multifarious forms are merely the manifestation of Kamma-force. "Unseen it passes whithersoever the conditions appropriate to its visible manifestation are present here showing itself as a tiny gnat or worm, there making its presence known in the dazzling magnificence of a Deva or an Archangel's existence. When one mode of its manifestation ceases it merely passes on, and where suitable circumstances offer, reveals itself afresh in another mode or form."

It is common to say after witnessing an outbreak of passion or sensuality in a person whom we deemed characterised by a high moral standard, "how could he have committed such an act, or followed such a course of conduct? It was not the least like him. It was not the least like what he appeared to others, and probably to himself." What did it denote? It denoted, Buddhists say, a part at any rate of what he really was, a hidden but true aspect of his actual self, or, in other words, his Kammic tendencies.

Dormant but undestroyed and with an ever-present possibility of rising again there lie in us all according to Buddhism five natures

viz., Divine (Dibba), human (Mānusika), brutal (Tiracchina) ghostly (Peta) and hellish (Nerayika). These natures, however civilised we may be, may rise in disconcerting strength at unexpected moments so long as we are worldlings (Puthujjana). We live for one thought-moment just as the wheel rests on the ground at one point, and are always in the present. The present is constantly slipping into the irrevocable past. Now we sow the seed of the future. Now, even now, we are creating the hells that we shall be hurled into. Now, even now, we are building the heavens that comfortably accommodate us. What we shall become is determined by this present thought-moment. In just the same way according to Buddhist philosophy the impending birth is determined by the immediately preceding thought, which is generally the thought volition, or desire that was extremely strong during our life-time. Therein, therefore, lies the possibility for the Kamma force that manifested in the forms of a human being to remanifest itself in the shape of a brute, ghost, deva or a human being, or, in other words, for a Kammic descent in one bound in the so-called evolutionary scale of forms.

As there is possibility for a Kammic descent so there is also the possibility for the contrary—a Kammic ascent. When the animal is to die, for instance, it will experience a moral consciousness that will ripen into a human birth. This last thought-moment does not wholly depend on any action or thought of the animal, for generally it is dull and incapable of morality. It depends on some ancient good deed it has done in the round of existence, and, which for a long time has been prevented from producing its result. In its last moment the animal therefore cherishes idea, desires or images which will cause a human birth.

Poussin, a French writer, illustrates this fact well by the law of heredity. A man may be like his grandfather but not like his father. The germs of a disease have been introduced into the organism of an ancestor; for some generation they remain dormant; they suddenly manifest themselves in actual disease. So intricate is the living complex, so mysterious the law of heredity, a Westerner says. So intricate is the law of Kamma, so mysterious is the effect of Kamma, Buddhists would say.

And now, to come to the most interesting and extremely subtle point of our subject;—

Suppose a person is about to die. From the seventeenth thought-moment reckoned backward from the point of death no renewed

physical functioning recurs. Material qualities born of Kamma (Kammaja Rūpa) arise no more, but those to which came into being before the static phase of that thought-moment persists till the time of the dying thought and then cease.

This critical stage may be compared to the flickering of a lamp just before it is extinguished.

To this dying man is presented Kamma, Kamma-nimitta, or Gati-nimitta. By Kamma here is meant some action of his whether good or bad. It may be a weighty action (*garuka Kamma*) such as *Samādhī* (established one-pointedness of the mind) or Parricide, and so forth. These are so powerful that they totally eclipse all others and appear very vividly before the mind's eye. If experience has afforded nothing weighty, he may take for his object of thought a Kamma immediately before death (*Āsanna Kamma*). It would not be far wrong to say that most of the soldiers who die fighting would be having a death-proximate Kamma, such as the killing of their fellowmen. Consequently their re-birth can in no way be desirable. In the absence of an *Āsanna Kamma* a habitual meritorious or demeritorious act (*Āciṇṇa Kamma*) is presented, such as stealing in the case of a robber, or the curing of the sick in the case of a physician. Failing all these, some casual act, that is one of the cumulative reserves of the endless past (*Kaṭattā Kamma*), becomes the object of thought.

By Kamma-nimitta is meant any sight, sound, smell, taste, touch or idea which was obtained at the time of the commission of the Kamma, such as knives in the case of a butcher, patients in the case of a physician, an object of worship in the case of a devotee, etc.

Gati Nimitta is some sign of the place where he is to take birth, a thing which invariably happens to dying individuals. When these indications of the future birth occur, and if they are bad, they can be turned into good. This is done by influencing the thoughts of the dying man, so that his good thoughts may now act as the proximate Kamma, and counteract the influence of the re-productive which is about to effect in the next re-birth.

Taking for the object one of the above, a thought-process (*Citta-vithi*) then runs its course even if the death be an instantaneous one. It is said that the fly which is being crushed by a hammer on the anvil also experiences such a process of thought before it actually dies. *Abhidhamma* enumerates twenty types of re-birth processes, but as space does not permit of their description here, let us imagine for the sake of convenience that the dying person is to be reborn in the

human kingdom and that the object is some good Kamma. The process of de cease-consciousness (*cuti-citta-vithi*) is as follows.

His Bhavaṅga consciousness is interrupted, it vibrates for two thought-moments and passes away. After which the mind-door consciousness (*Manodvārā-vijñāna*) rises and passes away. Then comes the psychologically important stage—Javana process, which here runs only for five thought-moments by reason of its weakness instead of normally seven. As such it lacks all reproductive power, its main function being the mere regulation of the new existence. The object in the present case being desirable, the consciousness here experiences is probably a moral one—automatic or volitional, accompanied by pleasure, and connected with knowledge or not, as the case may be. The *Tadālambana* consciousness which has for its function a registering or identifying for two moments of the object so perceived may or may not follow. After this occurs the death-consciousness (*Cuti-citta*) the last thought-moment to be experienced in present life. There is a misconception among some that the subsequent birth is conditioned by this thought. What actually conditions re-birth, let it be said, is not this de cease-thought, which in itself has no special function to perform, but that which is experienced during Javana process.

With the ceasing of the consciousness of de cease, death actually occurs. Then no more material qualities born of mind and food (*Cittaja* and *Āhāraja Rūpa*) are produced. Only a series of material qualities born of heat (*Utuja*) goes till the corpse is reduced to dust.

By death is here meant, according to *Abhidamma*, the ceasing of physic life of one's individual existence or, to express it in the words of a western philosopher, the temporal end of a temporal phenomenon. It is not the complete annihilation of the so-called being, for, although the organic life has ceased, the force which hitherto actuated it is not destroyed. As the Kammic force remains entirely disturbed by the distintegration of the fleeting body, the passing away of the present consciousness only conditions a fresh one in another birth. In the present case the thought experienced whilst dying being a moral one, the re-birth-resultant consciousness takes for its material an appropriate sperm and ovum-cell of human parents. Simultaneous with its rising spring up the body-decad, sex-decad, and base-decad the seat of consciousness—(*Kāya-Bhāva-Vatthu-Dasaka*). The re-birth consciousness then lapses into the sub-conscious state (*Bhavaṅga*).

"The new being which is the present manifestation of the stream of Kamma-energy is not, the same as has not identity with the pre-

vious one in its line ; the aggregations that make up its composition being different from, and having no identity with, those that make up the being of its predecessor. And yet it is not an entirely different being, since it is the same stream of Kamma-energy, though modified per chance. Just by having shown itself in that last manifestation, which now is making its presence known in these perceptible world as the new being (*Na ca so na ca añño*)."

The transition of the flux is also instantaneous and leaves no room whatever for any intervening stage (*antara bhava*). The continuity of the flux at death is unbroken in point of time. The time duration is equal to the time occupied by one thought-moment i.e. less than the billionth part of the time occupied by a flash of lightning. The only difference between the passing of one thought-moment to another, so to say, or the dying thought-moment to the re-birth consciousness, is that in the latter case a marked perceptible death is visible.

One might say here that a subject cannot exist without an object. What then is the object of this sub-conscious state? The reply is: self-same object which was presented to the mind's eye immediately before death.

One might further ask:—Are sperm and ovum-cells always ready waiting to take up this re-birth-thought? As Doctor Dahlke says in his "Buddhism and Science," this taking hold is not something that has law, that runs its appointed course according to definite laws, but it is law itself, A point on the ground is always ready to receive the falling stone.

Thus does this process of birth and death ever recur as long as this inexorable law of Kamma prevails.

NARADA

Dates of Early Historical Records of Bengal

It is a well-known fact that epigraphic records are rarely to be discovered in Bengal and Magadha and the few that have been discovered, being mostly undated or dated in regnal years of kings do not, for want of sufficient data, yield definite dates. In such an extreme dearth of chronological landmarks in the history of Bengal, the European savants of the last century, whenever they came across the slightest chronological clues anywhere, sought to verify them with commendable zeal. Cunningham thus calculated the date of Dharmapāla's accession to the throne to be 831 A.D. (Arch. Surv. Rep., vol. xv, pp. 150f.) Dr. Venis referred the Kamauli plate of Vaidyadeva to 1142 A.D. (Ep. Ind., vol. II, p. 349) and Dr. Kielhorn found out 1086 A.D. to be the date of the Āmgāchi plate of Vighrahapāla (Ind. Ant., xxii, p. 108). Since the advent of Indian scholars in the field of archæology in Bengal, when chronological reconstruction in light of new materials rendered those dates untenable, this particular aspect of the question remained totally neglected. So much so that when the present writer attempted to offer a tentative chronology of Pāla kings based upon the working out of all the available epigraphic and literary data, it was held to be "quite useless" by an esteemed scholar, who however had his own reasons for saying so; while Mr. R. D. Banerjee summarily rejected it as ridiculous. A cogent apology is, therefore, due to the scholars, who are yet reluctant to recognise the value of astronomical calculations for the purposes of accurate chronology. And fortunately for us quite a number of calendrical records have been preserved in a work by an author who flourished in the very heart of Bengal late in the 11th century A.D. These will prove even to the most fastidious among historians that the astronomical results arrived at with the help of modern tables are based upon sound principles and should therefore demand better consideration from them. Jīmūtavāhana, the celebrated author of the *Dāyabhāga* also wrote the *Kūlaviveka*, in which a detailed examination of the *Purṇimānta* and *Amānta* schemes of the lunar calendar is carried out with the help of a number of figures drawn from actual almanacs for the years 1013 and 1014 śaka (1091-93 A.D.). A comparison of

these figures with those arrived at by calculation with up-to-date apparatus is set forth below.

In the year 1013 śaka :

(1) On the 17th day of solar *Kārtika*, *badī* 15 coincided with the *Citrā* and *Svātī nakṣatras* without touching the *Viśākhā* (*Kālaviveka*, p. 64). According to our calculation, on the 17th *Kārtika* (= Oct. 14, 1091 A.D.) *badī* 15 began at 23-53 *palas* after sunrise, ended at 17-57 *palas* after sunrise the next day, while *Svātī* began at 30-8 *palas* after sunrise and ended at 26-0 *palas* after sunrise the next day.

(2) In solar *Agrahāyana*, *badī* 15 coincided with *Anurādhā* and *Jyeṣṭhā*. On the day in question (Nov. 13 = 16th *Agrahāyana*) *badī* 15 ended at 43-23 *palas* (after mean sunrise) and *Anurādhā* ended at 38-14 *palas* the same day.

(3) In solar *Caitra*, the first quarter of *Uttara-phalgunī* ended at 15 *daṇḍas* before the ending moment of *sudī* 15 (*Ibid.*, p. 46).

Sudī 15 ended at 50-56 *p.* on the day in question; *Uttara-phalgunī* began at 20-33 *p.* ending at 18-26 *palas* the next day: the first quarter of it thus ended at 35-2 *palas* i.e. 15-54 *palas* before the ending moment of the *tithi* (difference of 54 *palas* only).

In the year 1014 śaka :

(4) In solar *Vaiśākhā*, the latter half of *Citrā* began at 13 *daṇḍas* before the ending moment of *sudī* 15 (*Ibid.*, p. 46).

On the day in question (March, 1092 A.D.) *sudī* 15 ended at 15-20 *palas*, *Citrā* ended at 32-20 *palas* (beginning at 35-43 *palas* the previous day): the incident occurred, therefore, 11-19 *palas* before the ending moment of *sudī* 15 (difference of 1-41 *palas* only).

(5) On the *Vṛ̥ṣa-saṃkrānti* day, *sudī* 15 began in *Svātī* and the last quarter of *Viśākhā* began 8 *daṇḍas* before the ending moment of the *tithi* (*Ibid.*, pp. 43, 46).

The *Vṛ̥ṣa-saṃkrānti* occurred at 28-50 *palas* on the day; *sudī* 15 ended at 35-17 *palas* the next day and *Viśākhā* ended at 44-47 *p.* the next day (beginning at 50-40 *palas* on the *saṃkrānti* day); the last quarter of *Viśākhā* began, therefore, at 4-2 *palas* before the ending moment of the *tithi* (difference of 3-58 *palas* only).

(6) In solar *Bhādra*, *badī* 14 for 2 or 3 *daṇḍas*, then *badī* 15 and on the same day *Aśleṣā* for 7 *daṇḍas* then *Maghā* (*Ibid.*, p. 21). On the day (Aug. 5, 1092 A.D.) *badī* 15 began at 1-4 *p.* ending the next morning. *Aśleṣā* ended at 16-42 *p.* on the same day (in the latter case, the difference is 9-42 *palas*).

(7) In solar Pauṣa, Ārdrā ended at 13 *danḍas* before *sudi* 15 (Ibid., p. 42). On the day *sudi* 15 ended at 47-14 *palas* while Ārdrā ended at 35-10 *palas* i.e. 12-4 *palas* before *sudi* 15 (difference of 56 *palas* only).

(8) In solar Māgha, *sudi* 15 joins half with Puṣyā and half with Aśleṣā roughly (Ibid., p. 42).

On the day *sudi* 15 ended at 34-44 *palas*, beginning at 30-58 *palas* the previous day, while the Puṣyā ended at 4-47 *palas* the same day.

(9) In solar Phālguna, Maghā ended at 15 *danḍas* after the beginning of *sudi* 15 (Ibid., p. 43).

On the day *sudi* 15 began at 12-51 *palas* and the Maghā ended at 31-22 *palas* i.e. 18-31 *p.* after the beginning of the *tithi* (difference of 3-31 *palas* only).

(10) In the end of solar Jyaiṣṭha *sudi* 15 began 1 or 2 *danḍas* before Anurādhā ended (Ibid., p. 43).

On the day *sudi* 15 began at 4-10 *palas* and the Anurādhā ended at 3-54 *palas* i.e. just missing the *tithi* for 16 *p.* only.

(11) The most interesting statement is given, however, on page 119 of the work where Jīmūtavāhana cites the record of Andhūka Bhaṭṭa that in 955 Śaka (1033 A.D.) the *Tulā-saṃkrānti* (occurring, we find, at 12-5 *palas*) took place in *badi* 15 (ending at 20-24 *palas*, as we find, the same day); the *Dhanuḥ-saṃkrānti* also in *badi* 15 (ending at 51-25 *palas* while the *saṃkrānti* was at 35-51 *palas*); but the *Vṛścika-saṃkrānti* by the Sun's *aticūra* (whatever that may mean) in *sudi* 1. As a matter of fact, the *saṃkrānti* was at 6-26 *p.* while the *sudi* 1 began at 6-39 *p.* i.e. just 13 *palas* (5 minutes) after. It appears that Andhūka Bhaṭṭa and the early astronomers with no means of ascertaining absolutely accurate results had, in the event of such negligible intervals, recourse to a very curious practice of pushing on the *saṃkrānti* to the next *tithi* by a supposed *aticūra* in the Sun's motion.

It should be noticed that Jīmūtavāhana's figures are only roughly approximate given in whole numbers of *danḍas* and, as he himself admits, are subject to correction by 1 or 2 *danḍas* either way (*vide* p. 42). Considering that our calculations, given in exact *palas*, are about, a hundred times more accurate, the above differences are quite negligible. Only in one case the difference comes up to as much as 10 *danḍas* and our conviction is that the reading of the text is at fault there; it should be amended as *sapta-daśa-danḍān* in place of *sapta-danḍān* (Ibid., p. 21). It is hardly necessary to state that all

these figures are verified according to *true* calculations only. Jimūta-vāhana in conclusion gives his emphatic verdict in favour of what we had already stated on the strength of epigraphic evidence (Ind. Ant., 1920, p. 190) viz. the *Amānta* scheme must prevail over the the *Purṇimānta*, the latter being current among the merchants alone (*Kāla.*, p. 54). His ruling in this respect, as in the Hindu Law of Succession, has been uniformly respected in Bengal proper. Jimūta's appeal to his sceptic readers can be repeated here with equal force and freshness, though after a lapse of eight centuries:

"Scholars should respect these findings after acquainting themselves with (the correctness of) these time-calculations from mathematicians" (*Kālaviveka*, p. 54).

II

The most important literary data bearing on the chronology of the Sena kings are found in a few passages in the *Adbhutasāgara* already cited by us elsewhere. The work is an encyclopædia of omens and prodigies and consequently in its semi-astronomical character takes 1090 Śaka, the date of its beginning, as its working year. Thus, its method for finding out a year under the *Vedāṅga* Jyotiṣa calendar is as follows:

"The remainder of a particular Śaka year less 1090, divided by 5, would correspond to Sam, Pari, Idā, Anu, and Idu years respectively in the numerical order." (*Adbhuta.*, p. 236).

So that 1091 Śaka was a *Samvatsara*, a fact actually found in a ms. of the *Dānasāgara*. The statement is an important one, as forming perhaps the only authentic reference in mediæval times to a long-lost and ancient system. According to Garga's scheme of the calendar a coincidence of Māgha *sudī* 1 with the Sun in the beginning of Dhaniṣṭhā and the moon also in Dhaniṣṭhā (the winter solstice having shifted long ago) is indispensable to start the five-years' cycle of the *Vedāṅga* Jyotiṣa. This is actually the case in the year 1091 Śaka (1170 A.D.), when on January 19, there was Māgha *sudī* 1, *badi* 15 having ended the previous night at 57-47 *palas*: Dhaniṣṭhā began at *p.* 47-54 the previous night and ended at 53-50 *palas* the same day: the Sun with a longitude of 295° was also in the beginning of Dhaniṣṭhā. It is apparent that in the year 1170 A.D., a necessary adjustment by the dropping of an *adhika māsa*, as explained by the late Mr. Pillai (Ind. Chronology, p. 450) took place in the calendar. This cycle is, however, found to be in variance with the

Annuary given by the same scholar (Ibid., pp. 454f.) and it is our contention that strictly the Annuary is wrong and should be properly adjusted. For in Feb. 2, 1897 A.D., the Sun's longitude was $291^{\circ}8'$, which is not exactly in Dhaniṣṭhā ($293^{\circ}3'$). Quite in consonance with the *Adbhutasāgara*, we can start a cycle in Feb. 5, 1905 A.D. (after 735 years or 21 cycles of 35 years each: cf. Ib., p. 456) when there was Māgha *sudī* 1 (which began at 24 *daṇḍas* the previous day) and Dhaniṣṭhā (began at 27-40 *p.* the previous day): the Sun with a longitude of $293^{\circ}8'$ just reached Dhaniṣṭhā. So that a strictly correct Annuary can be constructed for a cycle of 35 years, the next adjustment taking place in Feb. 9, 1940 A.D. (not in 1935 A.D.).

The figure 1090 is similarly incorporated in the formula for determining a year under the Jovian cycle of 60 years (*Adbhuta*, p. 125) and that for calculating the *Varṣādhipa* (Ib., p. 235). Under the *Saptarṣi* cycle, the year selected is however 1082 Śaka, instead of the usual 1090, which could easily have been selected. There must have been some reasons for this deviation here and it is our surmise that the year 1082, falling in the beginning of his reign, probably marked the coronation ceremony of Ballāla, his regnal year actually beginning a little earlier (1158 A.D.). In the year 1082 Śaka (= 1160 A.D.) the *Saptarṣis* completed 61 years' stay in Viśākhā (Ib., p. 203). Here we find a clue to the right explanation of a convention that has appeared ridiculous to all European scholars (cf. G. R. Kaye: *Hindu Astronomy*, p. 16)—the *Saptarṣis* are supposed apparently by an astronomical fiction to spend 100 years in each Nakṣatra (Br. *Saṃhita*, XIII, 4). This convention, as the late Dewan Bahadur Pillai alone has stated (loc. cit., p. 483) is merely equivalent to a reckoning by centuries. The *Adbhuta* calculates by taking the fictitious longitude of the *Saptarṣis* at the beginning of the Kali Yuga to be in Aśvinī (and not Kṛttikā as in ancient reckoning) and thus in 1082 Śaka (= 4261 Kali Yuga Era) they have completed one revolution (in 2700 years) and after occupying 15 nakṣatras in 15 centuries, they are now 61 years in the 16th nakṣatra Viśākhā. The statement is, therefore, nothing but a mention of the Kali Yuga Era in the language of an astronomical fiction.

The above date of the *Adbhutasāgara*, thus figuring correctly in the very technique of the work in several places, has been shown by us to be in accord with the historical and literary references of the period, counting about a dozen in all (Ind. Ant., 1922, pp. 145 ff.). But Mr. R. D. Banerjee, who professes too much of the scientific

nature of his historical researches, in the second edition of his History of Bengal (vol. I), would still stick to his old views, deliberately remaining blind to the numerous adverse references, and touching only the most shaky one¹ among them, though they are, he says, nothing new to him. Further he has made the statement that the present writer has cut a most ludicrous figure in proving, what as a matter of fact he has himself nowhere disputed, viz. Ballāla's authorship of the *Adbhutasāgara* and the *Dānasāgara* (*vide* History of Bengal, vol. I, p. 336).

The Mymensingh Copperplate inscription of Viśvarūpasena, son of Lakṣmaṇa, only recently discovered and published by M. M. Haraprasāda Śāstri (Ind. Hist. Quarterly, vol. II, p. 84) has fortunately preserved an important clue to its date, unnoticed by the editor. One of the grants (of Kumāra Puruṣottama) ratified by the plate was made on "chaturdaśī-vyāpiutthāna-dvādaśyām" (l. 24 reverse) i.e. in a year where the Utthāna-dvādaśī or the Kārtika *sudī* 12 fell on a *tryahasparśa* day, joining with the 14th *tithi*, the 13th *tithi* being suppressed. This is by no means of frequent occurrence. As a matter of fact our calculations extending over a century and a half (1122-1272 A.D.) actually yield only two dates:

(1) In 1247 A.D. (Oct. 13) the *tithi* in question—Kārtika *sudī* 12 ended at 1-2 *palas* after mean sunrise and *sudī* 13 ended at 1-15 *palas* before the next sunrise.

(2) In 1271 A.D. (Oct. 17) similarly *sudī* 12 ended at 3-44 *p.* after sunrise and *sudī* 13 ended at 1-45 *p.* before the next sunrise.

There is nothing to choose between these two dates, though in 1271 A.D. the incident of a *tryahasparśa* is of greater certainty by reason of the longer margins either way. This date of Viśvarūpa, is another death-blow to Mr. Banerjee's favourite theory—unless it is held that

1 The *Saduktikarmāmṛta* written in 1206 A.D. by the son of a protégé of King Lakṣmaṇasena points to the latter half of 12th century A. D. as the *probable* date of that king. Mr. Banerjee ignores the word *probable*. According to him (*loc. cit.*, p. 327) Lakṣmaṇa reigned for 30 years from 1119 A.D. and thus flourished in the first half of the century. If a man is found to be flourishing, say, in 1906 A.D., we should be seeking for his father's period of activity in the last half (1850-1900) of the last century, rather than its first half (1800-1850).

Viśvarūpa born, say, towards the end of his father's reign, lived for more than a century and reigned for more than three quarters of it. The earlier dates, where the 13th *tithi* (here necessarily of less than 60 *daṇḍas'* duration), just escaped from being suppressed by a small margin are given below for the curious readers:

1176 A.D.—*sudī* 12 for 8-43 p. and *sudī* 13 for 5-20 p. next day.

1177	„	„	6-40 p.	„	5-20 p.	„
1200	„	„	8-6 p.	„	3-8 p.	„
1209	„	„	6-7 p.	„	5-35 p.	„
1228	„	„	7-52 p.	„	2-21 p.	„
1238	„	„	6-33 p.	„	3-8 p.	„
1253	„	„	8-47 p.	„	4-48 p.	„
1262	„	„	5-56 p.	„	1-5 p.	„

Of the few epigraphic records that have fortunately preserved sufficient data for verification, those connected with the chronology of the Pāla kings are dealt with separately below. There are two more remaining, of which one the Narteśvara Image inscription of Layahacandra, dated Āṣāḍha *badi* 14, Thursday and Puṣyā of the 8th year (*J.A.S.B.*, 1914, p. 88)—refers to a king of unknown age and connection and is thus incapable at present of yielding any definite date by a choice from among the many possible ones. The other is the delightful record of Nānyadeva cited by us elsewhere (*Ind. Ant.*, 1922). In the whole domain of Bengal and Magadha antiquities there is not another record with such a date of marvellous accuracy. It states that Nānyadeva “made an erection in the *simha-lagna* (i.e. early morning) of a Saturday in (solar) Śrāvaṇa, the *tithi* being śukla 7 and the Nakṣatra Svāti in the year 1019 Śaka.” On July 18, 1097 A.D. (1019 Śaka) which was a Saturday and the 23rd day of solar Śrāvaṇa, *sudī* 7 ended at 32-28 *palas* after sunrise and Nakṣatra Svāti ended at 51-54 *palas* after sunrise the same day. This accurate verification is a sufficient guarantee for the genuineness of the record, which may not be traced to any authoritative work.¹

1 Mr. Banerjee is quite unable to appreciate the scientific value of this record. On the contrary, he cries shame upon us for confessing our inability to trace the record to its original source. It is, nevertheless, quoted by a number of distinguished authors, including the late Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa (*Indian Logic*, p. 521)

III

Mr. R.D. Banerjee has recorded a warning to those scholars engaged in historical researches, who feel aggrieved to abandon their former views (op. cit., vol. I, p. 329). But he himself would not give up his old favourite theories though exploded by later researches. The whole chronology of the Pāla dynasty, as constructed by him in the new edition of his work, stands upon two favourite theories of his—the date of Dharmapāla's accession to the throne between 790 and 795 A.D. on the one hand (loc. cit., p. 178), and on the other, the origin of the *Lakṣmaṇa Saṃvat* of 1119 A.D. as marking the beginning of Lakṣmaṇasena's reign. As he would still stick to them, palpable blunders like the following crept into his work.

(1) Dharmapāla, who came to the throne between 790 and 795 A.D., reigned for at least 32 years and according to Mr. Banerjee for about 35 years (p. 199). So the next reign of Devapāla should accordingly start somewhere between 825 and 830 A.D. In the first edition of his work, Devapāla is stated to have reigned precisely from 825 A.D., but in the 2nd edition, the date of Devapāla is made to begin, after a correction, from 820 A.D. (p. 215) !

(2) The total length of the reigns of the eight kings from Dharmapāla to Mahīpāla I counts to be at least 240 years and according to Mr. Banerjee it is 250 years. Mahīpāla's death should accordingly occur in 1040 A.D. (or 1030 A.D. at the earliest). But Mr. Banerjee states 1025 A.D. (p. 250).

(3) Nayapāla dies according to him in about 1045 A.D. (It cannot be earlier in view of his synchronism with Atiśa, who wrote to him from Nepal in 1041 A.D.) The length of the following reigns up to the eighth year of Madanapāla counts at the least possible calculation (allowing only 2 years to the four reigns of Mahīpāla II, Śūrapāla II, Kumārapāla and Gopāla III) to be 65 years. So that the

and Mr. J. M. Roy (History of Dacca, vol. II, p. 317). None of them could cite the original source, nor would Mr. Banerjee (loc. cit., p. 336). If it is held to be a fabrication, it must be a most remarkable fabrication in the field of Indian antiquities, with an accuracy of details impossible to work out without the help of quite modern chronological tables.

8th year of Madanapāla falls in 1110 A.D. *at the earliest*. But Mr. Banerjee still holds that Vijayasena, who died according to him not later than 1108 A.D., conquered Varendra after the 8th year of Madanapāla (pp. 312, 317). In such a state of things obtaining in Mr. Banerjee's history of Bengal, it is our duty to make independent investigation on the subject.

The history of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal may be regarded as dividing broadly into two distinct periods, viz., (a) from the election of Gopāla I to the Kāmbhoja usurpation, and (b) from the reign of Mahīpāla I to the final dissolution. An attempt was made by us in a paper to fix the dates of the kings of the second period in greater details than was hitherto reached. Prof. R. C. Mazumdar has since published in the *J.A.S.B.* (1921, p. 1ff.) a valuable paper on the Pāla chronology. It has become necessary in light of newer materials to reconsider the chronology put forth by Prof. Mazumdar along with the one I had published (*Ind. Ant.*, 1920, pp. 189f.). Prof. Mazumdar foreshadowed his main paper by a note (*J.A.S.B.*, 1920, pp. 300 ff.) in which he threw doubts on Mr. R. D. Banerjee's identifications of Pāla kings mentioned in four Mss. colophons. As three of these colophons were utilised by me in my paper, I have to state the reasons that led me to accept Mr. Banerjee's identifications. It goes of course without saying that the Mss. themselves do not specify the kings. But the learned Prof. has been, we are afraid, so over-cautious as to forget the simple truth that the Ms. written in the 15th year of Gopāla at Vikramaśilā, (*J.R.A.S.*, 1910, pp. 150f.) can neither refer to the reign of Gopāla I, which falls much too early, nor to that of Gopāla III, who was too short-lived. Facts of history will similarly decide in favour of referring the Mss. in question to the reign of Mahīpāla I generally in preference to Mahīpāla II. For, it is doubtful, if Mahīpāla II ever reigned for a length of six years and even if he did, his sixth year falling presumably towards the end of his reign, must have been marked by the great and successful *Kaivarta* revolt, enough to preclude the possibility of peaceful subjects referring to it in such full glory as "pravardhamāna-kalyāṇa-vijayarājye" (Pālas of Bengal, p. 75). The short length and nature of Mahīpāla II's reign of oppression, which began in bad policy ("antikārambhama") and ended in a successful *Kaivarta* revolt, were possibly among the reasons that led Vaidyadeva, as they would lead any other peaceful subject, to shun his name. It seems therefore somewhat hypercritical on the part of Prof. Mazumdar to question

the decent identifications of Mr. Banerjee as far as Mss. of the reign of Mahīpāla and Gopāla are concerned.¹

I appreciate, however, his doubts on the identification of Vighrahapāla, as I can now offer better reasons for assigning a fairly long reign to Vighrahapāla III. In the Manahali grant, Vighrahapāla III, is stated to have reigned "for a long time" (*śāsaty eva ciraṇ jaganti janake*—verse 15). Moreover, a short reign of 12 years to Vighrahapāla III leaves a good margin to be added on to the known length of Nayapāla's reign (15 years). But we must not lengthen the latter's reign if we can help it for the following reason. The Bāgaḍ plate of Mahīpāla I, dated in his 9th year (Ep. Ind., XIV, 328) gives the following account of its engraver at the end :

posaligrāma-niryāta-vibhramāditya-sūnunā /
idaṃ śāsanam utkīrṇaṃ śrīmahādharaśilpinā //

The Āmgāchi plate of the 12th year of Vighrahapāla III (Ib., XIV, 293) gives again the following account of its engraver in line 49 :

posaligrāma-niryāta-mahādharaḍeva-sūnunā /
idaṃ śāsanam utkīrṇaṃ śaśidevena śilpinā //

These would clearly establish the relation of father and son between the two engravers, who are separated, however, by the truly vast interval of 67 (i.e. 40+15+12) years. We should not therefore, further increase that interval even by a single year if we can help it. That the 15th year of Nayapāla possibly marked the end of his reign is also clear from the fact that three Gayā inscriptions of the same man Viśvāditya or Viśvarūpa are dated, two in the 15th year of Nayapāla and one in the 5th year of Vighrahapāla III (Pālas of Bengal, pp. 81-2).

The chronology of the later Pāla kings may be very approximately determined by the working of the following data:

1 His inglorious reign is in our opinion hinted at covertly in the Manahali grant: "Śrīmān Mahīpāla iti dvitīyo, dvijeśamauliḥ śivavad babbhūva" This apparently means "Mahīpāla the second was like śiva a *dvijeśamauli* i.e. devoted to the Brahmins." (The meaning "was like a second śiva" given in Gauḍalekhamālā, p. 156, is wrong rhetorically). The covert meaning would be something like this, though it is far-fetched: Mahīpāla who was *dvitīya* "having a match" (not matchless), had his *mauli* i.e. lands, owned by birds and snakes (*dvijeśa*).

- (1) The date of Vaidyadeva's grant; *viṣuvāt saṃkrānti* combined to a *Hari-vāsara*.
- (2) The date of Rāmapāla's demise as given in the *Sekasubhodayā*.
- (3) The date of Mahīpāla I : in his 6th year, Kārtika *badi* 13 was a Tuesday.

Between 1100 and 1150 A.D. there are altogether seven dates roughly combining *viṣuvāt* with *Hari-vāsara* 1104, 15, 19, 23, 34, 38 and 42. In 1115 on the saṃkrānti day (March 24) there was *dvādaśī* throughout and *trayodaśī* for 3-15 *palas* only, the *Hari-vāsara*, therefore, falling on the previous day. This is also the case in 1134 (*trayodaśī* for 37-13 *p.* on the saṃkrānti day). In 1123 again on the saṃkrānti day, there was *daśamī* for full 30-54 *p.* and *ekādaśī* later, a combination stigmatised in a separate section in the *Kālavivēka* (daśamīyuktānāṃ niṣedhavačanāni, pp. 441-51). So also in 1104 (daśamī for 41-6 *p.* on the Saṃkrānti day) and 1142 A. D. (daśamī for only 0-38 *p.* ekādaśī ending at 4-17 *p.* the next day).

The pet theory of Mr. Banerjee that the Lakṣmaṇa era starts from king Lakṣmaṇa's accession, has been mainly responsible for the trend among recent scholars to seek for the date of Madanapāla's accession to the throne in the first quarter of the 12th century A.D. at the latest. It now appears to us that the original view of Dr. Venis is not far from the truth, for though his date, 1142 A.D., is to be rejected on technical grounds, the date we now decide upon—1138 A.D.—is near enough. Our reasons for rejecting now the earlier date, 1119 A.D. are more than one. King Govindacandra of Kanauj, whose reign extended from 1114 to 1154 A.D., had for one of his queens Kumāradevī, a daughter of Devarakṣita of Magadha and Pīṭhī. We find in the *Rāmacarita* that this Devarakṣita was a son-in-law of Mahana, who quelled his hostility towards Rāmapāla and he was dead when Rāmapāla was preparing against the *Kaivarta* rebel. For Bhīmayaśas was the then king of Magadha and Pīṭhī. It is thus clear that Kumāradevī was born sometime before the great campaign, which presumably took place not later than the second decade of Rāmapāla's reign. With *circa* 1110 A.D. as the date of Rāmapāla's death, Kumāradevī becomes almost too old for Govindacandra. On the other hand, Rāmapāla whose death synchronised with that of his uncle Mahana and who became already famous in his father's reign, should not be too far removed from the 3rd quarter of the 11th century A.D. Reconciling these two factors we should seek for the date of Rāmapāla's death *circa* 1120 A.D.

Bhīmayaśas has been described in the commentary of the Rāmācarita (2/5) as “kānyakubjarājavājini-gaṇṭhana-(? gañjana)-bhujaṅga.” Mr. Banerjee (vol. I, p.256) referred the incident conveyed by this epithet to a period before the rise of the Gahrawal dynasty under Candradeva. We are inclined, however, to read in this epithet a curious parallel of an event of the previous generation. Just as Mahana’s victory over Devarakṣita seemed to have secured the hand of the victor’s daughter for the vanquished, Bhīmayaśa’s victory possibly over old Candradeva or his regent son Madanapāla, secured for the son of the vanquished, the hand of the victor’s relative (sister or niece?) Kumāradevī. At any rate, the successor of Devarakṣita cannot be reasonably supposed to have been active before the time of the grandfather of Devarakṣita’s son-in-law.

Dr. Mazumdar strikes an original note, but we are afraid an impossible one, in the interpretation of the Kamauli plate: viz. Kumārapāla was the reigning monarch when that document was drawn up, the year 4 of the plate referring if not to the very reign of Kumārapāla, to that of Vaidyadeva in Kāmarūpa when the former was still alive. Kumārapāla, though eulogised abundantly in the plate, has been denied the epithet “śrī” and it would be outrageous to his sovereignty if his ex-minister—“dearer to him than his own life”—proclaims himself in such full glory as Paramamāheśvara etc. The complete independence borne out by these epithets was possibly declared, as has been reasonably supposed, during the disorders about the time of Gopāla III and the regnal year 4 of course refers to the (independent) rule of Vaidyadeva in Kāmarūpa and not certainly to that of his former patron. Dr. Mazumdar is evidently troubled over the fact that Vaidyadeva stops with the mention of Kumārapāla. We don’t see however, why we should not rest content, in the present state of our knowledge, with the explanation that has been offered for this viz. Vaidyadeva severed his allegiance to the weak king Madanapāla, who may have been implicated in the probable murder of Gopāla III.

The Kamauli plate being thus referred to the year 1138 A.D., March 1135 A.D. fell in the 1st year of Vaidyadeva. Kumārapāla and Gopāla III died therefore sometime before that. This date is confirmed in our opinion by another epigraphic evidence though of a very doubtful significance. The Manahali plate of Madanapala records a land grant made in “Saṃvat 8 candragatyā caitrakarmadine 15.” The unique word *karmadina* seems to refer to a rare combination—“candragatyā caitradine 15” simply would suffice to mean

a Caitra pūrṇimā which occurs every year. In the year 1141 A.D. (March 24) there was a pūrṇimā coinciding with the Caitra saṃkrānti. We are inclined to believe that it is possibly this special combination (karmadina) that occasioned the recital of the Mahābhārata and the gift of the land. The beginning of Maḍanapāla's reign falls under this assumption early in 1134 A.D.

Considerable improvement is possible in the interpretation of the verse in *Sekaśubhodayā* recording Rāmapāla's death, which we sought to verify in our previous paper. In "śāke yugmaveṇu-randhragate (?) " the word *yugma* undoubtedly means 2, it can never mean "double" and never qualify a following noun in that sense. Moreover *yamatithi* better means *badī* 14 for on kṛṣṇa caturdaśī it was customary to invoke the 14 *yamas* (vide Kālaviveka, p. 471; also Viṣṇu-dharmottara, III, 187—yamavratavarṇana—p. 389). The date thus recorded is Āśvina māsa, *badī* 14, Thursday. There are three possible dates between 1100 and 1135 A.D., when the combination took place viz. Sep. 7, 1116; Sep. 23, 1120; and Sep. 20, 1123 A.D. Of these the year 1120 A.D. (*badī* 1 ended at 34-20 *palas* on Thursday, Sep. 23 = Āśvina 27) corresponds to the Śaka year 1042 ending with the number 2 (yugma). Rāmapāla's death thus occurred in the forenoon ("sapta-ghaṭīkopari" according to the *Sekaśubhodayā*) of Sep. 23, 1120 A.D. Accordingly the unfortunate *lacuna* in the reading of the year in the verse, where two short syllables are wanting to complete the metre, can be filled up with the least possible change in the following manner:

For Śāke yugmaveṇu-randhragate
read Śāke yugmaka-veda-randhra-ku-gate (1042)

Mr. Banerjee (loc. cit. pp. XIII and 336) again mistakes a "suggested emendation" in my previous paper for an "arbitrary change of reading" (yatheccha parivartana) and dismisses the whole paper with a broad grin as being "based" upon it (pratiṣṭhita). We have to repeat what we had stated before that the verse in question was regarded to be a genuine record by the late Mr. Batavyāla who brought it to light; it received remarkable corroboration from the Rāmacarita and, last of all, it has the honour of being quoted, though in a foot-note, in the ultra-scientific history of Mr. Banerjee himself in both the editions. Kumārapāla thus gets a reign of 12 years in our scheme. Mr. Banerjee assigns a very short length to his reign, which is somewhat incompatible with the fairly lengthy reference to him in the Kamauli plate.

In the 6th year of Mahīpāla I, Kārtika *badī* 13 coincided with Tuesday (Buddhist Mss., p. 2). The probable dates between 972 and 997 A.D. are the following:¹

Nov. 2, 986 A.D.	<i>badī</i> 13 ended at 59-15 <i>palas</i> after mean sunrise
Nov. 18, 990	„ „ 3-20 <i>p.</i> „ „
Nov. 14, 993	„ „ 39-30 <i>p.</i> „ „

We are now in favour of the latest date, 993 A.D., for the Tibetan authorities are unanimous in their statement that Nayapāla came to the throne *just at* the time when Atiśa left for Tibet in 1039 A.D. Tāranātha (Schiefner p. 244) states this on the authority of all previous biographical works. The reference is probably to the coronation. At any rate 1039 A.D. fell very early in the reign of Nayapāla.

The chronology of the later Pāla kings may thus be fixed in the following manner:

			Length of reign
Mahīpāla I	988-1036 A.D.	...	48 years
Nayapāla	1036-1050	...	15
Vigrahapāla III	1050-1076	...	26
Mahīpāla II } and Śūrapāla II }	1076-1078	...	3
Rāmapāla	1078-1120	...	42
Kumārapāla	1120-1132	...	12
Gopāla III	1132-33	...	1 or 2
Madanapāla	1134- <i>circ.</i> 1153	...	20
Govindapāla	<i>circ.</i> 1153-1161	...	8

It should be noted that we have stated 1161 A.D. as the date of the final destruction of the Pāla kingdom on the strength of the Gayā inscription of 1175 A.D. as interpreted by us (Ind. Ant., 1922, pp. 155-6). For reasons stated above Mahīpāla I, Nayapāla, Mahīpāla II and Śūrapāla II are not likely to get longer reigns by future discoveries. Even if they do there is sufficient margin left before 988 A.D. to accom-

1 For the curious reader I give below the results if the reference be to the reign of Mahīpāla II. Between 1058 and 1082 A.D., there are only two dates in the Amānta scheme—Nov. 9, 1064 A.D. and Nov. 22, 1071 A.D.: his date of accession to the throne would then be either 1059 or 1066 A.D., none of which are suitable.

moderate them accordingly. In the event of Vighrahapāla III and Rāmapāla getting longer reigns, which is equally unlikely, we shall have to reject the verification of the Sekhaśubhodayā verse. In the present state of our knowledge, however, the scheme we have drawn above does not militate against any known facts of history. In the Belabo grant of Bhojavarmā, king Jātavarmā is stated to have defeated among others, Divya, the Kaivarta rebel.¹ We had elsewhere accepted as genuine the traditional date of Śyāmalavarmā's accession to the throne (1072 A.D.). This can be well adjusted on the assumption that the beginnings of Kaivarta unrest occurred in the reign of Vighrahapāla III, who was helped by his immediate kin Jātavarmā (both being sons-in-law of Karṇa Cedi).

The death of Mahīpāla I according to a tradition as recorded by Tāranāth (Schiefner, p. 225) synchronises with that of the Tibetan king Khri-ral. Recently a writer in the Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā (1333 B. S. p. 52-3) fixed 1038 A.D. as the date in question, assuming that Khri-ral is identical with king Lha Lhama Yeše-hod, whose former name was Khor-re. Though the date marvellously fits in our chronology, we have to reject the identification of Khri-ral, on which it rests. For Khri-ral is known to be the same as the famous king Ralpacan (vide Rockhill's Life of Buddha, p. 223; Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Indian Logic, p. 517, referring to Csoma de Koros's Tibetan Grammar, p. 185).

We are able now to work out the chronology of the earlier Pāla kings in fuller details in light of new materials. We had mentioned in our previous paper that Gopāla II is stated in the epigraphic records to have reigned for a long time (*cirātaram*). This is now amply corroborated by a Ms. colophon. A Buddhist work—Maitreya Vyākaraṇa—was copied in the 57th year of Gopāla II, whose reign thus becomes the *longest* of the whole dynasty. It is a pity that this most important colophon remained so long entirely unnoticed and escaped even the eyes of Mm. H. P. Śāstrī, who passes it without any remark in his Descriptive Catalogue of Buddhist Mss. (p. 13). The newly discovered Nālandā copper-plate of Devapāla is dated in his 39th year. The Bargaon stone pillar inscription of Rājyapāla is dated in his

1 The verse in question (v. 8 of the Belabo grant), it should be noticed, contains without much exaggeration a statement of the earthly achievements of Jātavarmā, whose sudden connection with "celestial" (*divya*) arm becomes therefore out of place in the phrase, "nindan divyabhujaśriyam."

24th year (Ind. Ant., 1918, p. 111). All these data produce an almost impossible situation, rendering untenable the date of the Kamboja usurpation of 956 A.D., as referring to the reign of Vighrahapāla II. For the total length of years from Devapāla to Gopāla II comes up to 177 (39+3+54+24+57) at least. This either places Dharmapāla's death before (966-177) 789 A.D., which is before the time of Govinda, or places the accession of Vighrahapāla II to the throne in 970 A.D. at the earliest. The date of Kamboja usurpation (966 A.D.) will then have to be referred to the reign of Gopāla II, who is credited, however, in all the epigraphic records with a decidedly peaceful reign. The only reasonable solution we think possible is to reject as doubtful the stone pillar inscription of Rājyapāla as deciphered by Mr. Banerjee. It is not very likely that Rājyapāla coming between two enormously long reigns of Nārāyaṇapāla (54 years) and Gopāla II (57 years) reigned for a good length of 24 years.¹ In the Bargaon inscription the figure 24 was perhaps carelessly placed after *Samvat* and is to go with *mārga-dine*, where the figure is wanting. Or like the inscriptions of Mahendrapāla, the record probably refers to the Gurjara Pratihāra king Rājyapāla.²

Another happy date has been worked out from the two identical inscriptions of Śūrapāla I. The editor of the inscriptions, Prof. Chakravarti, referred them to the reign of Śūrapāla II (*JASB.*, 1908, p. 107). Against this Mr. Banerjee, on palaeographical grounds, referred them to Śūrapāla I (Palas of Bengal, p. 57), which is much more likely. Śūrapāla II is not mentioned in the Rāmacarita to have ever sat on the throne. His mention in the Manahali Grant may have been occasioned by a few months' so-called reign in those troubled times when he found himself helpless and deserted as the significant words "ekah sāhasasārathih" sufficiently bear out. There cannot, therefore, be any doubt that the inscriptions refer to Śūrapāla I. The dating of the inscriptions has not yet been carefully scrutinised. "Samvat 2 dvirāṣāḍha badi 11" was the reading of Prof. Chakravarti.

1 King Rāsapāla, the nearest approach to the name Rājyapāla, is stated in Tibetan books to have reigned for 12 years only : Schiefner's Tāranātha, p. 214 : also p. 205 fn. referring to Lassen, III, 730 f.

2 Curiously the language of the Bargaon inscription e.g. "Rājapāla-devarāje" is like that of one of the inscriptions of Mahendrapāla (vide Plate XXXI in the Palas of Bengal) corrupt.

But in the plate accompanying his paper, the figure after *Samvat* is most clearly 3 and not 2. Prof. Chakravarti evidently took the unusual word "dviḥ" to be a repetition in word of the figure after *Samvat*. But the real interpretation has been hitherto entirely missed by all scholars. The word "dvirāṣāḍha" is a well-known technical term in Indian astronomical and *Smṛti* literature. There is a separate section named "Dvirāṣāḍha-viveka" in *Jimūtavāhana's Kālaviveka* (pp. 169-174). The word primarily means an *adhika māsa* falling in *Saura Āṣāḍha* and secondarily in a wider sense any *adhika māsa* falling within the first six months of the year (*Vaiśākha* to *Āśvina*). It has been used here in the first narrow sense to indicate the exact month. Now, there were *adhika Āṣāḍha* months in the years 822, 833, 841, and 852 A.D. Of these possible dates, 822 and 833 are too early, placing *Dharmapāla's* death in 792 A.D. at the latest. 852, on the other hand, is too late, placing *Vigrahapāla II's* accession to the throne in 987 A.D. at the earliest. The date of the inscriptions is therefore 841 A.D. *Devapāla's* death is thus fixed within a year before June, 839 A.D. and *Dharmapāla's* accession to the throne cannot be dated later than 770 A.D., thus remarkably supporting our previous conjecture (*Ind. Ant.*, 1920, p. 193).

The *Bodh-Gaya* inscription of the 26th year of *Dharmapāla* contains a verifiable datum: *Bhādra-bahula-pañcamī* combined with Saturday. Cunningham (*ASB.*, XV, p. 150-1) tried to work it out and selected "856 A.D. as the 26th year of *Dharmapāla*". After him no scholar seems to have attempted to fix the date in the light of recent materials. Before giving my results in details, an attempt is made to arrive at the earliest possible date of *Gopāla I*. A mass of ill-digested historical and legendary matter is found in the Tibetan histories, bearing on the reigns of *Gopāla I* and his immediate successors. A careful examination of some of this matter would throw some new light on the early *Pāla* chronology. *Tāranātha*, it is true, gave a wrong genealogy of the first three *Pāla* kings, but the correct genealogy was not altogether unknown among Tibetan historians, one of whom at least—*Buston*—gave it and was held to be more reliable by *Sum-po* (*Pag Sam*, preface, p. iii). *Tāranātha* records in a true historical spirit the views of two ancient historians on the exact date of *Gopāla's* election to the throne. According to *Indradatta*, *Gopāla* was elected *one year* after what must have been a famous event in those times viz. the death of one "Ācārya *Mīmāṃsaka*," while according to *Kṣemendrabhadra* it was *seven years* after that event (*Schiefner* : p. 204).

It is not known who is exactly meant by Ācārya Mīmāṃsaka, but whoever it is—either Kumārila or Prabhākara—the event evidently dates back to the early decades of the 8th century A.D.

Gopāla is credited with the establishment of the Odantapurī vihāra near Nālandā (Tāranātha, p. 206). It is stated in the Pag Sam that the famous Samye monastery of Tibet was erected after the model of the Odantapurī vihāra and the date of its erection is said to be 749 A.D. (p. 171; also Indian Logic, p. 517). Śāntarakṣita, who worked in that monastery, “was born in the reign of Gopāla and died in that of Dharmapāla” (Pag Sam, p. 112). Gopāla, during whose reign Śāntarakṣita was born, say 40 years before 749 A.D., must then have come to the throne somewhere between 690 and 710 A.D. Both Tāranātha (p. 205) and Sumpo (p. 110) state that Gopāla was a contemporary of king Śrīharṣa of Kasmir. In our opinion the Tibetan historians had confused three kings of the same name Śrīharṣa :—Śrīharṣa of Kasmir, the famous Harṣavardhana and Śrī-Harṣadeva of Kāmarūpa (whose son-in-law was reigning in 759 A.D. (Ind. Ant., IX. p. 178) The last of these probably was meant to be the king who was contemporaneous with Gopāla I. These three Tibetan references point roughly to the first half of the 8th century A.D. as the probable date of Gopāla. A mass of legendary matter in a worse state of confusion is found also in the Jaina biographies of Bappa-bhaṭṭi, where the persistent mention of king Dharmapāla as a contemporary of Yaśovarman or his son Āma, may just be taken in conformity with the Tibetan evidence, as a piece of history pointing to the middle of the 8th century A.D. as the date of Dharmapāla. Accordingly we extend our calculations (to about 755 A.D.) with the following results, referring to the Bodh-Gaya inscription of the 26th year of Dharmapāla.

Amānta scheme.

In 796 A.D. (Aug. 27, Saturday) Bhādra badi 5 for 57-32 *palas* (mean). Under true system the tithi ended at 0-47 *p.* (Sūrya S.) or 2-6 *p.* (Ārya S.) the next day, which was Sunday.

In 793 (Aug. 31) the mean tithi ended at 19-33 *p.* but the true tithi ended at 44-35 *p.* (Sūrya S.) or 44-20 *p.* (Ārya S.) the previous day, which was a Friday.

In 789 (Aug. 15, Saturday) the mean tithi ended at 47-52 *p.* and the true tithi at 59-46 *p.* (Sūrya S.) or 58-35 *p.* (Ārya S.)

In 786 (Aug. 19) the mean tithi for 10-0 *p.* and according to the Arya

S. true tithi for only 0-25 *p.* the same day, but according to the Sūrya S true tithi ended at 59-42 *p.* the previous day, which was a Friday.

In 776 (Sep. 7, Saturday) the mean tithi ended at 54-15 *p.* and the true tithi at 21-58 *p.* (Sūrya S.) or 22-40 *p.* (Ārya S.)

In 773 (Sep. 11) the mean tithi ended at 16-22 *p.* and the true tithi at 10-23 *p.* (Sūrya) or 8-25 *p.* (Ārya).

In 769 (Aug. 26) the mean tithi for 44-11 *p.* and the true tithi for 42-11 *p.* (Sūrya).

In 762 (Aug. 14) the mean tithi for 35 *p.* and the true tithi for 49-30 *p.* (Sūrya), but the lunar month in which the tithi is included was an *adhika māsa*.

Purnimānta scheme.

In 792 A.D. (Aug. 12 Sunday) the true tithi ended at 51-40 *p.*

In 785 (July 30, Saturday) the true tithi ended at 58-12 *p.*, but the mean tithi ended the next day.

In 782 (Aug. 3, Saturday) the true tithi ended at 15-36 *p.*

In 779 (Aug. 7, Saturday) 15-0 *p.*

In 765 (Aug. 10, Saturday) 48-0 *p.*, but the mean tithi ended the next day.

Though we have given, for the curious readers, both *mean* and *true* calculations (in both the Amānta and Purnimānta schemes), we would confine ourselves to the Amānta and the true dates alone; for true calculations of tithis already came into operation since the times of Varāhamihira (6th cent. A.D.) and were certainly in vogue in the 8th century A.D. The tithi of the Eran Pillar Inscription of the Gupta period dated 484 A.D. has already been worked out similarly under the *true* system (Fleet: Gupta Inscriptions, p. 157). The following five dates are therefore available as marking the beginning of Dharmapāla's reign:—737, 744, 748, 751, and 764 A.D. In 737, the month is inauspicious being an *adhika māsa*: the date besides seems too early. 764 on the other hand seems a bit too late, allowing about 36 years' reign to Dharmapāla. There is nothing whatever to choose between the three remaining dates—744, 748, and 751 A.D.

The chronology of the earlier Pāla kings may thus be tentatively fixed in the following manner:—

	Length of reign		
Gopāla I	circ. 700-744 A.D.	45	years (vide Tāranātha)
Dharmapāla	744-800	56	
Devapāla	800-839	40	

Śūrapāla I	839-845	7 years (vide Tāranātha)
Nārāyaṇapāla	845-899 ¹	54
Rājyapāla	899-923	24
Gopāla II	923-980	57
Vigrahapāla II	980-988	9

For the satisfaction of scholars who would place the Kāmboja usurpation of 966 A.D. to the reign of Vigrahapāla II and reject the Bargaon Pillar inscription of the 24th year of Rājyapāla, an alternative list of the last three kings will have to be adjusted thus:—

Rājyapāla 899-903 (5 years); Gopāla II 903-960 (57 years) and Vigrahapāla II 960-988 (28 years).

The only thing that stands against the above chronology is yet another surmise of Prof. Mazumdar. He makes out from a study of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions that Dharmapāla probably met Govinda III in about 808 A.D. His reason is this: the Radhanpur grant of Govinda III dated Śrāvaṇa 730 Śaka mentions the expedition against the Gurjaras, which is omitted in the Waṇi grant dated in Vaiśākha, 730 Śaka. So the Gurjara expedition may have taken place in three months intervening between the two grants. This inference is unsound. The Gurjara invasion is not mentioned last of all in the Radhanpur plate. The Waṇi grant is irregular in its date (Ind. Ant., XXIV, p. 11, no. 172) and the omission of the Gurjara expedition therein is only a careless one like its omission of the Pallava conquest in Dhruva's reign. It is much more reasonable to assume that a chronological order is indicated in the conquest of Govinda III in the Radhanpur plate and the expedition against the Gurjaras took place very early in his reign followed by four other expeditions all before

1 A Tibetan tradition has been mentioned above which synchronises the death of king Khri-ral with that of Mahīpāla I, who had a reign of 52 years under the same tradition. King Mahīpāla, son of a Vanapāla (and grandson of Dharmapāla) and father of a Mahāpāla is a myth, but the statement may be interpreted as indicating the death of an early Pāla king, with a very long reign, who can be conveniently identified with Nārāyaṇapāla. The reign of Khri-ral, however, is not definitely dated. According to Chinese authorities Khri-ral or Ral-pa-can died in 838 A.D. According to Csoma he died in 899 A.D. and according to Setsen in 902 A.D. (Rockhill p. 225). We have taken Csoma's date,

808 A.D. We see no reasons therefore to bring down Dharmapāla further than 800 A.D. For Govinda III ascended the throne in 793-4 A.D. and met Dharmapāla sometime before 800 A.D. This does not also militate against Dharmapāla's synchronism with Nāgabhaṭṭa, who may have ascended the throne any time after 783 A.D., when Vatsarāja was still alive (*JRAS.*, 1909, p. 250).

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

Indian Literature Abroad

VIII

Dānapāla was a śramaṇa of Udyāna of Northern India. He arrived in China in A. D. 980 along with Dharmadeva and Tien-si-tsai. Two years after his arrival he received from the Chinese emperor the title of Hsien-chiao-ta-shih, Tien-si-tsai received Ming-chiao-ta-shih, and Dharmadeva received Chuang-chiao-ta-shih. The number of books translated by Dānapāla was one hundred and eleven—mostly Dhāraṇīs. These

Dānapāla and
Tantra Literature,
980 A. D.

Mantras became very popular with certain section of the Buddhists, the Chinese, and they swelled the bulk of the Buddhist Chinese literature. Since the days of Amogha-vajra, Tāntrikism made a little progress, and this literature was greatly cultivated and propagated by the Indian Tāntrik Buddhists. Dānapāla rendered into Chinese a few booklets ascribed to the great Nāgārjuna, e. g., *Bodhihrdaya-rūpavinukta-sūtra* (No. 1304), *Mahāyāna Bhava-bheda-sūtra*.

Three years after the death of Dānapāla, Dharmarakṣa (Fa-hu), a śramaṇa of Magadha, arrived in China. As I have already told Fa-hu brought some Sanskrit manuscripts with him and he applied himself to translating them till A.D. 1058, when he died in his ninety-sixth year. In 1054 he received from the Emperor Jen-Tsung (1023-1063 A.D.) the special title of P'u ming-tzu-chiao-chwang-fan-ta-shih for his meritorious work. In 1009 a Translation Board was formed by the Imperial command with Fa-hu, Wei-tsing and others. The *Ratnamegha-Sūtra* (Nanjio 964), one of the most popular Mahāyāna Sūtras, a shorter form of

Dharmarakṣa
and the Transla-
tion Board,

which had been twice translated before, was translated by Dharmarakṣa. Fa-hu and the Chinese monk mentioned above rendered into Chinese in 20 fasciculi *Tathāgata-acintya-guhyā-nirdeśa*, a Mahāyāna Sūtra, which had been translated by another Dharmarakṣa (Fa-hu) in the W. T'sin Dynasty (265-316) in 7 fasciculi. This formed a part of Ratnakūṭa Group of Mahāyāna literature. Another distinctly Tāntrik book *He-Vajra-tantra* (Nanjio, 1060) which agrees with the Tibetan version in the Kanjur was made accessible in a Chinese form. Bodhisattva Dharmayaśa's *Mahāyāna Saṅgīta-bodhisattva-vidyāśāstra* (1298) was for the first time translated by Fa-hu and Sūrya-yaśas in 20 fasciculi. In the Ming collection this book is placed for the first time among the Abhidharma works and was admitted into the Canon during the Sung-Yuen period. At this late period a Hīnayāna work was translated by Fa-hu and his colleagues. It was Mahā-Maudgalyāyana's *Prajñaptipāda-Śāstra* (Nanjio 1317); this is the last of the six pāda works of the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharmas.

Wei-Tsing, a Chinese śramaṇa, who seems to have worked together with the Indian monks mentioned before, and had joined the Imperial Translation Board in 1009, must have acquired sufficient knowledge of Sanskrit to translate a few books from the original. His most important contribution was his translation of Bodhisattva Sthiramati's commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamaka Śāstra*. Jñānaśrī (Chu chi-siang) and Sūryayaśas were contemporaries of Fa-hu and Sūryayaśas actually worked with Fa-hu. Sūryayaśas himself translated two books of the great Aśvaghoṣa—one being a book of fifty verses on the rules for serving a teacher (N. 1080), another known as *Daśa-duṣṭa-karmamārga Sūtra* (N. 1379). That the Buddhist monks were still held in great honour is shown by the fact that Maitreya-bhadra, a śramaṇa of Magadha, became Kuo-Shih or the State-teacher of the Chinese Court. He is responsible for five translations.

Probably the last book that was translated in the Sung Dynasty by Shao-tih, Hwui-Sung and others was *Bodhisattva-jātakamālā* (1312).

It was originally composed or collected by the Bodhisattva Āryaśūra and commented upon by Muni Jinadeva in 12 fasciculi. The translation did not find favour with the Chinese for its defective style. The Sanskrit original is preserved in Hodgson manuscripts and has been published by Kern in the Harvard Oriental Series and translated by Speyer.

The Northern Sung Dynasty ended with Hui Tsang (1101-1127),

who was carried in captivity by the Kitan Tartars. The Sung retired to the south of the Yang-tse, and Hang-chow became their capital. During their rule (1128-1280) we do not meet with any translator either Indian or Chinese. Buddhism of Chan (Dhyāna) school enjoyed respect and contributed many landscape painters to the roll. The greatest figure of this age was Chu-hsi, the famous commentator of Kung-fu-tze (Confucius), and he was greatly influenced by Buddhist thought and in spite of his denial, it is clear that he was imbued by the mystic spirit of Bodhidharma.

Barrenness of
the N. Sung
period.

The Mongols now became supreme in China. They were a rude, uncultured people of nomadic and marauding habits. Khubilai Khan, the first Mongol emperor of China, was a man of completely different temperament, and he was anxious to encourage any faith that might humanize his rude followers. Buddhism suited them best.

Khubilai Khan
and the Mongol
Rule.

One Tibetan Lama, Pagspa (Ārya), invented a script on a Tibetan model for the Mongols. It was issued by Khubilai, but failed to be popular because the writing was more complicated and ornate than the simple Syriac writing which had also been introduced. Pagspa in recognition of his service received the exalted title of "Prince of the Great and Precious Law of Buddha" from Khubilai. He knew Sanskrit and Chinese and edited a book on Hīnayāna Vinaya which gave brief rules for the learning and practice of bhikṣus. The restored title would be *Mūla-sarvāstivāda-nikāya-pravarjyopasampadā-karmavācā*. (Nanjio 1137).

Pagspa, the
Tibetan.

Another book translated by Pagspa's disciple Sha-lo-pa known in Chinese *Chang-su-shih-lun* or the Śāstra on explaining known objects (Nanjio 1320). It is sometimes mentioned as a Śāstra of the Hīnayāna, but it is distinctly a book on Mahāyāna.

Chang-su-lun of
Pagspa.

This is a very useful and interesting manual of the Buddhist terminology, consisting of extracts from several śāstras, such as Sūrya-garbhā-śāstra, Saddharma-smṛtyupasthāna-sūtra, Abhidharma-kośa-Śāstra of Vasubandhu and few other minor books. It consists of five chapters as Bhojana-loka, Sattva-loka, Mārga-dharma, Phala-dharma, Aśaṃskṛtadharma. It was compiled by Pagspa for the sake of Chan-Chin, the Crown Prince of the Emperor Khubilai. The original, which was probably compiled from Sanskrit sources in Tibetan, was translated into Chinese by Sha-lo-pa, a disciple of Pagspa. He

received from the Emperor great honours and the title of Tripiṭaka-bhadanta (Hung-Chiao-fo-chih).

The list of translators at this age is very limited. We find three more names of whom only one was an Indian Śramaṇa, the second was from Tibet, and the third was a Chinese official; the exact date and other details of these translators are unknown. Although the Yuen Period did not produce as many great translators as the former periods did, this period of 88 years of Mongol rule attracted the attention of persons with a religious and literary bent. I have already noted somewhere that the Dhyāna School of Bodhidharma began to gain ground at a later date and became very popular in China and Japan. In 1291 a priest of the Chan or Dhyāna School named Siang-Mai compiled a work known as *Pien-wei-lun* (Nanjio

Compilation
work by Chi-
nese monks.

1607). It was a polemic work against the Taoist. Chu-pa collected in 1314-1320 A.D. some gāthās known as Guhya-pāda-malla-mahā-rddhirāja-sūtra-gāthā of 175 verses (Nanjio 1384). I have already referred to Chu-pa's Cata-

logue of the Tripiṭaka (Nanjio 1611). Wan-Tsai, a Chinese priest, compiled two works—one being a new commentary on a Treatise by San-Chao, a disciple of the great Kumārajīva, and a commentary on the same (Nanjio 1627, 1628). P'u-tu, a priest compiled a work in 1314 A.D. entitled 'A precious mirror of the Lotus school,' being a work of a priest of Lu-Shang in 10 fasciculi. A very important book, viz., the history of the Patriarchs and other eminent priests of the Dhyāna school, which had been originally collected by a monk of the Southern Sung Dynasty in 1033 A.D., was continued by T'sing-men. A big tome of 30 fasciculi, consisting of the sayings of Upādhyāya Chung-fang, was compiled by his disciple of the Dhyāna School in 1321-23. In

Tsung-mi.

1322 Yuen-Chia wrote a commentary on Tsung-Mi's well-known treatise 'on the origin of Man'. Tsung-Mi

was the fifth patriarch of Hwa-Yen or Avatamsaka School, who wrote his book about 841 A.D.

Nien-Chang of the Yuen Dynasty compiled a complete history of Buddhism in Chinese in 36 fasciculi (Nanjio 1637). The narration of

Miscellaneous
writers.

this work begins with the first Emperor down to 1333-1344 A.D., when the compilation was finished. It relates several events concerning not only Buddhism, but also

Confucianism and Taoism. One Pai-chang had written a few 'Pure Rules', something like Sanskrit Nīti-books, in the T'ang Dynasty. Te-hwui and Ta-su edited and published them. 'Most of these rules

referred to worldly matters, so that they are not only far from the Vinaya, but also from the original rules of Pai-Chang.' The rest of the Chinese writers were either of the Dhyāna School or the T'ien-Tai school. Wei-tso of Tien-Tai school wrote a big commentary in 20 fasciculi, on the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra* and *Sukhāvati-Vyūha*, the latter known as "an important gate or doctrine of meditation on the state of the Pure-land." P'u-zui, a priest of the Hwa-yen School wrote a big commentary in 40 fasciculi on the commentary of *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* (Nanjio 1322). Phu-chao, Chi no, Chi-cho, Chu-ting all wrote on the Dhyāna School. This long and rather dry list is given here to show that the Chinese were not inactive as regards Indian books. As most of the Buddhist books had already been translated, people now gave more matured thought on its contents and wrote and studied either commentaries or expository notes on them. Another important work, which has nothing to do with translation, is *Su-chwan-tang-lu*, in 36 fasciculi which contains the lives of 3118 eminent priests of the Dhyāna School. A similar work was compiled in the later Sung Dynasty. That was also a history of the Indian and Chinese Patriarchs of the Dhyāna School. From historian's point of view these books are very valuable.

The Mongol Emperors were extremely superstitious and showed their sincere devotion to Buddhist religious literature. Khubilai's attitude towards Buddhism. Khubilai saw to the fact that the monasteries in Peking were all supplied with books and ordered the priests to recite them on stated days. A new collection of Tripiṭaka was published in 1285-87, under the Imperial order of Khubilai. This Catalogue was compiled by Ching-Chi-Siang in collaboration with Indian, Tibetan and Chinese assistants and is known as Chi-Yuen-lu. The number of translated books in the Tripiṭaka mentioned in it is 1440 in 5586 fasciculi. These are the works made by 194 persons under twenty-two dynasties during the period of 1219 years¹

1 "Preparatory to the translation of the Tripiṭaka into Mongolian the Emperor Khubilai convened his priestly and lay subordinates and constituted there a committee to examine the Buddhist works (1,400 in number) then extant in China and Tibet. This Committee consisted of some 28 men of several countries, China, Tibet, India, Turfan, Uigur and Mongolia." Takakusu, J.P.T.S., 1904-05, p. 80).

(67-1285 A.D.). Besides this there are 95 Indian and 118 Chinese works which are not purely Buddhist books but books dealing with Indian subjects. All the translations of Tripiṭaka and other Indian works are compared with the Tibetan Tanjur and Kanjur translation and to each of them is added the Sanskrit transliteration and a note after the Chinese title, stating whether both the translations were in agreement or not and whether the book was wanting in the Tibetan version. This composition, however, seems to have been made only through a catalogue of Tibetan books, and not actually with the translations themselves. From the Tibetan sources we get some information as regards this translation; ".....during the reign of the Tartar Emperor, Sa- Chhen, the Chinese scriptures were compared with the Tibetan collections of Kanjur and Tanjur. Such treatises and volumes as were wanting in the Chinese were translated from the Tibetan scriptures. All these formed one complete collection, the first part of which consisted of Buddha's teaching (Kanjur). To the second part 21 volumes of translations from Tibetan, with Chinese Śāstras, and works of eminent Ho-Shang (monks), comprising 153 volumes, were added. The whole collection consisted of 740 volumes. An analytic catalogue of all these books are furnished. In this collection many śāstras were found which did not exist in the Tibetan collections" (*JASB.*, 1882, p. 92).

Another catalogue compiled originally by Wang-Ku of the Sung Dynasty was continued by Kuang-Chu-pa in A.D. 1306 under the Yuen (Mongol) dynasty. This Catalogue entirely depends upon the previous one and adds a short account of the contents of each book. The Catalogue was first sent by M. P. Habace of Russia to S. Julien of Paris in 1848. After a careful study, Julien published a "Concordance-Sinico-Sanskrita" in the *Journal Asiatique* (1849 pp. 351-446). Bunyio Nanjio, while compiling his great Catalogue made use of this valuable Catalogue in which many Sanskrit words have been restored (*JPTS.*, 1905, p. 81).

The activities of Khubilai to enhance the cause of Buddhism was manifold. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, a census was taken, by the imperial command, of the Buddhist temples and monks in China. Of the former, the reported number was 42,318 and of the latter 213, 148. About this time, Lamaism or the form of Buddhism developed in Tibet spread to Northern China and Lamas were not regarded as men of different sect as it is now done. I have already

The Catalogue
Chin-Yuen-Lu.

Mongolian
Translation of
Tibetan and
Sanskrit Tripi-
ṭaka.

said that Khubilai was much influenced by Tibetan culture, and he ordered a Mongol to study Tibetan language. A complete translation of the Buddhist Sūtras and Śāstras from the Tibetan and Sanskrit into Mongolian, was presented to Khubilai in 1294 A.D. These were cut out in blocks of wood and distributed among the chiefs of the Mongols. Tibetan language was held in great honour in the capital. In 1312 the Mongol Emperor Jen-Tsung ordered Pu-lan-na-shih-li, who had learned Chinese and Sanskrit in his youth, to translate Buddhist books into Mongol Language. From Chinese he translated the Leng-Yen-Ching, (*Laṅkāvatāra*), a Sūtra highly honoured by the Chinese people, and four Sūtras from the original Sanskrit and an other from Tibetan, in all a thousand fasciculi or chapters. As the history of Mongolian Buddhist literature is directly connected with Tibetan Buddhist literature, we shall deal with it elsewhere. Eliot says (III, p. 274) "It is possible that the Buddhism of the Yuen Dynasty was tainted with Śāktism from which the Lama monasteries of Peking are not wholly free" He suggests that some of the indecent scandal of the last Mongol emperors contributed to the speedy downfall of them. The Mongols were driven by the native Chinese dynasty known as Ming, who reigned from 1368 to 1644.

Few Ming Emperors showed much personal interest in religion and their favour was always guided by some political motive. Still the first Ming emperor ordered that all monks should study *Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra*, *Prajñāpāramitā-Hṛdaya* and *Vajra-cchedika*. He called together the priests of the Dhyāna School to write commentaries, and Tsung-lo and Yu-chi wrote three commentaries on these books in 1378 A.D. The third emperor Cheng-tsu when a boy was educated by a Buddhist Priest and the Emperor imbibed Buddhistic religious and literary tendencies. He wrote ten laudatory compositions in prose and verse between 1410 and 1415 which are incorporated in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. On the whole Buddhism flourished under the Mings and got the imperial support. It was only from time to time that it suffered persecution. The reign of Wu-tsung (1506-21) was extremely favourable to Buddhism. The Emperor himself learnt Buddhist literature and knew Sanskrit as well as Mongol and Arabic. The study of Sanskrit had been throughout encouraged in China and books on Grammar, Lexicon were written in Chinese, for the benefit of scholars. During the Ming Dynasty Sanskrit study decayed in China, still Yun-lo founded in 1407 a school of language for training interpreters at which Sanskrit was taught among other tongues (Eliot, III, p. 278).

The Ming Dynasty.

During the Ming Dynasty the thirteenth Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka was published in 1368-1398 A.D. in 3 fasciculi. It was re-issued by the Third Emperor with more books added to it and finally published by Mi-tsang at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Afterwards it was republished in Japan by a Japanese in 1678-1681 A.D. There were two distinct collections in China—Northern and Southern. The Emperor T'ai-tsu-kao (1368-1398) caused the whole Tripiṭaka to be engraved in Nanking; and the Emperor T'ai-tsung-wan (1403-1924) again caused a good edition to be published in Peking.

The Ming Collection.

The Chinese Tripiṭaka was preserved in Mss. from 67 A.D. to 972 A.D. for about 900 years, when they were first printed. Beal in his *Catena to Buddhist Literature in China* says that the tripiṭaka had been printed at various times in China from wooden blocks, which were often destroyed by fire or civil war. It is said that during the Sung and Yuen Dynasties (960-1368) as many as twenty different editions had been produced, but during the troubles occurring towards the end of the Yuen Period, all of them perished.

Under the Manchu Rule which began in 1644 and ended in 1910, the Chinese Tripiṭaka was published by the Emperors Shih-tsung and Kao-tsung who ruled from 1723-1795. But the most important and widely known collection is the Ming collection of the Tripiṭaka, the Catalogue of which has been edited by B. Nanjio in 1883. It enumerates 1662 works, classified into four divisions: (1) Sūtra, (2) Vinaya, (3) Abhidharma, and (4) Miscellaneous. The first three contain translations and the fourth original Chinese works. The first division called Ching or Sūtras amounts to nearly two-thirds of the whole, for it comprises no less than 1081 works and is divided as follows: (a) Mahāyāna Sūtras 541 books (b) Hināyāna Sūtras 240, (c) Mahāyāna and Hināyāna Sūtras, 300 in number, admitted into the canon under the Sung and Yuen Dynasty.

Classification of the Ming Tripiṭaka.

The Chinese Tripiṭaka is a literary and bibliographical collection rather than an ecclesiastical canon. It consists of translations of Indian works belonging to a particular class which possess a certain age and authority. Among these the Mahāyāna Sūtras contain the works most esteemed by Chinese Buddhists. It is divided into seven classes:—(1) Prajñāpāramitā, (2) Ratnakūṭa, (3) Mahāsannipāta, (4) Avataṃsaka, (5) Parinirvāṇa, (6) Sūtras in more than one translation but not falling into any of the above five classes, (7) other Sūtras existing in only one translation.

The Vinaya Piṭaka is divided into Mahāyāna and Hinayāna texts. The latter comprising five well-defined recensions of the code, besides extracts, compendiums etc. (1) Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins, (2) Vinaya of the Mūla-Sarvastivādins of I-tsing (3) Vinaya of the Dharmagupta School, (4) Vinaya of the Mahīśāsakas, said to be similar to the Pāli Canon. (5) Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya.

The Abhidharma Piṭaka is also divided into Mahāyāna and Hinayāna. They are philosophical works of Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu and others. They represent two principal schools of thought, Yogācāra and Madhyamaka. The Hinayāna Abhidharma show no correspondence to the Pāli Abhidharma Piṭaka.

The Miscellaneous portion contains books from Sanskrit as well as Chinese. The latter consist of about 200 works, historical, critical, controversial, homiletic written by 102 writers.

PROBHAT KUMAR MUKHERJEE

Cosmographical Theories of the Hindu Astronomers

From the earliest stage of the development of human knowledge attempt has been made to fathom the mysteries of creation and to link by a common principle of metaphysical and scientific investigation the different members of the solar system. Now in proceeding with this enterprise they encountered two distinct problems. One was concerned with the nature of the primeval World-stuff; the other with the operation to which it had been subjected. Modern theorists have made it their primary object to expound the mechanism of cosmic growth, the play of forces involved in it, the transformations and progressive redistributions of energy attending it. But early thinkers till the time of Descartes tried to solve this question by assuming an appropriate material for the exercise of their constructive ingenuity.

Thales asserted all things to have been derived from water. Anaximenes substituted air. A crude attempt to determine the cosmic origin is also found in the Ṛg-veda, where it is stated that at first darkness prevailed everywhere, it was only chaos and water abounded in the whole creation.¹ The Manu Saṁhitā also asserts that

1 Ṛg-veda, X, 129.

the creator at first created water and then fire and life.¹ The Vortex Theory of Descartes or the Modern Nebular Theory of Kant and Laplace ultimately reduces itself to the theory that the universe originated from vapour as nebulae are no better than vapour.

Hindu astronomers have begun the discussion on cosmographical theories with a series of questions regarding the earth, its magnitude and divisions, the situation of the seven Patala Bhumis or imaginary lower regions of the earth, the sun's revolutions the causes of day and night of the Gods, the Demons and the Pitrs, the order of the stars and planets, the position of their orbits with respect to each other in the Universe.² Next they speak of imperceptible agencies of creation, almost the same metaphysical theories as may be found in the Vedas, the Purāṇas and other mythological works.

It is said, "At first only darkness prevailed; in that darkness Vāsudeva (in whom the whole Universe lay latent), the Supreme Being whose manifestation is everything that exists, who is transcendental, without attributes, and tranquil, who is beyond the twenty-five primordial matters and inexhaustible, who pervades all places within and without,³ who is the contracting power (lit., he who contracts) first created water at the beginning and threw his own power (of contraction) in it. That water with the power of contraction in it produced a golden egg. The sides of the egg were even then enveloped in darkness. Out of that egg evolved Aniruddha (whose motion cannot be stopped) Sanātana (who is everlasting). Hence he is called Hiraṇyagarbha in the Vedas; as he was the first to evolve out he was called Āditya and for the creation of the Universe he is called Sūrya (the Sun). Sūrya (the Sun), whose another name is Savitā, who dispels darkness and who is the cause of the creation, existence and destruction of all beings, is always moving and brings to light the different worlds..... From this originated the moon, the five planets, stars, the earth and other worlds. Brahman, the creator, exists within that egg and hence that egg is called Brahmāṇḍa (the Universe). In the hollow of that egg is situated this world consisting of Bhū, Bhuvas etc. and not outside that

1 Manu Saṃhitā, chap. I.

2 Sūryasiddhānta, chap. XII, verses 1-9.

3 Cf. Ṛg-veda (Puruṣa Hymn), x, 90, 1.

egg. It is round (गोलकाकृतिः), as if two cauldrons are joined together with faces in contact.”¹

Though the above theories seem to be more or less metaphysical, yet they can be given a scientific interpretation. It is seen that अप् was first created or was at first in existence. अप् is generally translated as water but it also means watery vapour or simply vapour. The word अप् also indicates ether and hence it means ethereal vapour. Hence it can easily be understood to be the same as nebulae. Thus as first it was only darkness and ethereal vapour or nebulae all around. Into that was thrust the force of contraction and the result was the outcome of a golden (सुवर्ण) egg. Utpalabhaṭṭa meant by this word “luminous”.² In the Manu Saṃhitā in connection with the theory of creation of the Universe, Kullukabhaṭṭa, the commentator, has clearly said that it was not golden but brilliant like gold (यद्विशुष्ययोगवशात्). The visible universe is shaped like an egg, it is not exactly round. By the force of contraction, stars, planets, the sun and other orbs are formed. The force acts within the egg in a state of constant rotation. That is to say, the ethereal vapour which existed at first produced this universe by the forces of contraction and rotation.

The explanation given above is not far-fetched or imaginary. It is the most natural explanation. Then what is the difference between the above theory stated in the Sūrya Siddhānta and the Nebular Hypothesis of Kant and Laplace?

The Brahmāṇḍa or the golden egg of Brahmā is the vast hollow sphere of the Universe at the centre of which is the earth; within it all the stars are supposed to revolve daily, and beneath them are the orbits of the planets Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, the Sun and the Moon, in the order of their distances from the centre.³ The earth stands firm at the centre by its own power without other support in space.⁴

In this connection the Hindu Astronomers dwelt on some peculiar geographical theories which have now probably lost their earlier

1 Sūrya Siddhānta chap. XII, 12 to 29 verses.

2 Bṛhat Saṃhitā—The chapter on Upanayana (उपनयन), comment on verse 6.

3 Sūrya Siddhānta, Chap. XII, verses 30, 31.

4 Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, Golādhyāya, Chap. I, verse 2.

mythological significance and seem to be pure figments of the imagination.

The circumference of the sphere of the *Brahmāṇḍa*, to which the solar rays extend, is declared to be equal to the product of the moon's revolutions (57,753,336,000) in a *Kalpa* by the circumference of the moon's orbit. *Bhāskara* says, "Some astronomers assert that the length of the circumference of the sphere of the universe is 18712069200000000 *yojanas*. But those by whom the astronomical science was thoroughly understood say that it is the length of the circumference of the sphere up to the limit the darkness-dispelling rays of the sun extend. In my opinion every planet covers so much distance in *yojanas* in one *kalpa*. Hence it is called *Vyomakakṣhā* (व्योमकक्षा)".

Varāhamihira has given further details of the constitution of the Universe in his *Pañcha Siddhāntikā* :

"The round ball of the earth, composed of the five elements, abides in space in the midst of the starry sphere, like a piece of iron suspended between magnets ; covered on all sides with trees, mountains, towns, groves, rivers, oceans and other things, in its middle there is *Sumeru*, the abode of the gods and below there is the place of the *Asuras*. Straight above *Meru* in space one pole is seen ; the other pole is seen below, placed in space. Fastened to the pole the sphere of the stars is driven round by the *pravaha* wind.

Beneath the equinoctial circle is *Laṅkā* ; there the sphere is right. Day and night there are always of the same length, viz. 30 *nāḍikās*.

Of the moon which is constantly placed below the Sun, one half is illuminated by the sun's rays, while the other half is obscured by the moon's own shadow, as is the case with a jar standing in the sunlight. The rays of the sun, being reflected from the moon which consists of water, destroy the darkness of the night, just as the rays of the sun falling on the surface of a mirror destroy the darkness inside a house.

Above the moon there are Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn (in succession), and then the stars. All planets move towards the east with the same velocity, each in its own orbit. The planets arranged in the ascending order upwards from the moon are the Lords of the months (in succession) ; in their descending order downwards from Saturn, they are the Lords of the hours ; if we take each fifth member of the ascending series we have the Lords of the days. The Lords of the year have been explained before."¹

We have thus given a complete account of the cosmographical theories and the constitution of the universe as stated by the Hindu astronomers. However crude might these theories have been, they were surely the forerunners of the Vortex Theory of Descartes and the Nebular Theory of Kant and Laplace.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

Kumārila and Diñnāga

Any one who is acquainted with the Indian philosophical texts will admit that the controversy between the Buddhists and the Hindu philosophers appears most prominent in the history of Indian culture. But it is a matter for regret that nothing has yet been done to disentangle the various threads in the web of this controversy. The neglect of this field is not, however, without reason. The authors of the texts either make a passing reference to the views of others or quote them without informing us either of their source or of their author. The commentaries, too, sadly lack the information we seek for. They mention only occasionally names of philosophers who hold the opposite views without, however, referring to the work or works from which they have drawn their quotations. Owing to ravages of time many valuable books that were current at the time among literary circles have been lost, and the meaning of many passages of the texts we read today have therefore become obscure. We do not know the proper setting of the views that are found controverted in these books. This is perhaps one of the reasons why the full significance of the controversies has still remained a mystery to us. Fortunately for us, some of the texts that have been lost in Sanskrit have been preserved in Tibetan and Chinese translations. The only thing that we could do under the circumstances is to make a comparative study of the Hindu and Buddhist texts that exist in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese.

As an illustration we may now refer to the *Ślokavārtika* of Kumārila and its *Ṭīkā*, the *Nyāyaratnākara* of Pārthasārathimīśra, and compare some of their passages with those of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* of Diñnāga now available only in Tibetan translations. The name of Diñnāga is well-known to the readers of the *Nyāyavārtika* of Uddyotakara with its *Ṭīkā* by Vācaspatimīśra. The pages of the *Nyāyaratnākara* (Chaukhamba Skt. Series) abound in quotations

from the works of a Bhikṣu.¹ There are also direct references to Diñnāga.² Kumārila himself once refers to him as *Nyāyaviḍ*.³ A comparative study of these passages with those of *Pramāṇasamuccaya* would convince the reader that Kumārila hurls his vehement attacks here against the views of Diñnāga; and the terms *Bhikṣu*, *Bhavadṛaddha*, and *Bhavadīya*⁴ occurring in the *Nyāyaratnākara* are but impersonal references to the Buddhist philosopher, Diñnāga. This is made still more explicit in the chapter on *Apoha*; for there it seems as if Kumārila had by his side the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* of Diñnāga when writing that chapter of his *Vārtika*.

The parallel passages are given below without noting occasional differences;—

Nyāyaratnākara.

*Pramāṇasamuccaya.*⁵

- यु दासाय न नियोगात् स गंस्वते ।
संप्रयोगो हि नियमात् स एवोपपद्यते ॥
4. 36 ; P. 144.
- gal te yod pas med bsal na ।
sbyor las de ni rtogs par hgyur ।
yañ dag sbyor ba űes par ni ।
yod űid la ni bstan pa yin ॥
1 ; 37^{c-d} — 38^{a-b}.
- (2) सान्तरयद्दणं न स्नात् प्रातौ स्थानाधिकस्य वा ।
4. 41 ; P. 146.
- bar dañ bcas pa hdzin pa dañ ।
śes pa lhag pañañ thob mi hgyur ॥
1 ; 20^{c-d}.
- (3) बुद्धिजनमनि पुंसश्च विकृतिर्यदनित्यता ।
अथविकृतिरात्माऽयं प्रमातेति न युज्यते ॥
4. 52 ; P. 150.
- skyes bu rnam par hgyur nas blo ।
gal te bskyed na mi rtag hgyur ॥
ci ste bdag la hgyur med na ।
de la tshad ma hthad ma yin ॥
1 ; 48.
- (4) कल्पनाऽपि स्वसंविताविष्टा नाथि विकल्पनात् ॥
4. 134 ; P. 175.
- rtog pañañ rañ rig űid du hdod ।
don la ma yin der rtog phyir ॥
1 ; 7^{a-b}.

1 (a) तत्र भिच्छुणा, p. 144.

(b) भिच्छुणा विषयैकत्ववृत्त्या, p. 361.

(c) यत्तु भिच्छुणा पक्षधर्मैर्त्यार्हि, p. 377.

2 (a) दिङ्नागवचनमपि न्यायमूलत्वात्, p. 250.

(b) अत एव दिङ्नागाचार्यैरप्युभयं, p. 253.

(c) दिङ्नागवचनमपि, p. 259.

(d) दिङ्नागस्मिन् प्रत्यक्षविराधोदाहरणं,

p. 365.

3 इद्वानामप्यसदीयानामिदमेवाऽभिमतमित्याह—न्या विकृतिरिति, p. 258.

4 (a) भवबुद्धौ रेव दिङ्नागाचार्यैः, p. 250.

(b) भवदीयानां, p. 250.

(c) तदा भवदीयात्, p. 488.

5 The Xylograph used by me belongs to the Visvabharati Library.

- (5) नैकं रूपाद्यभेदो वा दृष्ट' चैव न्द्विधेयं तत् ।
अचाऽनेकत्ववैयर्थ्यं स्वार्थं भिन्नेऽपि शक्तिमत् ॥
4. 156 ; p. 183.
gcig min gzugs sogs gcig tu gyur ।
mthoñ na dbaṅ po las dī min ।
dbaṅ gz'an den med ḥgyur phyir
ro ।
rañ yul tha dad kyañ ḥdzin nus ॥
I ; 25^b-26^a.
- (6) दृष्टान्तोऽभिहितो ह्येष वैधर्म्येणाऽसुशिक्षितैः ।
5. 154 ; p. 254.
mi mthun phyogs la legs bsabs
pas ।
dpe de ñid du brjod pa yin ।
II ; 103^{c-d}.
- (7) परार्थानुमानं तु स्वदृष्टार्थप्रकाशकम् ।
5. 146 ; p. 252-53.
gz'an gyi don gyi rjes dpag ni ।
rañ gis mthoñ don gsal byed yin ।
III ; 98^{a-b}.
- (8) ज्ञानान्तरिणाऽनुभवे हीष्टा तवापि च स्मृतिः ।
विषयान्तरसंचारस्तथा न स्वात् स चैष्यते ॥
5. 27, 187 ; pp. 277, 321.
śes pa gz'an gyis ñams myoñ na ।
thug med la ḥaṅ dran pa ste ।
yul gz'an dag la ḥpho ba na ।
med ḥgyur de yañ ḥdod phyir ro ॥
II ; 13.
- (9) पूर्ववत् फलसम्पत् ।
5. 52 ; p. 361.
ḥbras bu sñar bz'in ḥdi gñis kyi ।
II ; 49^a.
- (10) विरूपाक्षिह्नतोऽर्थदृक् ।
5. 40 ; p. 488.
tshul gsum rtags las don mthoñ
paḥo ।
II ; 49^b.
- (11) न जातिशब्दो भेदाना-
मानन्त्यव्यभिचारतः ।
वाचको योगजात्योर्वा
भेदाद्यैरप्युक्त्युत्तैः
51, 114 ; p. 596.
rigs sgra khyad par rnams la min ।
mthaḥ yas phyir dan ḥkhrul paḥi
pyir ।
brjod byed ldan nam rigs tha dad ।
don dan tha dad med thos phyir ॥
V ; 171.
- (12) तद्वतो नाऽस्वतन्त्रत्वात् ।
5. 120 ; p. 598.
rañ dbaṅ med phyir de ldan min ।
V ; 173^a.
- (13) तद्वास्तु भेद एवेष्टः
स तु पूर्व निराकृतः ।
तदन्वार्थेऽपि सम्बन्धः
सत्ता वेति विचारितम् ॥
5. 128, 131 ; pp. 600-601.
de ldan kyad par ñid la brjod ।
de yañ sñar ni spañs pa yin ।
de ldan tsam ni ḥbrel ba ḥam ।
yod pa yin z'es rnam par dbyed ॥
V ; 178.

- (14) तद्धानर्धो षट्पादश्चै-
न्न षट्पादिषु वर्तते ।
सामान्यमर्थः स कथ-
मिति तद्वदवाच्यता ॥
5. 131 ; p. 601.
de ltar de ni bum sogs bz'in ।
bum pa la sogs rnam la spyi ।
mi hjug de don ji ltar yin ।
de yañ rgyu mtshan med mi ḥdod ॥¹
V ; 179.
- (15) मा भूदर्थान्तरे वृत्ति-
र्थेयकताऽसित्तादिवत्
5. 131 ; p. 601.
gcig la dkar po min sogs bz'in ।
V ; 180^a.
- (16) मैवं जातेरजातितः
5. 131 ; p. 602.
de min rigs la rigs med phyir ।
V ; 180^c.
- (17) अर्थाक्षेपेऽप्यनैकान्तः
5. 133 ; p. 602.
don gyis ḥbañs kyañ ma ñes so ।
V ; 180^d.
- (18) भेदो भेदान्तरार्थः तु
विरोधित्वादप्योच्यते ।
5. 147 ; p. 605.
khyad par don gz'an khyad par ni ।
ḥgal bañi phyir na sel bar byed ॥
V ; 197^{a-b}.
- (19) अन्तर्लेऽपि न सामान्य-
भेदपर्यायवाचिनाम् ।
5. 149 , p. 606.
spyi dañ khyad par rnam
grāñs sgra ।
gz'an ñid yin yañ sel mi byed ॥
V ; 194^{c-d} ,
- (20) अष्टष्टलाद् व्युदासो वा
भेदानामितरेतरम् ।
5. 155 ; p. 608.
yañ na ma mthoñ phyir sel to ।
khyad par gyi ni spyi bsal ḥgyur ॥
V ; 200^{a-b} .
- (21) नाऽन्यशुक्तस्य षष्ट्यलात्
5. 155 ; p. 608.
ma yin gz'an ldan mthoñ bañi phyir ।
V ; 200^c.
- (22) तन्मात्राऽऽकाङ्क्षणाद् भेदः
तत्सामान्ये न नोञ्जितः ।
5. 155 ; p. 608.
de tsom ḥdod phyir khyad par ni ।
rañ'g'i spyi yis spon mi byed ।
V ; 195^{a-b} .
- (23) वृत्तत्वपार्थिवद्रव्य-
संज्ञेयाः प्रातिलोम्यतः ।
चतुस्त्रिवेकसन्देहे
निमित्तं निश्चयेऽन्यथा ॥
5. 158 p. 609.
ñin ñid sa las gyur rdzas yod ।
śes bya go rim bzlog pa las ।
bz'i gsum gñis dañ gcig the tshom ।
gz'an du des la rgyu mtshan yin ॥
V ; 204.
- (24) जातिधर्मव्यवस्थितेः ।
5. 163 ; p. 611.
rigs kyi chos ni rnam gnas phyir ।
V ; 206^a.

Āpastamba and Gautama

Bühler (S.B.E. 2, intro.) declared that Gautama is the oldest Dharmasūtra now extant and Jolly in his "Recht und Sitte" has accepted this theory (p. 6). I differ on this point and will try to show that excepting the dubious evidence of the Caranavyūha there is nothing to prove that Gautama is older than Āpastamba ; all probabilities on the contrary seem to indicate rather just the opposite—that Āpastamba is older than Gautama.

First and foremost, the fact must not be lost sight of, that Āp. was pre-Pāṇinian. His work must have been written at a time when the Sanskrit language was not in that state in which it was found by Pāṇini. Secondly that he was not far removed in time from Śvetaketu, the celebrated teacher of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. He might have been an older contemporary even, for Āp. rejects his theory about the study of the Veda after marriage without the slightest show of ceremony (I, 4, 13, 20) and Bühler has proved that this Śvetaketu is without doubt the Śvetaketu of Śat. Br. (S.B.E. 2, xxxviii). Now the Aitareya Br., even on the most conservative computation, cannot be dated later than 800 B. C. Taking this to be the *terminus a quo* for the date of the Śat. Br. and the age of Kātyāyana as the *terminus ad quem* (see his Vārttika to Pāṇini iv, 3, 105), the Śat. Br. cannot be dated later than 600 B. C. and all things considered, Āp. must be dated about 500 B. C. Bühler too arrived at practically the same result (S.B.E., 2, XL, 111). Āp.'s contiguity to the age of the Brāhmaṇas may also be inferred from another peculiar feature of his Dharmasūtra—its very frequent references to the various Brāhmaṇas. This is seen in no other Dharmasūtra.

Regarding Baudhāyana's priority to Āp. it may safely be said that the alleged references to Baudhāyana in Āp., upon which the whole theory is based, are in no way convincing. It requires not a small amount of ingenuity to discover them. Āp. labours to controvert the authority of a Vedic passage which has been quoted in Baudh. Can it reasonably be concluded from it that Āp. is posterior to Baudh. ? Āp. mentions by name not a few authorities on Dharma, of which some Dharmaśāstras in revised version, are still in existence. Why not then assume—if it is at all necessary—that one of these authors had quoted this Vedic passage as well ? As for the second alleged

quotation it may safely be said that it carries not an iota of proof. If the "wording of Baudhāyana's sūtras is not opposed to the doctrine to which Āp. objects" (S.B.E. 2, XXII), it is by no means proved thereby that Baudh. is older than Āp.

Moreover if this kind of argumentation is allowed it may be easily shown that Gaut., whom Bühler has proved to be older than Baudh. (S.B.E., 2, XLIX ff.) has quoted Āp. Gaut. (XV. 18) in his long list of persons who defile a company mentions the bald man but makes a special group of the persons in the list headed by the bald man, who, apparently, in his own opinion, were not so unholy as to be excluded from a company, but he had been compelled to include them in the list because it was the opinion of 'some' (cf. Gaut., XV, 30; also XVIII, 18 and XXI, 11). Now this 'some' may easily refer to Āp., II, 7, 17, 21, where the bald man is mentioned immediately after the leper in the list of persons who defile a company. In the same manner another sūtra of Gaut. may be made to yield an indirect reference to Āp. According to Gaut. (XVI, 45) "*some* (declare, that the recitation of the Veda is) always (forbidden) in a town." Now, it will not be very wrong, I think, if following Bühler's line of arguments it is assumed that Āp., I, 11, 32, 21—where he lays down that Snātakas should not visit towns frequently—might have had anything to do with it!

Much has been made out of Āp.'s stricter code of morality; it has been taken to indicate his late origin. But are we authorised to say that a high standard of chastity and morality is incompatible with the civilization of the Brāhmaṇas—of course without taking into consideration the mythical and mystical passages which are scattered in them? As Bühler has pointed out (S.B.E., 2, XIX—XX), Aupajaudhani, mentioned in the Śat. Br. and quoted by Baudh. opposed the practice of taking substitutes for a legitimate son, let us say, about 600 B.C. Bṛhaspati (XXIV, 12) on the other hand, about 600 A.D., condemned the practice of Niyoga (S.B.E. XXXIII). All the Dharmaśāstras which came into existence during the intervening period, recommended, at least, did not oppose this practice. Contiguity to any of these two sages would explain the extraordinary law of Āp. forbidding Niyoga,—if indeed age is to be determined in that way. It is however apparent that Aupajaudhani and not Bṛhaspati in this case has a better claim to be the zeitliche Nachbar of Āp. Thus Āp.'s condemnation of Niyoga is not necessarily a proof of his posteriority. Again, Āp.'s non-mention of the two forms of marriage—Prajāpatya and Paisāca—has been interpreted as an indication of his late origin. It may be

conceded, for the sake of argument, that Āp., the champion of a strict code of morality, characteristic of a comparatively later age, wanted to ignore the hateful Paiśāca marriage. But how can his non-mention of the Prājāpatya marriage which has nothing objectionable in it may be explained on this hypothesis? It must be admitted therefore that the Prājāpatya marriage had not yet come into vogue in the days of Āp. and of the Paiśāca marriage too, it may safely be said, that custom had not yet confirmed it into law when Āp. wrote his Dharmasūtra. Moreover it must not be forgotten that Vasiṣṭha too, who is certainly older than Manu, Yājñavalkya etc. gives only six forms of marriage and not the traditional eight.

All these arguments however afford us no direct proof of Āp.'s priority to Gaut. But direct proof is not lacking. If there is any doubt on this score, it is sure to be set at rest if the contents of the two Dharmasūtras are compared with each other. At a glance it will appear that the relation between Āp. and Gaut. is much the same as that between Manu and Yājñavalkya. The sūtras of Āp. are loose and vague while those of Gaut. are pithy and compact. Āp.'s style is distantly reminiscent of the rambling disquisitions of the Brāhmaṇas; Gaut. is the Sūtra-work par excellence. On very numerous topics, the sūtras of Āp. seem to depict a society to which many of the later complexities were still unknown. Like all other works on Dharma, Gaut. gives a masterly description of the mixed castes (XV. 16 ff.). But strange as it may appear, Āp. has nothing to say on this point—one of the most important topics dealt with in the works on Dharma. Incidentally he mentions the Ugra (I, 2, 7, 20; 21; I, 6, 18, 1), but never gives his lineage. This fact, I think, may be explained only on the hypothesis that at the time of Āp., Brahmanical authors did not yet feel the necessity of making that desperate effort to include within the fold of Hinduism all peoples in every grade of life. Even the Yavana has been allotted a place in Gaut.'s system of mixed castes (IV. 21), though after all it is no decisive proof of his posteriority. Gaut. (VIII. 14-21) gives an elaborate list of the forty saṃskāras, but Āp. seems to relegate them to the Gṛhyasūtras. On the other hand Āp. fully recognises the vedic practice of beef-eating (I, 5, 7, 30), but Gaut. (xvii. 30) positively forbids it. It should also be noticed that among the various kinds of meat to be offered to the Manes, Āp. (II, 7, 16, 27-28) mentions beef as well as buffalo's meat, but Gaut. in his corresponding chapter (xv) omits both, though he mentions various other kinds of meat, also recommended by Āp. Coming

down to the field of law we find that the legal concepts of Āp. are strangely meagre and puerile. Gaut. (x. 31) solemnly lays down the law of ownership, also found in later Dharmaśāstras, but nothing of the kind is known to Āp. Gaut. (xii, 29ff.) gives various laws about different rates of interest, pledges and deposits, closely resembling those of later Dharmaśāstras and he has even no objection to a Brāhmaṇa lending out money at interest, provided that he does it through an intermediary (x, 6), but Āp. uncompromisingly prescribes punishment for one who "lends money at interest" (i, 9, 27, 10) and declares the food offered by a usurer unacceptable (i, 6, 18, 22). One of the most striking features of Āp. is that the custom of imposing fines for crimes is not known to him. Punishments prescribed by him mostly amount to mere threats of hell and damnation; Daṇḍanīti proper is a sealed book to him. But Gaut. on the other hand prescribes various fines (xii, 8ff.) and gives the correct grammatical derivation of the word *daṇḍa* (xi, 28). In conformity with the principles of later Dharmaśāstras, Gaut. gives laws as to how long a wife should have to wait for her absent husband (xviii, 15ff.); Āp. is absolutely reticent on this point. The fact that Āp. depends much more upon custom than any other Dharmasūtra is a proof of his early date. His last sūtra speaks volumes in favour of his high antiquity, in which he frankly confesses that the remaining duties should be learnt from men and women of all castes. Gaut. (xxi, 7) once refers to Manu, Āp. never. Gaut. (xix, 14) knows various places of pilgrimage but Āp. is quite innocent of them.

Arguments may thus be multiplied, but I think sufficient has already been said to prove the priority of Āp. to Gaut. Now, if the theory of interpolation is carried so far as to cover all these points, it amounts to saying that the Gaut. which had preceded Āp. is no longer extant but there is nothing to show that there actually was any such, and at all events it must be admitted that the Gaut. as we have it is later than Āp.

Lastly I beg leave to point out that the supposed acquaintance of Āp. with the division of Hindu learning as taught in Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's Prasthānabhedha,—taken by Bühler to be an indication of his late origin (SBE, 2, xxix-xxx), is but a myth. Āp. II, 11, 29, 11 is one of the passages in translating which Bühler has been led astray on account of his excessive reliance on the interpretation of the commentator. This Sūtra declares that "the knowledge which Śūdras and women possess is the completion (of all study)." The commen-

tator takes this knowledge of Śūdras and women to be "the knowledge of dancing, acting, music and other branches of the Arthaśāstra" and according to Bühler, this interpretation is "without doubt, correct" (SBE, 2, XXIX). Now, Arthaśāstras, as they are known to us, do not teach dancing and music and it is the unanimous verdict of Gṛhya and Dharmasūtras that members of the upper castes should never devote themselves to these profane arts, whether before or after the study of the Veda. Moreover even without any help from outside it may be proved that what Āp. here has in view is ācāra and not dancing and music. In the sūtra immediately following he declares, "this knowledge is a supplement of the Atharvaveda" and in the next says: "It is difficult to learn the sacred law from (the letter of) the Vedas (only); *but by following the indications it is easily accomplished.*" Now who can doubt that in the Sūtra no. 11 Āp. lays down that on completing the study of the Veda one should learn ācāra from Śūdras and women? Very probably the specific mention of the despised Śūdras and women in this connection thus sadly misled the great savant. But as Āp. (II, 6, 15, 10) expressly declares that rites for the dead should have to be learnt of women and that duties must be learnt from women and *men of all castes*" (II, 11, 29, 15), there can be no doubt that Āp. in the passage concerned has nothing but ācāra in view.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

Max Müller's Introduction to the Ṛgveda-prātisākhya*

As I am now going to offer to the friends of the Vedic literature the text of the Śikāla Prātisākhya with translation and annotations in a separate edition, I have hardly to repeat what I have said elsewhere about the importance of this work. I have tried to show in the preface to the English translation of the Ṛgveda, of what historical importance it is for the verification of the two texts of the Ṛgveda, the Pada and the Saṃhitā texts; considering that the Prātisākhya not only quotes thousands of passages from the two texts, but also registers most accurately the seemingly very trivial variations of the one from the other, and that in all essential points our best manuscripts of the two texts agree with the data in the Prāti-

* Translated from German.

śākhyā, we may prudently conclude that the text of the Ṛgveda we possess is the same as was seen by the authors of the Prātiśākhya more than 2000 years ago. The date of the composition of the Śākala Prātiśākhya has not yet been, so far as it is incumbent on me to give an opinion, swayed by anything out of the chronological limits which I assigned to it in my history of the Ancient Sanskrit Literature. I have drawn these limits as high and as low as possible and naturally have made no effort to bring the date of Śaunaka and his relation with Āśvalāyana, Kātyāyana, and, through these grammarians, also with Pāṇini, into limits narrower than allowed by the scanty data. If Kātyāyana lived in the fourth century, Śaunaka might well have lived in the fifth century and the date of Pāṇini would therefore fall at the juncture of the two centuries. Śākalya however who is reputed to have drawn up the Pada text and to have laid the foundation to the manual of phonetics, which was brought to completion and perfection in the shape of our Prātiśākhya by Śaunaka, must have lived at a still earlier date and carried on his scientific activities. If we could corroborate the view of Professor Goldstücker who assigns to Pāṇini a much earlier date than I and others dare to ascribe to this learned Grammarian, the date of Śākalya would therewith have been pushed back to still earlier times. For Śākalya has been quoted not only by Pāṇini in direct connection with phonetic points, which have been dealt with in the Śākala Prātiśākhya, but also Yāska, who, as even Professor Goldstücker admits, is older than Pāṇini, quotes Śākalya and criticises the splitting up of a word and the reading of a vedic passage on the strength of it, as it has been given by Śākalya in his Pada text. In x, 29, 1, Śākalya has treated the two syllables *vā yā* as two words. Now Yāska finds fault with this (Nir. vi. 28), takes *vāyāḥ* to be one word and remarks that if like Śākalya *yāḥ* is taken to be a relative pronoun, the verb *adhāyi* should have been accented. Śākalya's splitting of the word does not give a good sense either.

Although it may be concluded on the strength of this passage of the Nirukta that Yāska knew the pada text of Śākalya, it does not follow on that account however that Yāska also knew the Prātiśākhyas, and particularly the Śākala Prātiśākhya whose composition, as is well known, is attributed to Śaunaka. We must take this opportunity to mention here another passage of far reaching importance from Nirukta I. 17, where Yāska says, that the *saṃhitā* is the close setting (of the Padas), and then continues : the *saṃhitā* comes out of the Pada, the Pārṣada-manuals of all the schools come out of the Pada. These

manuals (Pārṣadas) are however the Prātiśākhya, and the solemn words—*Paḍapraṇītiḥ saṃhitā* are simply a quotation from our Prātiśākhya, sūtra 105.

Neither Yāska nor Pāṇini quotes the name of Śaunaka as an authority in connection with Śikṣā or phonetics and the bare fact that Pāṇini, IV, 3, 106, teaches the formation of the name Śaunakinaḥ attributed to those who learn the sacred hymns of Śaunaka, and that he in IV, 1, 102, calls some of the descendants of Śaunaka (the Vātsyas) by the name Śaunakāyana and others by the name Śaunaka,—all this certainly does not conclusively prove that Pāṇini must have known also Śaunaka as the author of the Śākala Prātiśākhya.¹

Also in connection with Yāska it would be hazardous to conclude that Pāṇini had known the author of Nirukta on the strength of the fact that Pāṇini in II, 4, 63, teaches the formation of the family name Yāska of the descendants of Yaska. The formation of such a name proves in itself only this that at the time of Pāṇini there were more than one descendants of Yaska and we must look for further support in order to prove the priority of Yāska, the author of the Nirukta.²

Now, in spite of the objections which have been raised, I stick to my old view as firmly as in the History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, that Śaunaka, the author of the Prātiśākhya as well as Yāska the author of the Nirukta is older than Pāṇini. I regret that a somewhat inaccurate expression in that work has given rise to the misunderstanding as if I hold Yāska to be later than Kātyāyana and *a fortiori*, later than Pāṇini. As in my History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature I was comparing the theories of language as they are found in the Prātiśākhya and the Nirukta, I had made the remark that a classification taken as fundamental in the Prātiśākhya of Kātyāyana is *no more* sufficient in the Nirukta. As Yāska's Nirukta is a work on etymology, it follows naturally from above that my statement is about etymological problems which are hardly touched in the Prātiśākhya, and I have nothing to do with the question that Yāska must be younger than the author of the Prātiśākhya, and as I have attempted in several passages to prove that Śaunaka in his Prātiśākhya actually quotes Yāska and not the hypothetical Vaiyāska (see p. 142, 148 etc.), I could hardly imagine

1 Cf. Goldstücker, Pāṇini, p. 208.

2 Cf. Goldstücker, l. c., p. 222.

that my representation of the more or less advanced ideas of Yāska and Kātyāyana about the origin and classification of the language should be used as argument against my own view about the age of these two scholars.* Although from inner grounds I hold the work of Yāska to be older than the work of Pāṇini, yet I must admit that till now the only convenient argument is Pāṇini I, 4, 109 which may be taken to be a literal quotation from Yāska's Nirukta. Yāska says :—*paraḥ saṃnikarṣaḥ saṃhitā* (*saṃninakarṣaḥ* of Roth must be a printing mistake) ; and Pāṇini says : *paraḥ saṃnikarṣaḥ saṃhitā*. Such an agreement cannot be accidental and until it is explained in another way we must consider it, henceforth as before, to be an important element in the chronological articulation of the ancient Sanskrit literature.

Turning to Śaunaka's Prātiśākhya and its relation to Pāṇini's grammar, we see that Professor Goldstücker remarks quite rightly that the Prātiśākhya is no grammar and I myself have expressed this view, as he himself has mentioned. Because the level of the Grammatical knowledge of Pāṇini is much higher than that of the Prātiśākhya, it does not follow at all on that account that Pāṇini, not only in point of knowledge but also in point of date, should stand higher. So far I think Professor Goldstücker agrees with me completely. Now what are his objections to my view that the Śākala-Prātiśākhya belongs to an older period than Pāṇini, or to put it more clearly, that Yāska and the Prātiśākhya quote one another, while Pāṇini is quoted neither by Yāska nor by the Prātiśākhya, but himself however quotes Yāska as well as the Prātiśākhya ? His opposite arguments (*Gegengründe*), or, as he calls it, his refutation, runs from page 183 to page 213 ; however it principally deals with the Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya and offers against my view that our Prātiśākhya is pre-Pāṇinic, only two sharply formulated objections. I shall repeat these objections in his own words and produce my arguments against them without presuming to give them the name of a refutation or to judge for myself the weight (*Tragkraft*) of my arguments, for, to say with Kant, "the author can very well adduce arguments, but can not pass opinion on their effect upon his judges," I confine myself here

* But it is quite probable that there were more than one Vedic authors of the name Yāska. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XIV.7. 27 mentions a Yāska ; Taittirīya Kāṇḍānukramaṇikā III. 25 mentions a Paiṅgī Yāska ; even Piṅgala (Chand. Sūt. III. 30) knows a Yāska. G.(= Ghosh).

to a survey of the arguments regarding the age of Śākala Prātiśākhya, for, as regards the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya, I fully agree with Professor Goldstücker, and his penetrating researches have only still more strongly confirmed me in my conviction that Kātyāyana, the author of the Prātiśākhya, and Kātyāyana the author of the Vārtikas on Pāṇini's Grammar, must be one and the same person, and that Kātyāyana, just as the later tradition speaks of him, must have been a contemporary, and a rival of Pāṇini and a continuer of his work. Before I enter upon a close examination of the objections raised by Professor Goldstücker, it will be necessary to explain my view somewhat more fully than done before and to add a few materials, gathered since then, to strengthen my position.

The occurrence of quotations in ancient Sanskrit works has unfortunately been less fruitful for historical results than could have been expected, but still, if we compare the names which occur in Yāska, Śaunaka, Pāṇini and Kātyāyana we can affirm this with certainty that those must be the oldest authorities who are uniformly quoted by every one of them. Now the only one who is uniformly quoted in the Nirukta, in the Śākala-Prātiśākhya, in Pāṇini, in the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya, in the Ātharvaṇa Prātiśākhya and in the Bṛhaddevatā is Śakaṭāyana.* With the exception of the Ātharvaṇa Prātiśākhya, Gārgya too has been quoted in the same sources and Śākalya lacks the guarantee of the Bṛhaddevatā also. Gālava is known to Pāṇini and the authors of the Nirukta and the Bṛhaddevatā, Kāśyapa is known to Pāṇini and the author of the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya, the Prācyaś are known to Śaunaka and Pāṇini, and Yāska is known to Śaunaka, the author of the Śākala Prātiśākhya and the Bṛhaddevatā. Two names of the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya have also been referred to elsewhere, namely, Pauśkarasādi (Pāṇ. VIII., 4, 48; Vārt. 3) and Bhāradvāja (Pāṇ. VII., 2, 63). The latter, whose name is wrongly written as Bharadvāja, is also the author of what seems to be a work on Śikṣā which belongs to the Taittirīyas. That most of the authorities quoted by Yāska are not known to the authors of the Prātiśākhyas and Pāṇini is mainly to be ascribed to the difference of the subject-matter and does not prove that Yāska was unknown in the sphere of the scientific activity of Śaunaka, Āśvalāyana, Pāṇini and Kātyāyana.

* It is a significant tradition recorded in the Kāśikā on Pāṇini I, 4, 86,—अनुशाकटायनं देशाकरणाः, G.

The names of Āgrāyaṇa, Audumbarāyaṇa, Aupamanyava, Aurnavābha, Kāṭthakya, Kautsa, Krauṣṭuki, Carmaśiras, Taiṭṭiki, Vārsyāyaṇi, Śatabalākṣa, Maudgalya, Śākapūṇi, Sthaulaśṭhivi are indeed not mentioned by the authors of the Prātiśākhya and Pāṇini; this is however to be noticed that four of them, Aurnavābha, Kāṭthakya, Krauṣṭuki and Śākapūṇi are referred to in the Bṛhaddevatā, a work which is ascribed to Śaunaka and whose subject is to some extent closely connected with the Nirukta.

First of all let us take as well-founded the fact that while Yāska is mentioned by Śaunaka, Śaunaka by Kātyāyana and the author of the Ātharvaṇa Prātiśākhya, Pāṇini has never been mentioned in the Nirukta and the Prātiśākhya. Now, with regard to Yāska, Professor Goldstücker (p. 225) says "not knowing the grammar of Pāṇini is tantamount to having preceded it," and I think the same is applicable to Śākala Prātiśākhya in a much higher degree. Regarding Yāska it may rather very well be urged that he who is concerned with etymology and interpretation need not necessarily refer to grammatical authorities and particularly to the system of Pāṇini. As regards Śikṣā however which is the main subject of the Śākala-Prātiśākhya, there is no such excuse. Vyākaraṇa and Śikṣā, grammar and phonetics are and were from time immemorial inseparable and it is a great advantage of Indian grammar that from the very beginning it received firm support from Śikṣā or phonetics.

Now let us go one step further, and while on the one hand we never find Pāṇini's phonetic or grammatical theories quoted in the Śākala-prātiśākhya, we see on the other hand that Pāṇini, when he comes to speak on points of Śikṣā, refers to earlier authorities and particularly quotes Śākalya, the founder of the Śākala Prātiśākhya, exactly on those points which are dealt with in this Prātiśākhya.

Before we discuss this subject more minutely, we must first try to render the relation of Śākalya to our Prātiśākhya a little clearer. We must attribute the composition or the final redaction of our work to Śaunaka according to the Indian tradition.¹ About the question, in what form this branch of instruction existed before the time of Śaunaka, the opinions of various scholars naturally differ, according as they admit of the existence of an oral tradition in a larger or smaller quantity. Śākalya always remains the recognised founder of the phonetic discipline for the Śākalas and the work of Śaunaka gives us the final form of the science founded by Śākalya and developed by his followers.

Already in Gaṇa Kārtakaujapau we find Śākalaśaunakāḥ.

Śākalya is already known to Yāska (VI. 28) as the Padakāra of the Ṛgveda. If then the present word-division of the Pada text goes back to him, it is not at all surprising that those rules also should belong to him according to which the Pada text has been converted into the Saṃhitā text. The book, which contains these rules and whose authorship is attributed to Śaunaka, is called Śākalam and the people who follow this Śākala manual are called Śākalas. These three words, Śākalyaḥ, Śākalam and Śakalāḥ should be studiously differentiated.

If we now first examine the phraseology of the Prātisākhya, we find that Śaunaka uses all the three words.

Śaunaka quotes Śākalya (Sūtra 199) as authority for a rule, that, when two short *i*'s are joined and also in all Kṣaipra and Abhinihita sandhis, the resulting syllable will have the Svarita, provided the first vowel is Udātta. This shows that Śākalya's rules were not confined only to the Pada text but also touched points which were of significance only for the Saṃhitā text. Now Śaunaka however goes further and says that another teacher, Māṇḍukeya (this is the correct spelling of the name and not Māṇḍukeya, as it appears in the text), recommends the Svarita not only on the occasion of two short *i*'s, but in all Praśliṣṭa joinings.* Thus it is clear that already before the time of Śaunaka various views about the accentuation of the text in the Saṃhitā were prevalent and that Śākalya was only one of the many teachers who fixed the text in the shape as we have it to-day.

With regard to accentuation Śākalya is again quoted by name in sūtra 208, and here he appears along with Ānyatareya, while in sūtra 739 where he has been mentioned as authority for a technical term, namely for the word Samāpādyā, which covers a number of phonetic changes such as ṣatva, ṇatva, the Sāmavaśa sandhis and the upācāra, he again appears along with two other teachers, Vyāli and Gārgya.

Judging by these passages we should then take our Śākalya to be an ancient scholar who had not only fixed the Pada text but also had made a number of rules about the accents and phonetics in general, which were propagated in the school of the Śākalas from teacher to pupil and were finally brought into that form by Śaunaka in which we possess it to-day. Now however it should be noticed that this

* The Māṇḍūkī Śikṣā (ed. by Bhagavaddatta) contains no such rule, but some of the verses of this Śikṣā and the Ṛk-prātisākhya are very much alike (see *Ibid.*, introd., p. 10). G.

Śākalya in one passage (sūtra 185) has been called *sthavira*, i. e. the ancient or the most ancient. It is said there that in the opinion of revered Śākalya, the second vowel is assimilated to the first, where, *o* and *a*, and *e* and *a* form the so-called Prācyapañcāla-hiatu, but Śaunaka does not approve of this assimilation. This is at least the interpretation of Uvaṭa, though some other interpretation too would not be injurious to our arguments. Here then we have Śākalya as the representative of a theory which Śaunaka does not approve, and this leads us to another passage where the ancient Śākalya or as he is called there, the father of Śākalya, seems to be pitted against another Śākalya, so that we would have to accept not one but two Śākalyas as authorities on Śikṣā. In Sūtra 223 it is said that the father of Śākalya changes every *ś* into *ch* when any one of the first letters of vargas (i. e. *k, c, ṭ* etc.) follows, while in Sūtra 232 it is said that Śākalya does not allow the change of *ś* into *ch* after *c*, if this *c* represents an original *z*. If this interpretation is correct, we must at all events accept two Śākalyas. I must however admit that without further support such an assumption must remain problematic in the first place. If we had no commentary before us, it would have appeared most natural that sūtra 223 contains the general rule and that Sūtra 232 is to be regarded as a necessary limitation which could however be given only after the change of a *z* into *c* had been prescribed by Sūtra 230. (See Sūtra 392). It seemed to me even better to take the Sūtras 231 and 232 to be one, in which case the purport would be that Śākalya, although he allows the change of *ś* to *ch* after one of the firsts (i. e. *k, c, ṭ*, etc.), forbids this change when final *c* is secondary and the outcome of a *z*. Only the quite extraordinary mention of Śākalya in Sūtra 223 is a stumbling block in the way of this interpretation which in that case would have to be taken as a compound, father Śākalya, like Kaṭhadhūrta.

Now it is difficult to see why Śākalya is referred to by name only in these few passages; yet it seems to occur only there where, after the foundation of the phonetic rules by Śākalya, later difference of opinion had arisen among the ancient teachers, and where it was thus of particular importance for the Śākalas to know with certainty the opinion of Śākalya.

Going further, we find the word Śākalam used as the name of the Prātiśākhya. This appears most clearly in Sūtra 633, where it is said that in the Krama text, groups of two words are not sufficient for the purposes of the Krama, and there it is further said that one can refer to the Śākala which expressly prescribes Kramas of three

or more words. This passage is found in the Paṭala called Kramahetu whose later origin renders all the more understandable such a reference to the Śākalam as authority.

In other passages where the word Śākala is used, we must take it in a somewhat wider sense, namely as Śākala theory or Śākala school. Thus we read in Sūtra 76 that the *u* is lengthened by Śākala, *śākalena drāghitāḥ*. Here one would be inclined to take Śākala to be a synonym of the Pada-text, for the lengthening described there takes place only in the Pada-text. This sense would however be too narrow for the other passages. In sūtra 390 for example, Śākala refers to phonetic changes, a few of which, at least if we accept the first interpretation by Uvaṭa of S. 390, may be of significance only for a Saṃhitā text, and there the word thus must necessarily be taken to mean Śākala theory or Śākala school. Again we find it in S. 396, where it is said that according to Śākala, between *l* and *Ūṣmans*, and, if we accept the Anuvṛtti of the commentator, between *k* and *kh* (in khyāti),¹ and between *p* and *s* (in rāpśati), a pause takes place; also that all final Sparśas excepting² *m* take pause when they are followed by initial *y*, *r*, *v*, or *Ūṣman*°. This paused pronunciation is then again defined in Sūtra 400 as belonging to the school of the Śākalas and according to Sūtra 403 it is extended by other teachers also over other cases.

Now that this Śākala actually signifies the school of the Śākalas may be clearly seen from a passage, where in the same connection the Śākalas are mentioned in the plural. Thus in Sūtra 673 (again of Kramahetu Paṭala) it is said that the Śākalas follow the system of Sthitopasthita, which so far as I can see, refers to the Pada-text as well as to the Krama text. In Sūtra 631 however the Śākalas are mentioned with unambiguous reference to the Krama text. Finally in Sūtra 65 it is said that the Śākalas particularly advocate the nasalisation of a final vowel of three Mātrās, *ācāryaśāstrūparilopahetavaḥ*, so that the work of their master may not suffer any harm, i. e. they had to specially mention the case in ṚV. X, 146, 1, because the *ṛ* of three mātrās is not included among the eight vowels of the manual

1 In Krama a *k* will have to be supplied before the *kh* of khyāti. G.

2 Though the literal translation would be *preceding*, I have dared to use the word *excepting* in its place in order to get a clear sense. The purport of course remains unaffected, *m* being the last of the sparśas.—G.

of Śākalya, and its nasalisation too is not provided for by the general rule in Sūtra 64.

This Ācārya or teacher is also mentioned in another passage of the Śākala-Prātisākhya, namely in Sūtra 52. Here it is said that the teacher defines the root of the tongue and the palate to be the proper place for *ṛ* and that his *ṛ* becomes *ṛ̣* between vowels, his *ṛ̣* becomes *ṝ̣* and *ṝ̣̄*. This teacher is here called Vedamitra or the friend of the Veda.

This much appears from these passages that Śākalya, the author of the Pada-text was the chief authority of the Śākalas, even where in course of time difference of opinion had arisen and that our Prātisākhya was meant for these Śākalas for whom Śaunaka, as he clearly says, also composed his Anukramaṇi.

Besides Śākalya, only a very few teachers are mentioned by name in this Prātisākhya, none so often as Śākalya. Only Śākaṭāyana, Gārgya and Vyāli are mentioned more than once and we may very well consider these three to be the most important authorities of that time after Śākalya.

We learn but very little about Śākaṭāyana, namely, that at the end of words he recommended the first letters (of vargas) (Sūt. 17), and that in splitting up the diphthongs into their elements, he always made *a* the first member and *i* or *u* the second.

Of Gārgya we learn that he preferred the third letters (of vargas) at the end (Sūtra 16) and that he had made rules about krama-groups (S. 629, 638), and agreed with Śākalya and Vyāli regarding the use of samāpādyā (S. 739).

Besides this agreement with Śākalya and Gārgya it is further said about Vyāli, that he had made rules about the accent (S. 214), specially about the accent in the Pada or Krama text (S. 209); that, he had his own views about Abhinidhāna or the pause between two consonants (S. 419); and finally, that, he recommended two different pronunciations for the Anusvāra, not only the regular one, i.e. in the nose alone, but also another, in the nose and the mouth (S. 745).

The other teachers who are further mentioned in the Prātisākhya occupy a much inferior place. Bābhavya has been once quoted as the teacher of the Krama (S. 676) where the commentator calls him Pañcāla¹. Yāska appears in the well-known passage (S. 993) as a metrical authority²; Māṇḍūkeya is once referred to on account of his

1 Cf. Pāṇ, IV, 1, 106. Bābhavyaḥ Kauśīkyah.

2 Presumably this Yāska has been quoted by Piṅgala, Chand, Sūtr, III, 30.—G.

difference of opinion with Śākalya regarding the accent of Prasliṣṭas (S. 200); and Ānyatareya is once mentioned as agreeing with Śākalya about a rule of accent (S. 208). As regards Prācyas and Pañcālas, they occur only in the terminus technicus Prācyā-Padaṽṛtti and Pañcālā-Padaṽṛtti (S. 137, 186); yet we can see clearly, that this grammatical technical term is ascribed to the Pañcālas and Prācyas by the author of the Prātiśākhya, and it depends on our interpretation of Sūtra 186 whether we should consider that the Śākala deviates from the general rule in the pronunciation of this Prācyā and Pañcālā Hiatus.

Now turning to Pāṇini we find, as said before, that he once quotes the Prātiśākhya verbatim and indeed for a theory upon which the Prātiśākhya is based,—namely that the Saṁhitā owes its origin to the Padas, i.e. the rules of forming the Saṁhitā are taught in such a manner that the padas are considered as primary and the rules according to which they must be changed in order to form the Saṁhitā as dependent on them. This however is not all. Pāṇini quotes Śākalya four times by name and every time for things which are very closely connected with Śikṣā. I have already spoken about these quotations in my History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature (p. 140) and have shown there that their wording resembles rather the Prātiśākhya of the Atharva-veda than our Prātiśākhya. I admit that it is not yet quite clear to me how this is to be explained. At all events however I am quite sure of this about our Prātiśākhya that it contains all the rules for which Pāṇini quotes Śākalya as authority. This requires a closer examination.

Pāṇini I, 1, 16 says *saṁbuddhau Śākalyasyetūvanūrṣe* i.e. the vowel *o* in the vocative, remains unchanged, when the non-vedic *iti* of Śākalya follows. This appears to me to be the best interpretation though with the commentators we may translate it thus: According to Śākalya, i.e. not necessarily, not universally, *o* in the vocative remains unchanged before the non-vedic *iti*. This rule reappears in the Ātharvaṇa Prātiśākhya (I, 81) as I showed before, partly with the same words,—*āmantritam itūvanūrṣe*, and had not Pāṇini mentioned Śākalya by name, it would have appeared as if he has intentionally chosen the same word which is found in the Ātharvaṇa Prātiśākhya. Although not in the same words, yet to the same effect in substance, Śākalya also teaches in our Prātiśākhya, first in S. 69, that the *o* of the vocative is called Pragṛhya; then in S. 155, that Pragṛhyas remain unchanged when *iti* follows. Now that according to Śākalya, the final *o*, although called Pragṛhya, remains unchanged only before this non-vedic *iti*, is clearly seen in S. 157, when compared with S. 132, 135, 138.

Pāṇini refers to Śākalya for the second time in VIII, 3, 19 with reference to the elision of the final *y* or *v*, allowed by him, when it is preceded by a short *a* and an initial vowel† with the exception of *a* follows. § This is likewise found in our Prātiśākhya. It is said (1) in S. 129, that *ai* and *au* become *ā* when they are followed by an initial vowel, i.e., their last element, *y* or *v*, is dropped; (2) in S. 132, that *e* and *o* become *a* when an initial vowel with the exception of *a* follows, i.e., similarly again, their last element, *y* or *v*, is dropped. So far therefore Pāṇini was quite right in quoting Śākalya as authority for the elision of the final *y* or *v*, and the fact, that the Prātiśākhya provides for the insertion of *v* after the *a* and *ā* of *o* and *au* by Sūtra 135, excepting when the following vowel is a labial, does not affect the statement of Pāṇini, specially as he is concerned only with the various possible treatments of the diphthongs *e*, *ai*, *o* and *au* §§. At all events this objection would be valid against the Ātharvaṇa Prātiśākhya which by II, 21 provides for the elision of *y* and *v* under similar circumstances, then however by II, 22, makes an exception of *v* after *ā*, and indeed before all vowels, while our Prātiśākhya would not have allowed the retention or the insertion of this *v* before the following *u* (S. 135, compare Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya, V, 125).

It is remarkable that our Prātiśākhya which often quotes Śākaṭāyana, does not do so in the passage we are concerned with. Śākaṭāyana taught, as we know from Pāṇini, VIII, 3, 18, that these final semivowels should not be dropped but should be softly pronounced. The commentary explains this soft pronunciation (*laghuprayatna*) by a relaxation of the tip, the side, the middle and the root of the tongue. This theory of Śākaṭāyana is so well-known to the author of the Ātharvaṇa Prātiśākhya that among the possible terminal sound of words dealt with in I, 9, he specially mentions the *adhisparśa* sound when the semivowels *y*

† *Auslautender* in the text must be a typographical mistake for *anlautender*. G.

§ The rule of Pāṇini is manifestly somewhat different. Pāṇini sometimes drops the final *y* or *v* preceded by *a* or *ā* when a letter of the *aś* pratyāhāra follows and not merely vowels excepting *a* as Max Müller puts it. G.

§§ It is quite clear that both Śākalya and Pāṇini had the diphthongs in view though of course Śākalya's treatment is infinitely clumsier and it cannot therefore be denied that Śākalya in S. 135 actually strikes a discordant tune. G.

and *v* are not pada in their usual pronunciation. This adhisparśa is then explained in the Prātiśākhya, II, 24 by leṣavṛtti and is ascribed to Śākaṭāyana just as Pāṇini ascribes the *laghuprayatna* to him (see Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya, IV, 125 ; Ātharvaṇa Prātiśākhya, I, 9, and II, 24).

For the third time Pāṇini mentions Śākalya in VI, 1, 127. Here he says that according to Śākalya the final *i*, *u*, *r*, before dissimilar vowels remain unchanged, and adds that these vowels become short. Now, for this shortening no authority is found in the Prātiśākhya. If we admit that Pāṇini wished to ascribe to this grammarian only this unchangeableness of the vowel, inasmuch as he placed the word *hrasvaḥ* after Śākalyasya, then he was quite right in quoting Śākalya, for no other Prātiśākhya has more exhaustive rules by which the final vowel remains unchanged before the initial vowel than our Prātiśākhya, from Sūtra 155 on words.¹ It should also be considered herewith that the Sūtra immediately following, Pāṇini VI, 1, 128, according to which certain vowels before *r* remain unchanged and, if long, are shortened, is presented by the commentator under the authority of Śākalya and that for this sūtra too analogies are found in the Śākala Prātiśākhya in Sūtras 136, 168.

Now we come to the last and the most important passage in which Pāṇini quotes Śākalya. It was thought until now that there is nothing corresponding to what is here ascribed to Śākalya in the Prātiśākhya. In VIII, 4, 51, Pāṇini says that according to Śākalya reduplications of consonants in compound letters may be omitted everywhere. Now if we examine the Sūtra 390 of the Prātiśākhya, it appears as if the Śākala school allowed the omission of the varṇakrama only when the compound letter is initial and the preceding final vowel is a long one. But I think that Pāṇini's rule shows us the right way in which the sūtra is to be interpreted and, in any case, Pāṇini interpreted it as if that the anuvṛtti of *padādih* and *dirghena* is suspended and consequently it becomes that the Śākalas omit the reduplication of a consonant in a saṃyoga in all the cases which are mentioned in Sūtras 378 and the following. Here Pāṇini serves us just like a commentary to the Prātiśākhya and authorises us to give preference to that of the two interpretations of the later commentators which

1 Passages such as 163, 4, 8, 9, 13 one of course beyond the scope of Pāṇini.

the ancient Grammarian himself approved. Moreover there is no reason at all to take the word Śākala here in the sense of the Pada text for Śākala in no other passage has such a narrow sense, and specially in this sixth paṭala it occurs twice where it is impossible to interpret it in that way.

Partly to prove this and partly to present clearly the object of this whole paṭala, I give here a short sketch of the same. Though this paṭala seems at first sight to have little to do with the main question we are concerned with, yet it will prove to be not altogether useless for our purpose, inasmuch as it clearly presents before our eyes the high degree of development of the science of phonetics in the ancient Pariṣads and thus affords us a comparison of the same with meagre phonetic aphorisms of Pāṇini.

(To be continued)

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

MISCELLANY

More light on methods and conclusions in Hindu Politics

I am grateful to Mr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar for the opportunity he has given me, through his rejoinder to my reply in connection with his criticism of my work, to re-state my case on a number of important points relating to my subject.

Mr. Sarkar's charge of limited scope unsupported by facts

In his rejoinder Mr. Sarkar repeats the charge of "limited scope" against my work, saying that the "infinitely extensive range" of Hindu political theory, as known from "the table of contents in ancient and mediæval political texts", cannot be covered by the four or five items to which I am supposed to have devoted my attention. It is curious to note that Mr. Sarkar does not mention which other items I have left out. Let me develop the argument which he has left incomplete and put it to the test. The most important of "the ancient Indian political texts" is undoubtedly the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. A reference to its "table of contents" shows it to contain fifteen chapters (*prakaraṇas*) dealing successively with the items of discipline, employment of the higher officials, administration of justice, disturbers of the public peace, the work of spies, the circle of states, the six expedients of public policy, public calamities, expedition, war, corporate bodies, the powerful enemy, the capture of forts, secret contrivances, and the plan of the treatise. What use has been made of these chapters in the H.P.T.? A reference to chapter III of this work shows that all the above topics have been laid under contribution in so far as they throw light upon the ideas of state and government of the author. Thus among the topics which have been touched upon in the chapter above mentioned, occur, besides the theory of kingship (of which according to my critic the H. P. T. virtually consists), considerations relating to the general plan of the *Arthaśāstra*, its view of the mutual relations of politics (*daṇḍanīti*) and other 'sciences,' the seven elements of sovereignty, the education of princes, the qualifications of ministers, political deliberation, internal and external factions, the suppression of public disturbances, foreign policy, treacherous diplomacy, the *raison d'être* of punishment and its right application, the

theory of republics, comparison of Kauṭilya with Machiavelli, and Kauṭilya's influence on subsequent thought. It will be noticed from a perusal of this list that the varied ideas of internal administration, foreign policy and the like, as conceived by the author of the *Arthaśāstra*, have not been ignored in the H.P.T. in a mistaken attempt to exalt the theory of kingship. Mr. Sarkar's charge, then when, subjected to the scrutiny of facts, vanishes into thin air. Let me support my case in the present instance by reference to a parallel example. It is well known that the writings of Machiavelli range over a remarkably large variety of subjects, drama, history, politics, military science and the like. Four of these works viz., the *Principe*, the *Discorsi*, the *Arte della Guerra* and the *Historie Fiorentine* may be said to constitute a single whole as they are bound together by the connecting link of the author's characteristic political principles. Now how has the "infinitely extensive range" of Machiavelli's political theory been treated by modern historians of Western political theory? We find that Prof. Dunning in his well known work deals with the political theory of Machiavelli under the following heads: Machiavelli's life and times, method of his philosophy and his point of view, his attitude towards morality and religion, his theory of political motives, the forms of government, extension of dominion, preservation of dominion, summary and conclusion (see the concluding chapter of *Political Theories, Ancient and Medieval*). These are the very items, be it noted, which have their counterpart, as far as possible, in the Kauṭilya chapter in the H.P.T. And yet no critic has attacked the American scholar on the score of "limitation of his scope."

*Source of Mr. Sarkar's mistake—He misunderstands
the place of the monarchic state in the general
system of Hindu political speculation*

Mr. Sarkar repeats the charges more than once against my work, viz., that it involves "virtually a theory of kingship." And yet it is not denied that monarchy from first to last looms large in the political speculations of the Hindus. The truth is that the Hindu thinkers, for reasons which do not concern us here, took the monarchic state as the basis of nearly all their reflections on the nature and functions of the State and Government. We thus find that the "infinitely extensive range" of political ideas of the Hindus was conceived and expressed very largely in terms of the activities of the king and his

ministers as well as subordinate officials. To find fault with the historian of Hindu political theory on this ground is as sensible as to blame the historian of Greek political theory because the ideas which he treats are oriented to the type of the city-state or the historian of political theory of the Mediæval Church because his subject-matter is oriented to the conception of a theocratic state. It remains to add, before leaving this subject, that the predominance of the monarchic state in the political speculations of the Hindus was explained as above more than once in the H. P. T. which Mr. Sarkar claims, to have read from cover to cover (See *ibid.*, p. 16—"The Hindu political theory is essentially the theory of the monarchic state". Also cf. *ibid.*, p. 269.)

Mr. Sarkar's opinion of the 'standard Indian polity'

In trying to bring out in the introductory chapter of the H. P. T. "the influence exercised upon Hindu political theory by certain specific types of polity" of which "the standard [monarchic] polity" is the predominant example, I claim to have followed the lead of the most reputed and authoritative historians of political theory in the West. [On this point see later]. Let me deal here with the main basis of Mr. Sarkar's charge, viz., that my description of the standard Indian polity shows forgetfulness of "the distinction between facts and ideas or ideals." In my work I had said, after referring to the republican states of Northern India, that the monarchic state dominated the scene. It was with reference to this last type of state that I had further held the most complete account to be derivable from the sacred canon and the sacred *Arthaśāstra*, and the grounds for this view were stated in the same context to be twofold, viz. that (1) other data were few and far between and (2) the sacred canon and the *Arthaśāstra* reflect actual, and not ideal, conditions of political existence. Both these grounds were repeated in my reply to Mr. Sarkar's original criticism. Mr. Sarkar has altogether failed to answer these arguments. He takes refuge instead in a flank attack, for he asks that since there is no well-documented institutional history as yet, I should have either filled up the gap myself or else confined my attention to the theory alone. Adoption of the first alternative would have necessitated the preparation of a work of the same compass as that of the H. P. T. on Hindu political institutions, while the adoption of the second course would have justly laid me open to the charge of omitting an important preliminary of my subject,

Confusion of ideas with institutions—A myth

It is evident from the above that whatever use was made in the H. P. T. of the *Smṛiti* and *Arthaśāstra* evidence for elucidating concrete political institutions was conjoined with sufficient explanations and safeguards. My opinion about the great gulf between our knowledge of Hindu political theories and institutions was likewise expressed in the Preface (ix—x), where I had described "the obscurity in which the actual history of Indian institutions is still involved." In the face of these facts it is preposterous to argue, as Mr. Sarkar has done, that I am guilty of confusing theories with institutions. *En passant* it may be remarked that the critic's claim for bringing to light "the subtle distinction between pious wishes and real hyphen politik" which is said to have "invariably escaped the workers in Indology" is altogether baseless. Not to speak of my own case, I may mention the example of the late Mr. Vincent Smith who was certainly, whatever were his other faults, one of the most industrious "workers in Indology." In his *Oxford History of India* (Introduction page xii) after expressing his disagreement from "several modern Hindu authors" who hold that the ancient Indian king was a limited or constitutional monarch, he writes, "These authors have been misled by taking too seriously the admonitions of the text-book writers that the ideal king should be endowed with all virtues and should follow the advice of sage councillors. In reality every Indian despot who was strong enough did exactly what he pleased." These words evidently involve a more clear-cut "distinction between pious wishes and real hyphen politik" than Mr. Sarkar would perhaps be prepared to accept.

Mr. Sarkar fails to envisage the perspectives of Vedic religious thought

As Mr. Sarkar mentions no independent arguments in support of his contention that "everybody, nay everything, can become divine in the Vedic literature under certain circumstances", the conclusion may be legitimately drawn that he rests his case entirely upon the evidence of texts quoted in the H. P. T. to show how the privilege of divinity could be acquired by others than the king. Mr. Sarkar, indeed, makes this point quite clear in his statement, "The texts tell us in so many words (here follow references to the H. P. T.) that a person becomes divine through certain actions." Now a very superficial acquaintance with the H. P. T. is enough to show that its Vedic texts imputing divinity to the Brāhmaṇa etc., and explaining the significance of the *dīkṣā*

belong exclusively to the literature of the Yayus-saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas, and as such reflect the spirit of that phase of Vedic thought alone. When we go back to the period of the Ṛgveda, we find ourselves in a very different atmosphere. The *dīkṣā*, the passport to divinity in the Brāhmaṇas is unknown.¹ Sacrifice has not become as yet a means of controlling the gods and of entering into the god-head. The gods themselves are primarily regarded as beings of unequalled power to whom prayers are addressed by mortals seeking their aid.² How wide is the gulf between the religious conceptions of the Ṛgveda and of the Brāhmaṇas is well described by an American scholar whose authority Mr. Sarkar perhaps will not care to challenge. "With the Brāhmaṇas", writes Prof. E. W. Hopkins (*Religious of India*, pp. 176-77), "not only is the tone changed from that of the Ṛgveda, the whole moral atmosphere is now surcharged with hocus-pocus, mysticism, religiosity instead of the cheerful real religion which however formal is the soul of the ṛsis ... All is now symbolical and the gods though in general they are the gods of the Ṛgveda are not the same as of old. The priests have become gods."³ To say under these circumstances, as Mr. Sarkar does, that "Trasadasyu or for that matter anybody becomes a Varuṇa or an

1 Cf. Hillebrandt, *Ritual-litteratur*, p. 14:—"Eine Weihe wie die spätere Zeit sie in der *dīkṣā* nennt ist den Rv. fremd." Also cf. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 399: "Der Ṛgveda scheint bis auf eine oder zwei ganz Zweifelhafte Stellen die *Dīkṣā* nicht zu erwähnen."

2 Cf. Macdonell, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. XII, p. 603, s.v. *Vedic Religion*:—"The most prominent characteristic of the Vedic gods is power, for they are constantly described as great and mighty, they regulate the order of nature and vanquish the great powers of evil. They hold sway over all creatures, no one can thwart their ordinances or live beyond the time they appoint and the fulfilment of wishes is dependent on them." Cf. Ibid., *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 18-19. An earlier authority describes the gods of the Ṛgveda as beings "human in their thinking, feeling and acting, but since their order is never disturbed, their will never bent, and their power never broken, infinitely more powerful and exalted and wise," and again, as "creatures against whose will no one on earth can contend" (Kaegi, *Ṛgveda*, tr. Arrowsmith, p. 29.)

3 The whole chapter is worth careful perusal by those who frame armchair generalisations on Vedic polity.

Indra, as soon as he becomes a king, or rather is consecrated" (this is said with reference to RV. iv. 42 quoted in the H. P. T. to show how the royal sage Trasadasyu identifies himself in this hymn with Indra and Varuṇa) is to transfer arbitrarily the ideas of the Brāhmaṇas to the different atmosphere of the R̥gveda. It may be remarked in this connection that there is not the slightest hint in the hymn just mentioned, of any connection with the ceremony of royal consecration or coronation. In another respect Mr. Sarkar's contention is vitiated by the absence of a true perspective of the Vedic religious ideals. He fails to distinguish the types of divinities not only in order of time but also in their different grades and classes. The truth is that we may distinguish in the religious conceptions of the Brāhmaṇas, not to speak of those of the R̥gveda, categories of higher and lower deities (see e.g., Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*, pp.). It therefore follows that the equation of the king, e.g., with Indra and Varuṇa or with Prajāpati is of much greater significance than the identification of "everybody, nay everything" with other deities.

'Divinity due to kingship'

Having previously cultivated a "thorough acquaintance with the contents of the H. P. T., on every page" and again read it for purpose of this rejoinder "from cover to cover," Mr. Sarkar has been able to discover altogether "eighteen Vedic texts" "cited by the author in relation to the king as divinity and allied topics," none of which he thinks ascribes kingship to divine origin. It is somewhat disconcerting to find that the learned critic has overlooked three other Vedic texts cited in the H. P. T. (pp. 41-43) with special reference to the question of origin of kingship, and that one of these was held therein to prove the derivation of the sovereignty of Indra (the divine prototype of the earthly king) from the will of the highest God. Commenting on the eighteen passages above mentioned the critic scents an attempt on my part to "escape" from an ugly position, for he writes, "there are altogether 18 passages in Dr. G's book bearing on different aspects of the king's divinity. In the rejoinder the author wants to single out one of these passages. In the book itself he has offered us three in regard to the problem of king's rule by virtue of his divinity." This suspicion has no basis in fact. Of the eighteen passages all but three mentioned above are explained in the H. P. T. as involving the conception of the king's divine position (however inconclusive that might be in the Brāhmaṇas) and not that of deri-

vation of the king's authority from his divinity. As I wrote in the H. P. T. (p. 31) "It is in the latter works [viz. the Brāhmaṇas] that the dogma [of king's divinity] is held to justify the king's authority over his subjects." [Here follow quotations of the three texts.]. Of these three texts again one viz., T. S. II. 2, 11, 6, was held only to foreshadow the doctrine, and another (Śat. Br. XII. 1, 3, 8,) was expressly excluded from consideration on the ground that it was pitched in "the stereotyped dogmatic fashion of the Brāhmaṇas." This leaves only one passage (Śat. Br. V. 1, 5, 14.) which is exactly the one that I had the hardihood to "single out" in the H. P. T. as well as in my reply. For the rest, it may be mentioned that the alleged "contradiction" in my reply is entirely a myth. For the Brāhmaṇa text to which I had referred to combat Mr. Sarkar's view connects the king in the clearest possible manner with Prajāpati, the chief deity of the Brāhmaṇa pantheon, and on this specific ground based his claim to rule single-handed over his many subjects. This passage would convey no other lesson than the king's claim to rule by virtue of his connection with the highest God to all persons except those who would arbitrarily read into the simple Vedic text the meaning that "the king becomes a most visible form of Prajāpati because of the ceremonial rites."

Mr. Sarkar's amusing interpretation of a Brāhmaṇa text

Taking the passage last cited (Śat. Br. V. 1, 5, 14.) into consideration in the form as given by myself ("And as to why a Rājanya shoots, he the Rājanya is the visible representative of Prajāpati; hence, being one, he rules over many"), Mr. Sarkar confidently affirms that the phrases "*Rājanya*" "*visible representative of Prajāpati*" "*ruler over many*" are essentially synonymous. How he detects identity in the causational chain of three clauses in the above sentence it is difficult to understand. He vouchsafes no argument other than the very superficial statement that explanations are not necessarily causational. But Mr. Sarkar is not content with the above version or with Eggeling's version either; he proceeds to offer his own translation and interpretation of the passage under consideration. In the original the text runs as follows:—

Tad yad rājanyaḥ pravidhyati esa vai prajāpateḥ pratyakṣatamāṇa yad rājanyastasmādekaḥ san bahūnāmiṣṭe. Mr. Sarkar suggests a happier translation than that of Eggeling for the first part of this sentence to the following effect, "Now then (concerning the fact)

that *the* Rājanya (not *a* Rājanya) shoots." For this arbitrary departure from the authoritative translation Mr. Sarkar gives no reason worth the name. Let us turn to the greatest living authority on Vedic syntax to test the value of Mr. Sarkar's emendation. In his *Altindische Syntax*, pp. 217-218, Delbrück, after referring to the common use of 'tad yat' in Vedic prose passages, mentions four instances of its occurrence, to each of which he appends his own translation. In the first example (Ait. Br., 6, 26,) '*tadyat*' is translated '*wenn nun*' (when or if now): in the second (Śat. Br., 4, 2, 1, 1,) where it is conjoined with '*tena*' it is translated as '*insofern dadurch*' ('in so far as thereby'): in the next instance. (Ibid., 1, 6, 3, 1,) where it goes with '*tasmāt*', it is rendered '*weil darum*' ('since therefore'), while in the last instance (Ibid., 4, 2, 1, 4,) '*tadyad tathā*' is translated as '*der Grund nun, warum es so ist, ist der folgende*' ('the reason now why it is so is the following'). In neither case has *tadyad* been rendered in the wonderful sense in which Mr. Sarkar interprets it. To go back to Mr. Sarkar's improved translation, he is doubtful about the rendering of Prajāpati in the sense of 'lord of creatures' as done by Eggeling and accepted by myself, because a "verse" of the Śat. Br. (Mr. Sarkar evidently is not aware that the Śat. Br. is a prose work) quoted by him strangely enough, from the faulty version of Eggeling, identifies Prajāpati with speech. It is however an undoubted fact that the significance of the god Prajāpati in Vedic religious conceptions has been thoroughly established by scholars whose knowledge is not confined to the few Vedic texts (including the "verses" of the Śat. Br.) above cited. Thus Kaegi in his small, but authoritative, work called the *R̥gveda* (English translation p. 76n) writes with reference to Prajāpati that he is lord of descendants, a genius presiding over birth, then, in general, protector of the living, and afterwards lord of creatures (*pace* Mr. Sarkar), creator, as the highest god over the gods of the Vedic period. In his *Vedic Mythology* the standard English work on the subject, Prof. Macdonell after referring to a hymn of the R̥gveda recognising Prajāpati as the supreme god says, "Though only mentioned once in the Rv. in this sense, he is commonly in the Av. and the V. S. and regularly in the Brāhmaṇas recognised as the chief god." Mr. Sarkar next rejects as "utterly untenable" the rendering of 'Prajāpateḥ pratyakṣatamām' in the above passage of the Śat. Br. as 'visible representative of Prajāpati' which I had proposed on the strength of Sāyaṇa's explanation (pratyakṣatamām rūpam). But the critic is

unable to mention a single argument save the authority of the same Mr. Eggeling, whose translation of a simple Vedic text he has just rejected. Mr. Sarkar also doubts the connection between Rājanya and Prajāpati on the ground that the "equation" between the two is "established" in an "unsatisfactory manner" in another passage which he quotes from the same context. In any case, we are told the Rājanya's authority cannot be derived from Prajāpati for still another "verse" of the Śat. Br. mentions the Rājanya as winning Prajāpati. Mr. Sarkar evidently is not prepared to accept any statement of the Brāhmaṇas which does not conform to the canons of logic and consistency. How very absurd such an expectation is in the case of the Brāhmaṇa literature will appear from the considered judgment of a scholar to whom I have already referred. In chapter IX of his *Religions of India*, Prof. Hopkins quotes numerous examples of "absurdities," "stupidities" and "obscurities" of statements in the Brāhmaṇas, and he concludes by describing the Brāhmaṇa literature as a "confused jumble where unite descriptions of ceremonies, formulæ, mysticism, superstitions and all the output of active bigotry" (see *ibid.*, pp. 193-195, 201-202, 210).

*The evidence of the Puruṣasūkta—Mr. Sarkar doubts an
acknowledged fact*

While sticking to his old view that the *Puruṣasūkta* cannot involve the dogma of precedence of some classes over others, Mr. Sarkar undertakes in his rejoinder to state his argument in full. He shows as he thinks that the order of precedence if traced in the case of the two other categories mentioned in my translation would lead to a *reductio ad absurdum*. Now in the first place the whole hymn is admittedly composed in a highly mystic vein since it personifies all nature as a giant-man (*Puruṣa*). To expect logical consistency between all its parts is, to say the least, not admissible. In the second place the idea of precedence in the verses dealing with the four classes does not depend upon the accident of enumeration in a certain order. For the continuous Brāhmaṇical tradition basing the superiority of the Brāhmaṇas over all the rest upon the dogma of creation of the four classes from the different limbs of the Creator justifies us in holding that in this earliest version of the doctrine the same idea was not lost sight of. It is indeed not without significance that a Western scholar singles out the *Puruṣasūkta* as "the Magna Charta of Brahmanism" (Martin Haug, quoted in Kaegi's *R̥gveda*, p. 180.)

Mr. Sarkar's misconception of the status of the Vaiśya

With reference to Taittirīya Saṃhitā VII. 1. 1, Mr. Sarkar repeats his view that it does not "mean anything more than the fact that each one is somebody in his own place." But he now admits (what indeed should never have been doubted) that "in regard to the Śūdra the texts leave us in no doubt about his inferiority." This unequivocal admission, however belated, is welcome. Mr. Sarkar however will not admit the Vaiśya's inferiority to the Brāhmaṇa and the Rājanya. He refers to two Vedic texts both cited in the H. P. T. to show as he thinks that "the Vaiśya is on a par with the Brāhmaṇa." This argument illustrates Mr. Sarkar's usual tendency to apply the evidence of one set of Vedic texts even of a different period to that of another set. Mr. Sarkar cannot complain if following his own example I confront him with other texts (quoted in the H. P. T.) bearing more directly on the present question. In Śat. Br., VI. 6, 3, 12-13 we read, Akṣatriyasya vā purohitasya vā sarvam sarvaṃ tad yat kṣatriyo vā purohito vā. ("Incomplete is he who is not either a noble or a domestic chaplain, ... while he who is either a noble or domestic chaplain is everything"). Elsewhere in the same work (XI. 2, 7, 16) we are told that the *brahma* and the *kṣatra* are established upon the *viś*. Turning to the texts cited by Mr. Sarkar it does not require much reflection to find out how little conclusive they are. If the Vaiśya is entitled under certain circumstances to share in the divinity of the Brāhmaṇa and the Kṣatriya even to the extent of sharing the same form of address, it does not follow that they stand precisely on the same level in respect of status. But then, Mr. Sarkar triumphantly asks, does not the selfsame passage of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā (VII. 1, 1) declare the Vaiśyas to be "more numerous than others." ('bhūyāṃso'nyebhyaḥ' in the original text). I shall not insult the intelligence of my readers by saying in reply that numerical superiority is not tantamount to superiority or even equality in status. Mr. Sarkar at length grapples with the clause in the above extract to which pointed attention was drawn in my reply, viz. that the Vaiśya along with others is said therein to be eaten (tasmāt ta ādyā in the original). Mr. Sarkar is convinced that it is not possible to attach the idea of inferiority to the Vaiśya "simply" on this ground and he wants "stronger" evidence to support this point. The "evidence" has been already given in the H. P. T. in the form of references to the two texts of the Śat. Br. above mentioned, which

Mr. Sarkar inspite of his "thorough acquaintance with its contents on every page" has somehow missed. But why is the evidence of the present clause inconclusive as regards the question of the Vaiśya's inferiority? Because, says Mr. Sarkar, "there is no injunction against the Śūdra's eating the Vaiśya." Now the meaning of the clause which has so much taxed the ingenuity of Mr. Sarkar (*tasmāt ta ādyā*) is perhaps not difficult to discover in the light of other similiar texts that have been interpreted by competent Vedic scholars. We refer to the texts mentioning the king as devouring his people which have been interpreted to mean his right of receiving contributions from them.¹ The reason why the Śūdra is not expressly debarred from eating the Vaiśya is perhaps to be found in the fact that he was not entitled to exercise the ruling authority. As regards the bearing of the Taittirīya texts upon the relative status of the Vaiśya and the upper classes we may pertinently refer (since the Yajus Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas belonged to the same cycle of thought and correspond in their broad ideas) to the famous passage in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII, 29) where the Vaiśya is declared to be *anyasya balihrti*, *anyasyā iyaḥ* and *yathākūmajyeyaḥ*, (translated as "tributary to another, to be lived upon by another, and to be oppressed at will"). The significance of this passage is thus explained by Prof. Keith (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 128). "From the point of the Kṣatriya this indicates the fact that the exactions of the king from the commoners of the tribe were limited only by practical considerations of expediency; the commoner has no legal right to his landholding or to his private property, if the king desired to take them from him; and if he was allowed to retain them, he paid for them in tribute and in the duty of supporting others."

*Mr. Sarkar's charge of inadequate perspective met
by his own admissions*

In his rejoinder Mr. Sarkar has thought it fit to repeat against myself the charge of "want of adequate orientation to the proper perspectives of Vedic political speculation" on the ground that I have ignored the activities of the Viś-group, "the real centre of political, as well as social and economic interests." The charge was partly

1 See the *Vedic Index*, s. v. *Rājanya* and the references appended thereto.

answered in my reply, but with his commendable openness to conviction Mr. Sarkar sticks to his own position. Let me then test the value of his criticism. "Vedic politics and Vedic thought" I had said, "consist of successive strands, and even granting the 'viś' to have been the centre of common interest in the Rv., it is a fact that the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra periods witnessed a progressive advance of the king's and the Brāhmaṇa's power and disappearance of the tribal *samiti* and *sabhā*." The critic who takes credit to himself for ever remaining "teachable" tones down the above into the statement that the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra periods "witnessed a progressive transformation of the Vedic polity." Even as thus expressed, the statement is so inconvenient to his position that he hastens to offer a palpably poor excuse to the effect that he had confined himself to foot-notes. What is of greater importance, the critic has failed to realise the full consequences of my argument which he has implicitly accepted in full. For if it is a fact that both the king and the Brāhmaṇa rose in power to the detriment of the Vaiśya, it cannot be maintained that they were as insignificant as Mr. Sarkar conceives them to have been, e.g., in the following extract, "The chief is there as head of the expeditionary forces consisting as they do of the entire viś, and the priest as well as his ritualistic hocus-pocus has no other function but (sic) to serve the war-animus of the viś." Mr. Sarkar thinks it sufficient to meet this point by "repeating" that "no matter what the strand of Vedic thought," "the real centre of political, as well as social, and economic interests" has been virtually ignored in the H. P. T. But "repetition," even if coming from the pen of Mr. Sarkar, cannot take the place of argument. Another point urged in my reply was that the consideration of the problems which Mr. Sarkar has in view properly falls within the scope of a history of political institutions, and has no place in a history of political ideas such as the H. P. T. claims to be. Mr. Sarkar thinks this to be an attempt to "escape" out of an unfavourable position created by his ingenuity. In the H. P. T., I have undoubtedly set before myself as one of my objects the description of "the general bearing of institutions upon the growth of ideas" (Preface to H. P. T., first edition, p. 9). Consistently with this aim I have tried in my introductory chapter to estimate the influence exercised by "certain specific types of polity" including "the standard Indian [monarchic] polity" (the frequent butt of Mr. Sarkar's ridicule) upon the political ideas of the Hindus.

In adopting this course I may claim to have followed the example of the most approved historians of political theory in the West, e.g. of Principal E. Barker, who devotes a whole chapter of his standard work on Greek Political Theory (*Plato and his Predecessors*, ch. II) to a description of the Greek State in its general aspect. No critic, as far as I am aware, has levelled a charge against him on this ground by means of a deliberate misunderstanding of the scope of his work.

*Mr. Sarkar's ideas on Vedic political thought
have no basis in fact*

Continuing his criticism of my argument on the present question, Mr. Sarkar says that he has "always" in this context been "speaking of thought, speculation" instead of political institutions. How he chooses to reconcile this positive statement with the extract "neither the polity nor the political thought of the Vedic *ṛṣis*" used in this connection I leave him to decide. What concerns me now is to point out that he has failed to quote a single instance from the Vedic literature of the magnificent set of ideas whose omission he makes the basis of his charge, viz., "the ideas of war, inter-tribal conflicts, the struggle of groups and races" and "the group-activities of the *viś*, the people," That he has a shrewd suspicion that this much-talked-of set of ideas exists only in his imagination is evident from the following extract from his earlier paper, "The political thought of the Vedic *ṛṣis*, *should there be any*" (last four words put by him in italics). The truth is that the Vedic *ṛṣis* confined their speculations primarily, if not exclusively, to the office of "the king and the priest" (or rather the *purohita*), as well as the relations of the Kṣatriyas and the Brāhmaṇas in general with each other and with the other classes, in other words the very "items" of which I have "been talking exclusively" in my work. The reason for this regrettable perversity on their part is perhaps to be found in the fact that to the Vedic *ṛṣis* who were the authors of speculation of the period "the real centre of interest" was not the *viś*—group, but the office of the king and the *purohita* and the mutual relations of the social classes. Lest Mr. Sarkar, would accuse me of thrusting my own ideas upon him, I hasten to quote the words of a Western authority "The Vaiśya," we are told in the *Vedic Index* (s. v. Vaiśya), "plays singularly little part in the Vedic literature which has much to say of the Kṣatriyas and the Brāhmaṇas". Before leaving this subject it is

worth remarking as an illustration of Mr. Sarkar's scrupulous accuracy in the choice of Vedic terms that he repeatedly uses 'vis' as synonymous with 'tribe' or 'people.' Now a reference to the authority last mentioned reveals the fact, that 'vis' has the alternative meanings of 'settlement or dwelling,' 'king's subject' 'the people in general' and 'a sub-division of the *jana* or whole people.' It would seem that the correct equivalent of 'tribe' or 'people' in the Vedic literature is '*jana*.'

*Value of Mr. Sarkar's contention tested by reference
to a parallel example*

In view of the fact that the social and political conditions in Vedic India in the earlier period are in general similar to those of Homeric Greece, Mr. Sarkar perhaps would not grudge the application of his dictum about "the real centre" of interest to the Homeric polity as well. Indeed it would not be difficult to find out, if this were needed, instances of "colonizing, conquest, and intertribal war and peace" from Homer's pages. Now let us see how modern scholars have dealt with the earliest phase of Greek political theory such as can be gathered from Homer. It appears that Dunning devotes only 8 lines to this item wherein he deals exclusively with the Homeric idea of kingship, while Barker who is the author of an independent monograph on Greek political theory has only 13 lines which he devotes to combat the view that Homer is a believer in the divine origin of monarchy. And yet, no critic has accused these scholars of the "want of adequate orientation to the proper perspective" of Homeric political speculation.

*Treatment of "post-Vedic problems of political
theory" not "one-sided"*

It has been shown above from an examination of the items treated in the Kauṭilya chapter (ch. iii.) of the H.P.T., that it deals not only with "the theory of kingship" and the ideas on "the relation between king and priest" (such as Mr. Sarkar considers the staple of my work to consist of) but with sundry ideas of internal administration and foreign policy. How small, relatively speaking, is the space occupied by the theory of kingship in this chapter (it may be remarked that the theory of the mutual relations of king and priest is not so much as even mentioned herein) may be gauged from the fact that out of a total of 31 pages not more than 6 (i.e. less than 1/5th) is devoted

to it. In this instance, then, Mr. Sarkar's charge of "one-sided treatment," when tested by hard actual facts, turns out to be altogether baseless. The same conclusion is reached on an examination of the other chapters dealing with the "post-Vedic problems of political theory." Take, e.g., the chapter on the Mahābhārata and the Manu-saṃhitā to which is added as a supplement the Cātuhśataka of Āryadeva (H. P. T., ch. iv). Among the topics which it handles may be mentioned besides the theories of kingship and of the relations between king and priest, the significance of *rājadharma* and *daṇḍanīti*, the quasi-organic theory of government, the ideas of internal administration (including the education of the prince, the employment of ministers and the like), foreign policy, the idea of punishment, the relation of politics with religion and with morality (involving the consideration of an elaborate body of principles connected therewith), the problem of *gaṇas*. In this case the space allotted to the theory of kingship and the mutual relations of the king and the priest amounts to less than 24 out of a total of 62 pages. In the face of these instances (which might be multiplied if necessary) it is strange that Mr. Sarkar still persists in proclaiming that the H.P.T. consists of "a series of theories of kingship and a bundle of ideas on the relation between king and priest."

Mr. Sarkar's method of extracting "confessions"

In connection with the above point Mr. Sarkar triumphantly claims that I have admitted his charges "in their entirety." In my reply to his criticism I had observed with reference to the category of seven factors of sovereignty, "it is true that none of the component factors save the king has been subjected in the H.P.T. to a detailed treatment." To conclude from this, as Mr. Sarkar does, that the H.P.T. contains "nothing save the king," is contrary to all canons of logic. If I admit that out of 3 points a, b, and c, (say, the seven factors of sovereignty) the first alone is described in my book in detail, it does not follow that 3 other points d, e, and f, (say, the theory of the priest's function of which even according to Mr. Sarkar the H.P.T. principally consists) are not treated in it with equal fulness. Indeed I could not, even if I would, make the admission imputed to me by Mr. Sarkar. For in another part of my reply which has been quoted and commented upon by Mr. Sarkar, after mentioning the place that I have allotted to the theory of kingship, I observe, "Other topics which properly fall within the scope of a history of Indian political ideas

have received in the same work (viz., H.P.T.) their just share of recognition." (here follows a list of examples).

The question of proper jurisdiction

It is evident from the above that Mr. Sarkar's dictum that my work deals in detail with "none of the component factors save the king" is the direct negation of truth. But, then, Mr. Sarkar argues, I have touched upon "neither public finance nor international law nor jurisprudence nor the theory of war" etc. When this charge was first brought against my work, I justified myself on the ground of a well-established convention defining the boundaries of the sciences. In his rejoinder Mr. Sarkar quite unjustifiably understands this to mean my belief in a well established convention fixing the categories of political philosophy, and proceeds to demolish this imaginary view. The question at issue in this case is much simpler and may be expressed in the following way. Is it, I asked, the established practice ("convention") among modern historians of political theory to treat only the ideas of State, Government and the like in detail leaving allied and incidental topics like those mentioned by Mr. Sarkar to special treatises? I claim in spite of Mr. Sarkar that both the practice and the profession of Western authorities justify an answer to this question emphatically in the affirmative. It is an undoubted fact that a detailed treatment of public finance, international law and jurisprudence, not to speak of the theory of war is conspicuous by its absence even in standard works on the history of Western political theories. We look in vain in such works for Hobbes's theory of international law or Machiavelli's theory of law, to refer to two examples pointedly mentioned by Mr. Sarkar. That this exclusion of other topics proceeds not from the sense of "convenience" of the authors concerned, but is justified by good and sufficient reasons will be seen from the following quotation from Prof. Dunning's Introduction to his *Political Theories, Ancient and Mediæval*. There the author, after mentioning the limitations "made necessary by the extent to which differentiation has proceeded within the confines of political theory", writes as follows (Ibid., pp. xxi-xxii), "Until within quite recent times writers on politics included in their works a treatment of the topics which are included to-day under the heads of public law and political economy". "But the whole group of special sciences which these names suggest—

international law, pure and applied economics, finance and statistics—have sloughed off and expanded until each has a history and a dogma quite too comprehensive for any but special treatment Some general account of the movement of ideas in the special fields is in some cases indispensable. As a rule, however, it will be necessary to leave the special just when it becomes clearly distinguishable from the general."

Treatment of the 'saptaṅga' not insufficient

If the argument advanced at the end of the foregoing paragraph is of any weight, it follows that however much the theories of public finance, international law and the like may form (according to Mr. Sarkar) integral parts of the doctrine of 'saptaṅga,' my failure to consider these items does not in itself brand my treatment of this point as incomplete or unsatisfactory. Mr. Sarkar, however, thinks that I justify my claim of adequate treatment on the ground that I have "somewhere defined the term 'saptaṅga' and mentioned all the seven elements of polity" and elsewhere "described the king as but one of the seven limbs of the body politic." This is a misstatement of my position. What I claimed to have done in my reply on behalf of the 'saptaṅga' was the consideration of "general significance" of the doctrine (which helps to illustrate the *Arthaśāstra* idea of Government) and the comparison of its constituent elements after the Indian thinkers (which shows a progressive evolution of the doctrine of quasi-organic unity of government). See H.P.T., pp. 84, 87, 131, 169-170, 216, 252-253.

Mr. Sarkar's misconception of the nature of Hindu "political science"

In his original paper Mr. Sarkar in seeking to justify his charge regarding the so-called "one-sided treatment" delivered himself as follows: "Political science as a *vidyā* was not described by them [viz. the Hindu theorists] as a royal science or a priestly science. They used terms which had nothing to do with the king and priest. *Arthaśāstra*, *Nitiśāstra*, *Daṇḍanīti* are all terms that served to focus attention on large communal interest." In his rejoinder he quotes the first part of this statement by way of reiterating his view. Now this dictum stated in the unqualified fashion as above may be shown on the authority of indisputable facts to be wholly wrong. To realise the standpoint of the *Arthaśāstra* authors on this point, it is not enough to confine oneself to their strict definition of the "science," but

this has to be taken in conjunction with their commonly accepted standards of political concepts and categories. Now the quotations of Kauṭilya relating to the discussion of the early *Arthaśāstra* about the constituent elements of the seven factors and the three powers (*śaktis*) of the king make it clear that the type of the monarchic state had already fixed itself in the root-ideas of the *Arthaśāstra* thinkers long before Kauṭilya's time (see H.P.T. pp. 83-86). The same tendency to look upon monarchy as the norm of political existence is reflected in the fragments of the early *Arthaśāstra* thought that have been preserved to our own times, e.g., in Bhāradvāja's teaching of a Machiavellian statecraft to kings and ministers and the views of certain other authors on the application of punishment by the king (H.P.T., pp. 103-107). As for the title *Nītiśāstra*, Kāmandaka who brings the term into general vogue identifies the "science" so thoroughly with the monarchic state that he applies to it the synonym *rājavidyā* or 'royal science'. It is again not without significance that Kāmandaka introduces his *Essence of Nītiśāstra* by addressing his lessons to kings, for he says:—

*upārjane pālāne ca bhūmer bhūmīśvaram prati
yatkiñcid upadekṣyāmo rājavidyāvidām matam*

The commentator explains the phrase '*bhūmīśvaram prati*' "to the rulers of the earth" by stating that other persons are not eligible for the science of polity (*anyasya tu rājavidyāyām anadhikārāt*). In the work of Śukra the term *Nītiśāstra* is defined in a wider sense than Kāmandaka's, but still he professes in his introductory verses to have written his work for the benefit of kings and others enjoying a limited span of life (H.P.T., p. 249). In the same work *Arthaśāstra* is expressly defined as involving the instruction of kings in good behaviour (H.P.T., p. 83n.)

Mr. Sarkar's comment on Utathya's discourse

In the H.P.T. (p. 99) I had taken certain extracts from the discourse attributed in the Śāntiparvan to the sage Utathya to involve a view apparently "peculiar to Hindu political thought," "namely, that unrighteousness on the king's part is the cause of disturbance of the social, the moral and even the physical order." On this Mr. Sarkar commented as follows, "Utathya's dictum in the Mahābhārata on righteousness and justice as the *sine qua non* of kingship does not embody a peculiar Hindu conception, as G. believes." The misinterpretation of my meaning that is involved in this statement is too

palpable to be missed even by the most careless reader. To put Mr. Sarkar on the right track I wrote in my reply as follows, "That part of Utathya's lecture in the Mahābhārata which was cited to be perhaps peculiar to Hindu political thought was to the effect that unrighteousness on the king's part is the cause of disturbance of the social, the moral and even the physical order." In the same connection I asked Mr. Sarkar to show by quotations from specific texts the exact counter-part of the Hindu view in certain works of European thinkers that he had mentioned. After this clearest possible statement of my case it would seem that there was no room for any further misunderstanding. I note however with amazement that Mr. Sarkar persists in attributing to me the assertion that the conception of justice or righteousness being the bounden duty of the king was peculiar to Hindu political thought. And he thinks himself justified in quoting from his own work what he fancies to be parallel ideas in the West, finishing aptly enough with a homily on the necessity of cultivating "a little acquaintance" with certain authors whose works are familiar to the undergraduates of our universities.

In connection with the present subject Mr. Sarkar claims to have discovered a modification of my original position in my rejoinder. It will suffice to point out in reply that the words "a view, which it seems to us, was peculiar to Hindu political thought" (H.P.T., p. 99) are in no way modified by the statement "a view perhaps peculiar to Hindu political thought."

The position, then, may be summed up as follows:—(1) My statement whether in the text or in the reply remains unchanged. (2) In his earlier paper Mr. Sarkar failed to appreciate my standpoint perhaps through oversight. (3) In my reply I gave him a chance of correcting his mistake. (4) Nevertheless he persists in misunderstanding my position, no doubt because he finds it impossible to answer my challenge. (5) The examples which he quotes from Seneca, Bishop Hincmar and the rest are all beside the point, and apparently has no other purpose than that of confusing the issues.

The Dīgha Nikāya theory of contract

Mr. Sarkar has thought it fit to challenge afresh and on identical grounds my statement in the H.P.T. (p. 121) to the effect that "the Buddhist theory of contract virtually exists as an isolated phenomenon in the history of Hindu political thought." The grounds on which this statement made were expressed with the utmost clearness

in the original text, and it is most surprising that Mr. Sarkar with his "thorough acquaintance with its contents" should miss them a second time in succession. Let me quote the context in which the above passage occurs in full. "In his insistence on contract", I wrote, "as the foundation of political order and above all in the terms of the contract itself the Buddhist canonist had evidently discovered a weapon which might be used to justify almost any degree of popular control over the king Nevertheless, no single claim is advanced on behalf of the people in the above passages Nor, so far as we are aware, was the hidden significance of the theory brought out in any other work except apparently in a passage of the *Catuhṣatikā* Thus the Buddhist theory of contract virtually exists as an isolated phenomenon in the history of Hindu political thought." I meant, in other words, that the doctrine of popular control over the king by virtue of the theory of contract was practically confined to the passage under consideration. This argument which Mr. Sarkar altogether ignores remains unshaken inspite of all the historical connexions traced by myself and quoted by Mr. Sarkar between the text of the *Dīgha Nikāya* and other texts.

Mr. Sarkar's charge of "unjust" treatment of "Śākya's teachings"
rests on a tissue of imaginary assumptions

Mr. Sarkar repeats, as before, the charge that I have been extremely "unjust" to "Śākya's teaching," because, as he thinks, I have "considered Śākya to be a mere moralist and not a political philosopher." Now the passage to which Mr. Sarkar refers occurs in the H.P.T. (p. 123) in the course of my comment on two texts of the Pali canon professing to lay down the Buddha's test of seven conditions of welfare in respect of the republican confederacy of the Licchavi-Vajjīs, and it runs in the original as follows :—

"The above extracts involve a moralist's analysis of republican conditions, not that of a political philosopher strictly so called." When Mr. Sarkar bases his charge on this passage, he makes the following assumptions, (1) that in describing the contributions of Buddhism to Hindu political theory, I confine my attention to these two passages alone or at most to passages of a similiar import, (2) that Buddha is the author of these two passages, (3) That my remark carries with it an implied censure, (4) that on this ground I have excluded from consideration other parts of Buddha's teachings which

are relevant to my subject. Each of these assumptions may be shown to be contrary to truth. No. 1. is contradicted by the fact that I have examined at length two other extracts purporting to lay down Buddha's view of the origin of kingship, and not even the slightest hint is conveyed therein to the effect that the "Śākya" or anybody else was a mere moralist. No. 2. is so contrary to fact that Mr. Sarkar in his rejoinder hastens to explain it away with what success we shall presently see. As regards Nos. 3 and 4 there is nothing in my book to show that I attach any censure to the author of the passages under consideration, whoever he may be, or that I exclude him on this ground. Indeed it was not out of disrespect for any of the Buddhist thinkers, least of all for "Śākya," but simply because I thought that they had left behind no other contribution to the stock of political theory that I "cut short" my considerations of their ideas in my work.

Mr. Sarkar's failure to meet my arguments

It follows from the above that Mr. Sarkar's verdict which he wants to keep "unchanged" to himself, when examined in the light of sober fact, breaks down at every point. There is another aspect of the question that has still to be considered. In his original paper Mr. Sarkar had observed as part of his case for "Śākyas" admission into the rank of a political philosopher that obedience to the elders, one of the seven conditions of welfare mentioned above, was not a moral maxim but had its affinities in "later manifestations" e.g. "the Japanese Genro and the Reichstag of the present German constitution." To this I had replied by pointing to other items mentioned in Śākya's list of seven conditions to which it would be difficult to find parallels in the "later manifestations." Mr. Sarkar has chosen to be completely silent on this point.

Mr. Sarkar's rejoinder on the question of authorship of the two Nikāya passages is equally unhappy. He begins by saying that a discussion of authorship of "Śākya's lectures" in a "footnote review" would have looked quite "pedantic." But he forgets that however repugnant it might be to Mr. Sarkar's temperament this exhibition of pedantry was absolutely necessary to justify his verdict regarding my unjust treatment of "Śākya's teachings." Mr. Sarkar next points to some phrases which according to him prove his "shrewd suspicion" of the genuineness of the alleged sayings of Śākya. If this "suspicion"

was founded on fact, why did he charge me on the evidence of two samples of those self-same "sayings" with unjust treatment of Śākya's teachings? It is indeed not without significance that in his original paper the qualifying phrases are invariably reserved for the Vinaya texts (and especially the Mahāvagga and Cullavagga), while he uses the term "Śākya" without any qualification whatever no less than four times in the two paragraphs containing his comment on the seven conditions of welfare. That the misconception is still present "at the back" of Mr. Sarkar's mind is clear from the title of the paragraph in his rejoinder, viz. "unjust treatment of Śākya the Buddha's teachings."

Relations between institutions and theories,—Mr. Sarkar's view

In connection with Mr. Sarkar's charge on the score of alleged exclusion of certain items of Buddhist thought, I disputed his implied contention that a history of political theory should take cognisance of concrete institutions and the principles of their working. Mr. Sarkar retorts by asking, "Have you not yourself tried to indicate the general bearing of institutions upon the growth of ideas"? Yes. But this is altogether different from incorporating the theories that are latent in those institutions. To forget, as Mr. Sarkar does, the difference between the two is to betray a misunderstanding of the relative place of institutions and theories in a historical treatment of political theory. Mr. Sarkar has asked me to point out some of the authorities on political science whose view is different from his own. Here is one. "Political thought," says Mr. Barker (*Social and Political Ideas of some great Mediæval thinkers*, ed., F.G.C. Hearnshaw, p. 10) "is different from and greater than political theory. Political theory is the speculation of particular thinkers, which may be removed from the actual facts of the time. Political thought is the immanent philosophy of a whole age which determines its actions and shapes its life. The one is explicit, self-conscious, and (it may be) detached; the other is implicit, unconscious and immersed in the stream of vital action." If this view is not to be dismissed as a meaningless jargon, it follows that the historian of political theory need have no concern with "the ideas lying behind, around, and within the institutions," however properly these may fall within the scope of the historian of political thought.

"The politics of Vinaya and Edict literature"

In his rejoinder Mr. Sarkar again describes the Vinaya and the Edicts of Asoka as potential sources of political speculation which

have not been utilised in the H.P.T. Now apart from the fact that the ideas latent in concrete institutions may not, as shown above, come within the cognisance of political theory, it is permissible to ask whether the Vinaya literature about which Mr. Sarkar is so eloquent really contains any of the ideas which Mr. Sarkar claims for it, those relating to "authority, justice, liberty, individuality, democracy and so forth" in a form sufficiently selfconscious to justify their inclusion in the H.P.T. Mr. Sarkar at any rate is unable to mention a single example of the kind, though he has no longer the excuse of writing a "foot-note review." As to the Asokan Edicts Mr. Sarkar refers afresh to "certain ideas that are no mean contributions to political thought." Let me admit for once that these Edicts, as far as they involve a conscious formulation of political principles, may be justly included in a survey of the Hindu political theory. In the second edition of my work (p. 90n.) which was published at the beginning of this year, I have tried to consider the significance of the Asokan idea of paternal rule. Here I pause only to remark that one of the examples quoted by Mr. Sarkar to illustrate the Asokan "contributions to political thought" does not bear the interpretation which he has put upon it. We refer to his statement "The problem of the Empire i.e. imperial nationalism, is manifest in Asoka's solicitation for administrative uniformity." Now the passage to which Mr. Sarkar refers runs in the original as follows, "Icchitaviye hiesā kiṃti viyohālasamatā ca siya daṇḍasamatā cā" (Delhi-Siwalik version). Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, it is true, takes this (*Aśoka* p. 310) to refer to the uniformity of judicial investigation and the uniformity of punishment, but Prof. Hultsch (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. I., revised edition, p. 125) understands it to mean "impartiality in judicial proceedings and impartiality in punishments." If the second explanation is to be accepted as correct, there is no case for "Aśoka's solicitude for administrative uniformity" and thus the whole basis of Mr. Sarkar's dictum falls to the ground. Even if we take the first interpretation, the idea that is here involved is evidently that of administrative centralisation of an imperial autocracy. To characterise this as amounting to "imperial nationalism" is to be guilty of a hopeless anachronism.

Mr. Sarkar's verdict on my treatment of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra

Mr. Sarkar has thought it fit to repeat his view that my chapter on Kauṭilya is but a "summary of translations of certain selected

topics" etc. I claim on the other hand on the basis of demonstrable facts that this chapter of the H.P.T. either breaks new ground or throws new light on the ground already traversed. I may mention, as illustrations of the former class, items like Kauṭilya's idea of the relation of politics to other 'sciences,' historical significance of Kauṭilya's theory of kingship, his theories of internal administration and foreign policy, and the like. As examples of the latter kind may be mentioned my examination of the scope of Kauṭilya's work (involving a criticism of the views of Profs. Jacobi and Bhandarkar), of the philosophical significance of the Kauṭilyan theory of kingship (in which connection I have considered the opinions of Shamasastri, Bhandarkar and Bottazzi) and of the current parallelism between Kauṭilya and Machiavelli, not to speak of my revised interpretations of the text in a number of places (pp. 130n, 134n, 135n etc.). It is also not without significance, as I showed in my reply, that Mr. Sarkar with all his aversion to the chapter under consideration, has selected two items from this "degenerate" "summary of translations" for detailed criticism—a fact which in itself indicates how little he believes in his own sweeping judgment. After this it will not be difficult to appraise Mr. Sarkar's verdict at its true worth.

The province of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra not "misunderstood"

Mr. Sarkar complains afresh against me on the ground that I have "sedulously avoided those contributions which constitute the greatness of the *Arthaśāstra* in the history of politics" etc. That I was not oblivious of the contents to which Mr. Sarkar refers is rendered quite certain by my description of the scope of the *Arthaśāstra* (H.P.T., p. 77) which Mr. Sarkar in spite of his "thorough acquaintance" with my book has missed altogether. "A perusal of Kauṭilya's work," I wrote in that connexion, "shows that this author treated the subjects of central and local administration, home and foreign policy, as well as civil law and the art of warfare. As Kauṭilya's work is admittedly a summary of the early *Arthaśāstra* literature, the natural presumption is that the same topics were dealt with in either case. This is reduced to a certainty by Kauṭilya's own citations which make it abundantly clear that all the above subjects were treated by his predecessors." If, then, I still omitted the consideration of "finance, *Maṇḍala*, strategy and tactics," it was not because of "misunderstanding" of the province of Kauṭilya's work, or rather of the *Arthaśāstra* in general, but because I thought that the weight of authori-

tative example justified my exclusion of these items from a work on the history of political theories (see above).

Mr. Sarkar's amazing interpretation of "Kauṭilyadarśanam"

While on this subject Mr. Sarkar premising that Indologists "as a rule" have "misunderstood" the scope of Kauṭilya undertakes to enlighten them according to his lights. "The Arthaśāstra," he says, "is *kauṭilya-darśanam* (kauṭilyan philosophy). It is, in other words, a theoretical speculative treatise and not a historical work designed to portray the actual constitution of a particular state or states." It will be seen that Mr. Sarkar's case rests chiefly upon his interpretation of '*kauṭilya-darśanam*'. Now a slight consideration of this point is enough to show Mr. Sarkar's interpretation to be wholly wrong. The term '*darśana*' does not mean philosophy or system of philosophy alone, but it bears other meanings such as 'opinion,' 'intention' etc. In the context (I. 10) in which the expression occurs in Kauṭilya's work (Mr. Sarkar, it may be remarked, has thought it unnecessary to specify this point) it is incapable of being interpreted in any other way than by 'opinion.' Let me justify my position by quoting the original verses which run as follows :—

trivargabhayaśaṁśuddhān amātyān sveṣu karmasu/
adhikuryād yathāśaucam ityācāryā vyavasthitāḥ//
na tveva kuryād ātmānaṁ devīm vā lakṣam īśvaraḥ/
śaucaketor amātyānām etat kauṭilyadarśanam//

The purport of the above is evidently to convey Kauṭilya's abrogation or rather modification of a view of his teacher and there can in this case be no doubt about the meaning of '*darśanam*.' This interpretation is likewise offered by Gaṇapati Śāstrī who comments on the above as follow :—

"Tad idam ācāryaṇaṁ matam ityarthakaṁ ślokaṁ āha trivarge-tyādi ... uktam ācāryamataṁ svamataṁ tu naivam etc." So also Meyer, the German translator of Kauṭilya, renders the above as follows :—"Das ist die stellung, die die Lehrer einnehmen Das ist die Ansicht Kauṭilyas."

No "misunderstanding" of scope of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra

Throughout this part of his rejoinder Mr. Sarkar does not seem sufficiently to recognise the fact that Kauṭilya's work is not *sui generis*, but is only one of a class of works concerned with this science (or

rather art). Rightly to understand the scope of Kauṭilya we have to begin by asking what, if any, information is available in his work about the scope of this science in general. Now if Mr. Sarkar had referred to H.P.T. (p. 74), he would have lighted upon a definition of Arthaśāstra to the effect that it is a 'science' concerned with the acquisition and protection of dominion. It is described in other words (as mentioned in H.P.T., p. 76) "essentially as the Art of Government in the widest sense of the term." Now the early schools and authors of *Arthaśāstra*, as I pointed out furthermore in the same context, transcended the narrow limits of this definition so as to embrace within their survey not merely the Art of Government but the theory of the State as well. In the case of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, on the other hand, I observed by way of contrast (H.P.T., p. 126) that it involved a "studied neglect of abstract speculation" whence I drew the conclusion that its author dealt in conformity with the strict definition of the science "not with the theory of the State but with the Art of Government and kindred topics." This judgment, then, was based not upon a "misunderstanding" of the scope of Kauṭilya or upon "shunting off the right track by an unwarrantably wrong attitude" towards him, but upon a careful comparison of Kauṭilya's work with the early *Arthaśāstra*, especially (as noticed in my reply) by reference to Kauṭilya's slender stock of political speculation, and his treatment of the same in connection with concrete problems of administration.

Mr. Sarkar's charge of exclusion of 'philosophy of the Art of Government' wholly imaginary

Taking as the text of his sermon the argument that "theories on constitutions, administration etc., belong as much to political philosophy as the theory on sovereignty, law, and justice, and so forth, Mr. Sarkar thinks that in my view "the one group of items excludes the other." The charge is wholly untrue. Alike in the section dealing with the early *Arthaśāstra* and the chapter on Kauṭilya, I have dealt *seriatim* with the theory of the state as well as that of the Art of Government involved therein. In the former section after examining the theories of kingship (pp. 89-101) I proceeded to analyse the rules of practical politics with the following prefatory words, "The theories of kingship in the *Arthaśāstra*, while corresponding broadly to those of the *Dharmasūtras*, are not lacking in the formula-

tion of original principles. Originality, however, is the dominant note of the rules of practical politics, which constitute, as the definition of the science indicates, the core of the *Arthaśāstra*." In the latter chapter, after examining the theory of kingship at some length (pp. 131-139) I wrote as follows :—"From this meagre record of political theory that has been presented above, let us turn to consider what forms in Kauṭilya the essence of his philosophy, we mean the branch relating specifically to the Art of Government," and thence I proceeded to discuss this subject during the sixteen pages subsequently following.

*Mr. Sarkar's method of inventing "inconsistencies" and
"contradictions"*

In his rejoinder Mr. Sarkar conjures up a "contradiction" in my estimate of Kauṭilya as given in two different places of my work, and he undertakes very chivalrously to save me from my difficulty. He writes, "In the passage in question (H.P.T., p. 127) Dr. Ghoshal has made a categorical negative proposition in regard to the theoretical character of *Arthaśāstra* In pp. 76-77 of H.P.T. he makes it clear that the book embraces a mass of abstract speculation within its orbit" etc., Now what are the facts? What I "made clear" on the pages just mentioned was that the early *Arthaśāstra* (not the book of Kauṭilya) contained a mass of speculation besides dealing with the Art of Government. On the other hand, in the passage to which Mr. Sarkar refers, I made it equally "clear" that Kauṭilya's work is distinguished from the early *Arthaśāstra* precisely by its "neglect of abstract speculation." [I refrain from quoting the original extracts as they may be easily verified.] Mr. Sarkar thus mixes up the evidence belonging to two different sets of facts which, be it remembered, occur in two distinct chapters of my book and thus concocts a charge of "contradiction" against myself from my own writings.

*Mr. Sarkar's groundless charges in connexion with treatment of
the Mahābhārata and the Manusmṛitā*

In connection with the theories under this head Mr. Sarkar has again charged me with "difficulties and inconsistencies" in my treatment of this subject. The truth of this remark will best be shown by an appeal to facts. One piece of "inconsistency" that he charges me with is that on page 181, I "accept the metaphorical sacredness of sovereignty"

in the Brahminical theory, while elsewhere (p. 277) I "do not set much store by the same interpretation." Now the true facts are as follows. On the former page while admitting for the Mahābhārata-Manusmṛitā theories in part the idea of "metaphorical sacredness," I wrote that "the most characteristic" of these theories was nevertheless concerned with the doctrine of the king's divine personality, and I quoted in support of this last statement two texts (Manu, VII, 5-7 and Śāntiparvan LIX, 128-136). On the latter page I rejected Mr. Sarkar's contention (*Political Institutions*, pp. 179-180) to the effect that "the Hindu doctrine of the king's divinity was a metaphorical expression" on the strength of the same text from the Śāntiparvan that is mentioned above. These two statements, then, are not only not "inconsistent", but are in perfect accord with each other. This point was sought to be specially impressed upon Mr. Sarkar in my reply, but he has chosen to take no notice of it.

The second case of "inconsistency" or "difficulty" which Mr. Sarkar mentions is concerned with the significance of the Śāntiparvan passage just mentioned (LIX 128-136). Here, it is interesting to note, Mr. Sarkar has been compelled to admit that there is a "theocratic touch" in the above passage. Another important modification is that whereas formerly he took the king's divinely ordained duty of protection to make the people "no less divine than the king", he now understands it to mean that "the status of the people is no less divine or God-ordained (whatever it may mean) than that of the king." In other words, he is now convinced that the divinity applies not to the people as such but to their status, and further he is himself in doubt as to the significance of these expressions. Mr. Sarkar's charge, even thus modified, can be shown to be without foundation. Of the groups of principles which in the theory of the Mahābhārata and the Manusmṛitā balance the principle of monarchical authority, only one (viz. Manu, VII, 2) does this "on the strength of divine injunctions themselves" (see H.P.T., pp. 184-186) and there is nothing in this group to connect it with the passage of the Śāntiparvan under consideration. When therefore, Mr. Sarkar introduces this part of his rejoinder with the caption "Viṣṇu enters the king, but makes him the people's servant," he gives an altogether erroneous version of the theories whose significance he professes to explain.

The third case of 'difficulty' mentioned by Mr. Sarkar is concerned with my alleged statement that "the Buddhist theory of con-

tract is incongruous with the Hindu (Mahābhārata or Manu) doctrine of reciprocity." I made no statement of this kind. On page 135 of the H.P.T. to which Mr. Sarkar refers, I declared certain extracts from Kauṭilya to involve an incongruous union of the theory of the king's divinity and that of the elective origin of kingship as manifested in the form of "a Brahmanised adaptation of the Buddhist theory of contract." It is clear, then, that the incongruity which I had in view lay in the blending of the Brahminical or the Buddhist theory of contract on the one hand and the doctrine of the king's divinity on the other. Here, then, there was no suggestion, even by implication, of any "incongruity" between the Buddhist and the Brahminical theory. It is on the strength of such statements that Mr. Sarkar bases his charge to the effect that "the alleged divinity of the king and the democratic contract theory have proved to be veritable stumbling-blocks to the author."

"Hindu mind"—"Hindu view"

While in his earlier paper Mr. Sarkar dismissed the above terms that were used in my work as "vague and meaningless phrases," he is now anxious to explain the "standpoint" from which he thinks them objectionable. Hence it appears that these cannot be altogether "vague and meaningless," from certain other stand-points. In what sense, then, my phrases according to Mr. Sarkar are still "objectionable"? His answer by implication is that I have tried to describe "one bunch of ideas" as the "characteristic product of India," in disregard of "the diversity and the pluralism of Hindu political thinking." *Per contra* he claims for himself as well as for certain standard authors whom I mentioned in my reply that their use of similar phrases "nowhere ignores or overlooks the diversities" in their thought-world. As the whole of this argument rests on a series of assertions for which not a particle of evidence is forthcoming, it is impossible to take it seriously.

To show how baseless is Mr. Sarkar's charge on this point let me further quote a few extracts from an authoritative work of which I have made frequent use already. In the introductory chapter of his latest work on the history of Greek political theory (*Plato and his Predecessors*) Barker undertakes to describe the Greek theory of the State. In the course of this chapter he frequently uses phrases which are the exact counterpart of the terms used by me. Thus we read, "Political thought begins with the Greeks. Its origin is con-

cerned with the calm and clear rationalism of the Greek mind" (ibid. p. 1); "whatever may be said of the sacrifice of the individual to the State in Greek politics or in Greek theory, the fact remains that in Greece as contrasted with the rest of the ancient world man was less sacrificed to the whole to which he belonged than he was elsewhere" (p. 2); "home rule and self-sufficiency are in the traditional Greek view almost convertible terms" (p. 5).

The question of parallels

On the subject of alleged "agreement between Hobbesian absolutism of the Leviathan and those strands in the Hindu thought which promulgate obedience to the king on the basis of contract," Mr. Sarkar's view has undergone a material change. In his first paper he was so confident of this agreement that he thought its omission in the H.P.T. to be "queer." In his present paper he is willing to make allowances for impracticable identities and special difficulties. But he is still not prepared to give up his original position. Let me examine the grounds on which he rests his case at present. In my reply, after noticing certain characteristics of the Hindu doctrine of obedience based on the theory of contract, I asked him to explain what agreement there could be between such conceptions and the Hobbesian view of absolute sovereignty. How does Mr. Sarkar answer the challenge? He says that verbal identity is the least to be expected in philosophical speculation and he refers us to his conclusion in an altogether different context to that effect. This point was not raised even by implication in the above argument, and Mr. Sarkar's mention of it makes one suspect that he wants to escape out of an untenable position by confusing the issues. Next Mr. Sarkar refers to his statement in another connection that much as the Indian material is "fragmentary and scrappy," it is but "an undeveloped form of its Western counterpart, whence he draws the conclusion that "so far as the genus, type or tendency-group is concerned, the Hindu and the Western are alike, if not identical." In his usual manner Mr. Sarkar has not cared to justify his bold generalisation by reference to concrete facts. If we test it by the example under consideration, viz. the alleged parallelism between Hobbesian thought and certain aspects of the Hindu theory of contract it turns out to be quite chimerical. A reference to my argument in my earlier paper (I. H. Q., vol. II; no. 2, p. 427) will show that the difference in this case is deeper than can be explained merely on the basis of the theory of "unde-

veloped forms." For while the Hindu doctrine of obedience from contract is inextricably mixed up with the doctrine of divine creation of the king, the absolutism of Hobbes proceeds wholly on the basis of the contract theory. The difference in short is one of kind, not of degree.

In his original paper Mr. Sarkar thought it fit to condemn my so-called "arbitrary attitude in refusing to identify the Hindu cult of tyrannicide and resistance to the king with certain strands of the social contract theory" in Europe. The evidence for this accusation was *nil*. In his rejoinder he undertakes, in answer to my challenge, to supply this omission. He refers in delightfully vague terms to two pages of the H.P.T. (pp. 188, 276) to support his contention that I am not "prepared, as a rule, to admit the rights of the people against their king." Let me begin by informing Mr. Sarkar that if he had gone through my work with some attention, he would have lighted upon many more pages (e.g. pp. 64-65, 97, 184-186, 209-210, 258) where I had distinctly pronounced in favour of the Hindu doctrine of popular sovereignty. But I propose here to confine myself to the evidence of the two pages mentioned by Mr. Sarkar. On H.P.T., p. 181 (footnote 3) I observed with reference to two verses of the Manusamhitā (VII, 111-112) that they did not "involve an unequivocal enunciation of the doctrine of resistance" (as Mr. Sarkar took them to mean in an article contributed to the *Political Science Quarterly*, March, 1918), but that they "merely conveyed a solemn warning to the oppressive king." In this same context I referred to parallel passages which bear out my interpretation. How far my explanation is justified by the facts of the case may be judged from a quotation of the original text which runs as follows:—

mohādrājā svarāṣṭram yaḥ karṣayatyanavekṣayā/
sa cirādbhraśyate rājyājñivitacca sabāndhavah//
śarīrakarṣaṇāt prāṇāḥ kṣiyante prāṇinām yathā/
tathā rājūām api prāṇāḥ kṣiyante rāṣṭrakarṣaṇāt//

"That king who through folly rashly oppresses his kingdom (will) together with his relations be ere long deprived of his life and of his kingdom. As the lives of living creatures are destroyed by tormenting their bodies, even so the lives of kings are destroyed by their oppressing their kingdoms"—Bühler's tr., S. B. E., vol. 25.

Here, then, my reluctance to follow Mr. Sarkar in "admitting the rights of the people against their king" was due not to any innate perversity but to the fact that the text appeared to me not to bear

out Mr. Sarkar's meaning. On H.P.T., p. 276*n*. while criticising a view attributing superiority of the Hindu theory over the Hobbesian, I pointed out *inter alia* that the Hindu thinkers failed to develop the case for popular sovereignty into a complete system. Here, again, I have showed no tendency to minimise the rights of the people except in so far as it is justified by the available evidence. Mr. Sarkar says apparently with reference to the last mentioned point that well-developed systems are "the farthest to seek for quite a long time yet" in Hindu political speculation. Quite so, but is not this item of sufficient importance to be borne in mind by those who are determined at any cost to seek "identifications" between the Hindu and Western theories?

Multilinear vs. unilinear evolution

On this question Mr. Sarkar's method of argument is characteristic. He is content to repeat a string of generalisations having little relation to the question at issue. In the present instance he again expresses his view that my entire "book runs counter to the theory of multilinear evolution of social organisations" laid down in the preface. Now when this charge was first brought against me by Mr. Sarkar, I hastened to point out how again and again where Hindu political thought had appeared to me to make the nearest approach to the theory of the West, I had found it on closer inspection to reveal real and important differences. I quoted from my "entire work" a number of examples, especially and above all the comparison between Hindu theories of kingship and Western theories of divine right. How does Mr. Sarkar deal with this argument? Well, he ignores it from start to finish. This silence is all the more inexplicable since Mr. Sarkar with his professed knowledge of "other systems" was exactly in a position to enlighten other "persons who are not adequately oriented" to them. Mr. Sarkar's extreme reluctance to face my pointed arguments can be interpreted only on the assumption that he is unable to meet them. If, then, I still believe Mr. Sarkar's contention to the effect that my conclusion is an after-thought to be unworthy of serious notice, it is not myself but Mr. Sarkar that is to blame. But let me proceed. In his rejoinder Mr. Sarkar concedes that his unilinear development permits of multilinear evolution even within the limits of individual thought-systems. It is easy to see that this admission involves, inspite of Mr. Sarkar's disclaimer, an important modification of his original position and a notable approximation to my own view.

Mr. Sarkar thinks it proper nevertheless to condemn my "sociology or culture-history" as involving an attempt to emphasise the contrast between the East and the West. How unfair this verdict is will be seen from the fact that Mr. Sarkar, as he candidly admits, is not sure of his data.

Kauṭilya and Machiavelli

I now come to the last item in Mr. Sarkar's formidable array of charges, I mean, the alleged parallelism between Kauṭilya and Machiavelli all along the line. I notice at the outset that Mr. Sarkar has tacitly given up his claim to have anticipated my verdict on a certain point of methodology shared by the Italian with the Indian. On other points Mr. Sarkar chooses to stick to his original view. Regarding the historical position of the two thinkers, e.g., he maintains his original position which he now seeks to justify on the material point by saying, "Machiavelli as a believer in *Rājadharmā* or duties of princes had a long line of teachers" (here follow some examples). Unhappily this "very simple" answer is concerned with the least characteristic feature of the Italian's thought, and it altogether ignores the most significant part of his teaching. When it is claimed for Machiavelli that he was "the first modern political philosopher," it is evidently his use of the historical method, his remarkable attitude towards religion and morality and even his conception of politics as an art of government that are kept in view.

As regards the relative scope of Machiavelli and Kauṭilya, without denying the "extent" of the former's "studies and writings," it may perhaps be pointed out that the details of internal administration including the component parts of a highly complex administrative machinery together with an elaborate code of laws such as we find in Kauṭilya's work are not paralleled in Machiavelli's writings. Moreover in estimating the relative contribution of the two to philosophical thought it is not "irrelevant" to remember the fact that the *Arthaśāstra* as a whole announces itself as a single "science" relating to the acquisition and preservation of dominion, while among all the "studies and writings" of Machiavelli only the Prince, the Discourse on Livy and the History of Florence can be conceived together as forming a system and even there the unifying principle does not rest directly on the assumption of a single science.

As to the respective ideals of Kauṭilya and Machiavelli, Mr. Sarkar believes as before that a contrast between these is "non-existent." He quotes an opinion about the aim of the "*Prince*" together with

the title of the last chapter of that book to show that "security of state is Machiavelli's fundamental thought." But if language has any meaning, both these arguments imply not the "security of the state" but its acquisition of new dominion. As to Mr. Sarkar's plea that "the gospel of territorial aggrandisement constitutes the very life-blood of Kauṭilya," it is, I think, sufficiently answered by the words I wrote in my reply, "Making full allowance for the cult of *vijigīṣu*, *cāturanta*, *cakravartin*, it cannot be forgotten that Kauṭilya unlike Machiavelli pointedly deprecates territorial annexations." Before leaving this part of my subject, I may add that Mr. Sarkar has left altogether unanswered the argument on whose basis I thought his conception of "a most marvellous identity in subject-matter as well as methodology" between Kauṭilya and Machiavelli to be wrong.

As to the respective morals of Kauṭilya and Machiavelli what I wrote in the H.P.T. was to the following effect. "It appears at first sight that Kauṭilya rivals and even surpasses Machiavelli in his sacrifice of these principles to the end of public welfare. Nevertheless it has to be remembered that Kauṭilya reserves his immoral state-craft in general for extreme cases" etc. Mr. Sarkar confronts me with the evidence of some texts of Machiavelli which he thinks to be 'literal paraphrase of Kauṭilyan sentiments.' Let me admit the general similarity of nearly all these texts with the ideas of Kauṭilya. I say "nearly all" advisedly since I notice that one of Mr. Sarkar's quotations is so incomplete that it does not convey the author's meaning in full. The passage occurs in chapter XVII of the "*Prince*" and is thus summarised by Mr. Sarkar. "In chapter XVIII, Machiavelli's morality teaches that there are two methods of combat, the one by law and the other by force. The first is proper to man, the second to beasts." The immediately following lines which Mr. Sarkar has not thought it fit to quote are pitched in a different key. They are as follows. "But as the first method is often inopportune, one must have recourse to the second. It is therefore necessary to know well how to use both the beasts and the men." This little statement, in spite of Mr. Sarkar's assurance to the contrary, may well "shock the prejudices" even of those who do not consider Machiavelli to be the incarnation of evil. However that may be, the effect of the line of argument mentioned above would obviously be to modify my view on this particular item of comparison between Kauṭilya and Machiavelli.*

U. N. GHOSHIAL

*The controversy is closed.—Ed.

Pāṭhakam

One of the most common varieties of literary entertainment amongst us is Pāṭhakam or Pāṭhakam-parayuka, i.e. the exposition in a dramatic form of any incident from the Purāṇas. Here the whole exposition is in the local vernacular, Malayalam, and it entirely dispenses with all kinds of technical gestures. Further, there are no stage equipments and no conventions, except the presence of a Brahmin and a lighted lamp—both easily available—to be satisfied. For these reasons this variety of entertainment is very popular amongst all classes of people. For this reason and for the fact that it has created a large body of literature, a note about it may not be uninteresting.

As the term itself suggests, the actor must be quite learned. Besides he must have a witty tongue and shrewd powers of observation. These are the qualifications of an ideal actor. Of course there are quacks, but even these take care to coach themselves up in the particular portion they expound. The dress of the actor is very simple, though quaint. He has a head-dress¹ which has some faint attempt at ornamentation, though in the absence of this the tying of a piece of red cloth round his head will quite suffice. His breast is generally uncovered, but is adorned with sandal paste, necklaces or garlands. Further, he ties around his waist over his ordinary dress a piece of red cloth. There is indeed nothing to mark off the stage from the pit but a lighted lamp which separates the actor from the audience. There is no curtain, nor is there any need for a curtain.

When everything is ready, the lamp is lighted and the actor comes and stands facing it. He then performs 'Maigalam' in a voice that is scarcely audible. The verse, which is Sanskrit mixed with Malayalam, or Maṇipravāḷam, as it is generally called, runs thus:—

ghorāṇām dānavānāmurutarapṛtanābhārakhinnām dharitrīm
oro-līlāvatārairaḷakinoṭu samāśvāsayaṇtam nitāntam/

1 The possession of a head-dress is looked upon as the hall-mark of proficiency in the actor. This is, especially in olden days, given after a practical proficiency test in the temple at Taliparamba, presided over by a learned coterie of judges and hence is looked upon as a coveted distinction.

kṣīrāmbhodhau bhujaṃgādhipaśayanatale yoganidrāmudārām
nerekaikkoṇḍu lakṣmikuḷurmula puṇarum padmanābham
bhajethāh//

This is then followed by a long prose piece setting forth in a very chaste and elegant language the aims of narration, i.e., the art the actor is professing, which runs as follows :—

puruṣārthacatuṣṭhayathe sādhippānāyikoṇḍakhīla-jagadādhārabhū-
tanāyi, saccidānanda-svarupiyāya bhagvān śrīnārāyaṇaṭe śrīmadpādā-
raviṇḍaṃgale hṛdayakamalakarāṇikāmadhyattiṅgalammāru vaccu
niścalabhaktipurassaram upāsiccū kollaṇam; ennatu kūṭatckaṇḍu maṭṭu
asāraṅgaḷāyi, nityaṅgaḷāyi, āpasukhapradaṅgaḷāyirikkunna ororo
saṃsārasāgarataraṅgaḷaḷil sārabhudhyā paribhramiccū vṛthātanne
kālakṣepam ceytu duritamārjjikkayenniye maṭṭoruphalam varuvattilla
duritamārjjikka ennuvarunnasamayattiṅkal Īśvarasseva ceytu durita-
nivṛtti varutti gativarutti kollaṇnam. Īśvaranes sevikkayennuvarunna
samayattiṅgal sevāmārgaṅgaḷum palaprakārēṇayunḍu : devālayaṅgaḷil
pradakṣiṇam, pratimārccauam, svarūpadhyānam, kathāśravaṇam,
kathāprasaṅgam ennitukaḷil kaliyugattiṅgalanāyāśenamokṣatte
sādhippānāyikoṇḍu kathāprasamgatholam nannallate maṭṭonnum.
Kathaparayuka ennu varunna samayattiṅkal vākkinnu mādhyādī
śālgunakalate paripūrṇata veṇam : āyatonninṭeyum tanne lavaḷeṣam
polum pariṇānamilla ; enkilumubhayakula paṇṣudhanmārāyi satkar-
manīratannārāyirikkunna brāhmaṇarekoṇḍu narayapaṭṭa sabhāma-
dhyatte' prāpiccu paṭhiccativaṇṇam prasaṅgikkuka ennuvarunnasamaya-
thiṅkalśvarā ! ivante budhi esvarakathayilalle layiccatu ! ivannu melil
guṇotkarṣam vardhikaṭṭe'—enniūgine mahābrāhmanaruṭe anugra-
hamundakumennatre matguru bhutaṇṇeniyogam.

—gurukaruṇya lakṣmīniyogāt.'

The opening verse and the subsequent prose passage may well be compared to the verse which concludes the Nāndī rites and the Prastāvanā or Sthāpanā, we are familiar with in dramas.

These items over, he begins again in Malayalam and describes the particular situation of the story he is going to expound. The audience being thus well introduced to the context, he recites the text and expounds it with a wealth of illustration making references to current social topics and not rarely to individuals. There is little of acting, though appropriate gestures are often utilised to make the narration more vivid and appealing. He also enjoys, though in a limited measure, freedom of speech, but for fear of losing his patronage he does not use it to the same extent as the Cākyār does. Thus

the main aim of this variety of popular entertainment appears to be the impartation of education leavened with wit and humour.

Such is Pāṭhakam, and it will be seen that this is not far distant from that variety of Kūttu-Sanskrit theatre—called Prabandham Kūttu. For, in both we have dramatic exposition, and both serve more or less the same purposes. The two, however, are different and the differences may briefly be summed up as follows :—(1) In Kūttu there are both acting and narration, but in Pāṭhakam the latter predominates ; (2) In Kūttu there is scope for more than one actor, but in Pāṭhakam there can be only one actor ; (3) In Kūttu a particular class of Ambalavāsis alone are allowed to act, namely the Cākyārs and the Naṅgyārs, but in Pāṭhakam all caste Hindus, as far down as the last sub-section of Ambalavāsis, can act ; (4) In Kūttu significant gestures of a technical character find a prominent place, but in Pāṭhakam gestures exist not as a means of, but as an aid to, communication ; (5) For Kūttu a stage, or a semblance of a stage, music and some sort of costume are necessary, but Pāṭhakam completely dispenses with these ; and (6) It is a convention that Kūttu can be performed only in a Devasadas, i.e. in a temple, but Pāṭhakam may be conducted anywhere, the only condition being that there must be a Brahmin in the audience.

A careful scrutiny of the difference will show that in Pāṭhakam we have Prabandham Kūttu in miniature. The prominence given to the vernacular and the freedom given to the performance, the place of and the person acting are evidently innovations introduced in the direction of simplification with a view to make it more and more popular and well was it for our land that such a type of recreation came into existence. For, as a result of this the sparks of Sanskrit learning came to light up even the masses.

From another point of view also, we feel grateful to the originators of Prabandham Kūttu and Pāṭhakam. For, these have led to the creation of a large body of Campū Literature in Sanskrit, locally known as Prabandhams.¹ In number they are over thirty and in volume they may fill about 300 pages of royal size, while in merit they easily occupy a high place in literature. Here is a definite

1 A detailed notice of these works is under preparation by the present writer.

measure of Kerala contribution to Sanskrit literature, but, alas, it is yet unknown and unjudged.

These two kinds of popular entertainments have borne fruit in quite another direction also. The need for an expository commentary to help the Cākyārs and Pāṭhakakarans worked as a powerful driving force to create a school of literary criticism in the land; it can be said without any exaggeration that in this field the Malayālis—chiefly Nambudiris—top the list of commentators. One commentary alone need be mentioned to substantiate this, namely the Vidyullata on the *Meghasandēśa*.

Thus it will be seen that the continued popularity of these two varieties of entertainments, Prabandham Kūttu and Pāṭhakam, have not merely supplied a source of noble recreation to all alike, both the literate and the illiterate, but also enriched the Sanskrit literature both by original contributions and by valuable commentaries.

K. R. PISHAROTI

Two New Publications about Buddhism

I should like to draw the attention of Indian scholars to two recent publications : Louis de la Vallée Poussin's *La morale Bouddhique* (Paris 1927) and Th. Stcherbatsky's *Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa* (Leningrad 1927). No student of Buddhism can leave these two books unread.

Professor Poussin calls his book *Buddhist morals*, but it is a systematic treatise on the Buddhist religion. And it differs from other books of a similar kind in being a condensed epitome of what Vasubandhu and his school actually teach. In other words, it contains the system of ancient Buddhists themselves, and not a modern European discussion and evaluation.

Professor Stcherbatsky has also throughout based his study on the systematic treatises of learned Buddhist theologians, and added a careful translation of Nāgārjuna's *Treatise of Relativity* and Candrakīrti's commentary. The famous Russian scholar is a learned savant, and, besides, he possesses the almost intuitive faculty of grasping the most intricate details and systems, which is sometimes found with the best Śāstrins.

STEN KONOW

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

- Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal**, vol. xxii, (1926), no. 1.
C. W. GURNER.—*Some Textual Notes on Āśvaghoṣa's 'Buddhacarita.'*
A few emendations of the text of the *Buddhacarita* have been suggested here.
- UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE.—*The Upaniṣad Texts and their Position in Śruti Literature.* The author points out in this article that the earlier Upaniṣads, which had no independent existence, originated, as parts of the Brāhmaṇical literature, in the same way in which the *Brāhmaṇas* had developed, and opposes the view of those who suggest that the philosophy of the Upaniṣads sprang outside the circle of Brāhmaṇical influences i.e. among the Kṣatriyas.

Journal of the Department of Letters, vol. xv.

- NARENDRA NATH LAW.—*The Spiritual Culture of the Hindus and the Interpretation of their Civilization.* The writer of the article is of opinion that for the right interpretation of the civilization of the Hindus, it is essential that the value of its spiritual side should be fully realized, as the spiritual culture of the Hindus was indissolubly connected with their civilization, and influenced every phase of their life.
- CARLO FORMICHI.—*The Upaniṣads as the Land-mark in the History of Indian Thought.* The paper has been divided into three parts dealing with (i) Upaniṣadic Period, (ii) Ātman in the Upaniṣads and (iii) the Doctrine of Karman.
- SURES CHANDRA DUTT.—*The Dialectic of Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja in Relation to the Western Types of Dialectic.*
- SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.—*On the Cult of the Sun-god in Mediæval East Bengal.*
- KSHETREŚA CHANDRA CHATTOPADHYĀYA.—*The Identification of the Ṛg-vedic River Sarasvatī and some connected Problems.* The paper in the main tries to prove that in the earlier portions of the Ṛg-veda, Sarasvatī stands for the Indus, and in the tenth maṇḍala, it denotes the Sarsutī in Kurukṣetra.

- VIDHUSIEKHARA BHATTĀCHĀRYYA.—*Sandhyakṣaratattva*. This is a philological discussion in Bengali on the *sandhyakṣaras* (combination-syllables) or diphthongs of the Sanskrit alphabet.

Journal of Indian History, April, 1927

- S. KRISHNASWAMY AİYANGAR.—*The Gurjara Empire in North India*.
 B. BHATTACHARYYA.—*Vindhyavāsini*. The writer is inclined to identify Vindhyavāsini, a reputed Sāṅkhya teacher mentioned in several Sanskrit philosophical works, with Vārṣaganya, who has also been named in the *Bhāmati*. He assigns him a date (A. D. 250-310), earlier than Īśvarkīṣṇa.
 R. SATHYANATHA AİYAR.—*The Climacteric of Tālikoṭa*. This is an estimate of the effects of the battle of Tālikoṭa on the empire of Vijayanagar.
 D. B. DISKALKAR.—*Chronology of the Paramara Rulers of India*.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, April, 1927

- C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.—*The Unknown Co-founders of Buddhism*. The purport of the article is that Hinayāna Buddhism is not a homogeneous whole borrowed or derived from a still more ancient system or planned by Gotama alone, but a heterogeneous aggregate—a complex of teaching to which contributions were made by the distinguished early converts like Kondañña, Vappa, Sāriputta. There were also men of the world who had a hand in the shaping of the religion.
 E. H. JOHNSTON.—*The Text of the Buddha-carita, Cantos I-VIII*. Mr. Johnston has utilised a fresh manuscript of the Buddha-carita, Dr. Weller's edition of the Tibetan text with German translation, etc., and has suggested some improvements in the readings of the Sanskrit text.
 R. L. TURNER.—*The Phonetic Weakness of Terminational Elements in Indo-Aryan*. Prof. Turner shows how some of the terminational elements of Indo-Aryan languages have undergone changes. This is due to the fact that the terminational elements are not properly accented and the muscular effort in uttering them is not intense. As other means of expressing grammatical relationship came into being, the terminations were still more lightly stressed; consequently phonetic changes in the Indo-Aryan languages were rapid.

N. D. MIRONOW.—*Buddhist Miscellanea.*

(1) The writer shows that the name of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara should be *Avalokita-svara* as the latter corresponds to the Chinese rendering *Kuar-Yeir*. This is corroborated by an old Central Asian ms. which gives the name as *Avalokita-svara*. The writer suggests that the form Avalokiteśvara has come through the blending of the two names *Avalokitasvara* and *Lokēśvara*.

(2) *Central Asian Recensions of the Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka*. In this paper, a comparative study of various recensions has been made leading to the conclusion that there were at least *two* Central Asian recensions of the *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka*.

(3) *Future and Conditional in Buddhist Sanskrit*. The purpose of this note is to show "certain peculiarities in the use of the two above-named verbal forms in some Buddhist Sanskrit works."

F. W. THOMAS and G. L. M. CLANSON. *A Second Chinese Buddhist Text in Tibetan Character.*

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1927

S. K. DE.—*On the Date of the Subhāṣitāvali*. It has been pointed out here that a reference to Vallabhadeva and his *Subhāṣitāvali* in Sarvānanda's *Tikūsarvasva*, which was composed, according to its author himself in 1160 A.D., supplies a lower limit to the date of the anthology and does not justify a later date like the 15th century assigned to it by Peterson.

H. R. DIVEKAR.—*The Dual Authorship of the Kāvyaṣṭakāśa*. The author of this article arrives at the definite conclusion that the *Kārikās* of the *Kāvyaṣṭakāśa* as far as the figure of speech *Parīkara*, i.e., up to the first half of the 118th verse of the last chapter were composed by Mammaṭa, and the rest of the *Kārikās* and the whole of the *vṛtti* were written by Alaka.

Obituary Notice

The Late Dr. E. Hultzsch (1857-1927)

Dr. Eugen Hultzsch was born at Dresden in March 1857; he studied Classical and Oriental Philology, especially Sanskrit, at Bonn and at Leipzig; he became a *Privatdocent* for Oriental Studies at the University of Vienna in 1882. Dr. Bühler, who after his retirement from India made the Austrian capital a centre of Oriental Studies, soon after he was appointed to its University Chair of Sanskrit and Indology, and who founded the Oriental Institute of Vienna and besides started, as an auxiliary to it, the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, introduced Hultzsch to the study of Indian Epigraphy. In the course of 1884-5, with the magic charm of Indology strong upon him, Hultzsch travelled for six months in Northern India and Kashmir during which he collected valuable manuscripts and inscriptions. He was appointed in 1886 Superintendent of Epigraphy for the Madras Presidency. The 1st volume of *South Indian Inscriptions, Tamil and Sanskrit*, which was published by the Government of Madras in 1890 was chiefly the result of his special labours in 1886-87, supplemented with the assistance of the talented Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya. A second volume followed, dealing with the numerous and valuable inscriptions engraved in the great Temple of Tanjore (1891-95), the first 3 parts of which were done by Dr. Hultzsch himself and the following by Mr. Venkayya who later rose to be the Government Epigraphist for India. Scrupulous accuracy in the minute details of the transcripts and a sound comparative study of the records themselves which would extract from them all the historical facts marked all his editing work; while in the editing of the Tamil inscriptions he deviated to some extent from the methods followed by Drs. Bühler and Fleet in their publication of Sanskrit inscriptions.

Dr. Hultzsch retired from the post of Epigraphist in 1903 and remained till his death Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Halle; he was for long Secretary to the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft*. He published three *Reports on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in South India* in the years 1895-1905, the lines of which were largely followed by the later *Reports* on the search for Tamil, Sanskrit and Telugu manuscripts in the Southern Presidency, undertaken by the Government Oriental Mss. Library. The *magnum opus* of Dr. Hultzsch

was his monumental edition of the Inscriptions of Aśoka, "likely to be the most authoritative edition of the Edicts yet published." It contains an exhaustive Introduction which describes fully each one of the Emperor's records and has also chapters on the Emperor, his religion and empire, and on the grammars of the various groups of inscriptions. The texts and translations are accompanied by excellent collotype reproductions of negatives made from estampages of the Edicts. Many of Dr. Hultzsch's treatises on Indian Epigraphy were published in *The Indian Antiquary*. He was closely associated with the editing of the *Epigraphia Indica* from its inception down to 1907. He was a profound scholar of Sanskrit and Prakrit, edited several works like *Baudhāyana's Law-Book* (1884); *Prolegomena su Vasantarāja Śakuna* (1879); Madana's *Pārijatamañjarī* (1906); Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha* (translated into German and published last year) and others. His seventieth birthday was to have been celebrated early this year; but death snatched him off a few weeks too soon and thus prevented the consummation of the desire of his friends and admirers to present him with a complimentary volume of essays.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

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